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FOREWORD.

It was in 1928 that the Grierson Commemoration volume was undertaken by the Linguistic Society of India. So many years have naturally involved considerable inconvenience for the writers of the various papers and disappointment to the Society. But the conditions under which the work was undertaken were far from encouraging. The phonetic types had to be originally cast in India by the Mercantile Press, Lahore, a process which required considerable time. The proofs were to be generally read by the Secretary unaided. These circumstances delayed the printing.

The Punjab University generously contributed Rs. 1000 to the publication of this work. Our thanks are particularly due to Dr. A. C. Woolner, the Vice-Chancellor.

As regards the merits of the work, we leave it to the critical public to judge then. But we cannot help expressing our supreme satisfaction at the consummation of a work embodying such a vast range of subjects.

SIDDHESWAR VARMA,

1. 1. 1936.   *   *Prince of Wales College, Jammu.*

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A Biographical Note on Sir George A. Grierson.

Sir George Abraham Grierson, O. M., K. C. S. I., C. I. E., I. C. S. (Retired), son of late George Abraham Grierson, LL. D., Barrister-at-Law, of Rathfarnham House, Co. Dublin, was born on 7th January, 1857.

Education.

He was educated at Shrewsbury School and at the age of 17 he entered Trinity College, Dublin. There he obtained Mathematics Honours and he studied Sanskrit under Professor Robert Atkinson. There he gained Sanskrit exhibition twice and won a Hindustani exhibition—the highest rewards given by the University in those days for proficiency in the languages. To Professor Atkinson he owes that enthusiasm for Oriental, and especially for Indian languages, with which his name is principally associated by Oriental Scholars.

Career :—

He passed the open competition for the Civil Service of India in 1871 and arrived in India in 1373. While he served in Bengal in the districts of Howrah, Murshedabad and Rangpur, he succeeded in gaining degrees of high proficiency in Bengali and Sanskrit; joined the Bengal Asiatic Society; and wrote a grammar and published specimens of the peculiar Bengali dialect spoken in Rangpur. While in Bihar he wrote his seven grammars of the Bihar Dialects and his famous•Bihar Peasant Life by which his name was brought prominently before oriental scholars in Europe. In September 1894, Sir George Grierson attended the Congress of Orientalists held at Geneva as a delegate of the Government of Bengal, of the Bengal Asiatic Society and of the Calcutta University. In 1898 he was placed on special duty with the Government of India in charge of Linguistic Survey of India, a monumental work which was completed by him. He retired from the Indian Civil Service in 1903 and since then he has been interested in the study of Philology and of the various vernaculars.

Distinctions :—

Sir George Grierson is a Ph. D. (Honoris Causa) 1894 of the University of Halle; Litt. D. (Honoris Causa) Dublin University 1902; LL. D. (Hon.) Oxford University 1929; Vagisha (Bihar and Orissa); O. M. 1923; K C. I. E. 1912 and C. I. E. 1894. Fellow of the British Academy; Hon. Fellow of Asiatic Society of Bengal, of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and of the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences; Hon. Member of American Oriental Society; Benares, Nāgarī Prachāriṇī Sabha, Société Finno Ougrienne, International Phonetic Association, Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Modern Language Association, Linguistic Society of India, Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, Bangyia Sahitya Parishad; Correspondant Etranger de l'Institut de France (Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres); Hon. Foreign Associate Member of the Société Asiatique de Paris; Corresponding member of the Königliche Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen; late President Gypsy Lore Society; Hon. Vice-President Royal Asiatic Society; Prix Volney (Academie Francaise) 1905; Gold Medallist Royal Asiatic Society, 1909; Campbell Memorial Medal (R. A. S. Bombay), 1923; Gold Medal, British Academy, 1928; Sir William Jones, Gold Medal (Asiatic Society of Bengal), 1929; Church of Ireland.

Important Publications.

Handbook of the Kaithi Character; Grammar Chrestomathy of the Maithilị Language; Seven Grammars of the Bihār Dialects; Bihār Peasant Life; The Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindūstān; The Satsaiyā of Bihārī; Essays on Kāshmịrị Grammar; The Languages of India; Linguistic Survey of India; Piśāca Languages of North-Western India; Manual of the Kāshmiri Language; Lall Vākyāni (with L. Barnett); Ishkāshmī, Zēbākī, and Yāzghulāmī; Editor and Translator of Hātim's Tales; the Torwāli Language; Editor and Translator of Kāshmiri Sri Krishnāvatāra Lịlā; Editor of Kāshmiri Śiva P ariṇaya andŚrī Rāmāvatāra Carita; Editor of Waterfield's Lay of Albā; Dictionary of the Kāshmiri Language; translator of Vidyāpati's Purusha Parịkshā, under the title of The Test of a Man; and many papers in the Journals of Oriental Societies.

Sir George Abraham Grierson.

COMMEMORATIVE ESSAYS

PRESENTED TO

SIR GEORGE ABRAHAM GRIERSON,

O. M., K C.I.E., Ph. D., D. Litt., LL.D., F.B.A., I.C.S., (Retired),

FELLOW OF THE BRITISH ACADEMY; CORRESPONDANT ETRANGER DE L'INSTITUT
DE FRANCE (ACADEMIE DES INSCRIPTIONS ET BELLES LETTRES); HONORARY
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ASIATIC SOCIETY.

THIS VOLUME OF ESSAYS, THE WORK OF FRIENDS AND

ADMIRERS IN DIFFERENT COUNTRIES,

IS PRESENTED IN GRATITUDE AND AFFECTION TO

Sir George Abraham Grierson

UPON THE COMPLETION OF THE LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA

AND UPON HIS GETTING O. M. IN RECOGNITION THEREOF

CONTENTS. .

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THE GROUPING OF THE INDO-EUROPEAN DIALECTS

By A. Berriedale Keith

Holger Pedersen in a very interesting paper[1] has adduced evidence to show that Italo-Celtic, Tocharian, Phrygian, and Hittite constituted at a remote period a continuous group of dialects of Indo-European, and that later these branches were violently separated, the former to dominate Europe, the latter to disappear ultimately in the sea of the nations of Asia. This thesis, which naturally is only one of the many reconstructions of the history of Indo-European suggested by the discovery of Tocharian and Hittite, deserves careful consideration.

The close connection of Italian and Celtic is proved specifically in the author's opinion by the possession by both of the passive and deponent in -r and the genitive singular of -o- stems in -ī. These characteristics may be found also, it has been suggested by Sommer[2], in the speech of the Veneti, and the genitive in -ī is probably to be recognised in the Lepontine inscriptions which may present the speech of a Ligurian tribe. But elsewhere -ī is very doubtful; in Albanian forms such as **guri** may stand for guroi, and be originally dative, not genitive. Nor is the significance of the use of -ī destroyed even by the acceptance of the ingenious suggestion of Wackernagel[3] that there is to be found the same -ī in the Sanskrit, **vaśī-karoti**, an idiom which is clearly closely akin to the Latin **dicionis facere**. This parallelism may be explained in either of two ways; it may be assumed that the original Indo-European genitive of -o- stems ended in-i, and that by the influence of the pronominal form it came to be altered, so

(1) Le groupement des dialectes indo-européens (1925).

(2) Indogermanische Forschungen, **XLII. 90-182.**

(3) Mélanges Saussure (1908), pp. 125ff. The idiom is hardly known in the Rgveda, but may be old.

that an original *e'kwī passed into *ekwosyo through *tosyo *ekwī. Or it may be held that the -i form was originally confined to adverbial uses, which are preserved in Indo-Iranian, but was extended widely in Italo-Celtic. Thus it is possible that from a phrase such as populum regni sui facere, "to reduce a people under his sway", there might arise a populus regni mei, "a people under my sway", whence the genitive force of -i might spread. Whether either of these views is correct, the fact remains that the general use of -i in Italo-Celtic[1] serves to prove a distinctive connection between these speeches, comparable with that between Indian and Iranian or the Baltic and the Slav speeches.

That Tocharian is specially related to Italo-Celtic is suggested by the appearance in it of deponents and passives in -r. But it is clearly necessary to adduce much further evidence than this one point of similarity, and the question is whether it is possible to attach much weight to the proofs so far adduced.

1. We find in Tocharian the roots šam-, "be seated", lyam-, "lie down", and stam-, "stand". The last mentioned is clearly an enlarged form of the common root sta- which is actually found in Tocharian. There is also found beside the form šam- the unenlarged form. Probably too we have both unenlarged and enlarged forms of the I. E. root denoting "to live" seen in Greek zēn, and Old Slav ži-ti, for we find šayemo, "we live", on the one hand, and šam-tsi, "to live" on the other. The latter form may be compared[2] with the Lithuanian gem-ŭ, Infinitive gim-ti, "enter into life". In Latin, it is pointed out, as in Tocharian the alternation was living, a fact which is significant of a close connection. The evidence, however, for this view seems wholly

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(1) It is true that -i is not found in Britannic or Oscan-Umbrian but there is no real doubt of its Italo-Celtic character; cf. Meillet, Langue latine, pp. 28ff. Hirt holds-i to be a suffix denoting appurtenance; Indogermanische Grammatik, III. 47.

(2) More probable is connection with I. E. *gʷem-; so Hirt, Indogermanische Grammatic, IV. 324.

inadequate; it consists of a comparison of **premo**, the Perfect **pressi**, and the Slav root **per-** seen in Russian **peré-ţ**, "to press", But we have in Sanskrit[1] side by side the roots **gam-** (e.g. **agamat**), and **gā-**, and **dram-** and **drā-**, and there seems no reason whatever to see any special relation between Tocharian and Italic, while it is not even claimed that Celtic shows this phenomenon.

2. It is pointed out that in Celtic the name Vocorii is probably to be understood as containing in its first member the word for "two", as in Tricorii and Petrucorii we have numerals as the first part of the compounds. With this is compared the fact that in Tocharian "two" is represented by **wī** or **we**, whereas save in the compound for "twenty" I. E. uses **dw-** or **duw-**. But this is inconclusive in the extreme. Admittedly the Tocharian form may merely be a development of the normal **dwo-** or **dwi-** of Indo-European, and, apart from this view, the form without **d** may be seen as suggested by Hirt[2] in Sanskrit **vayám**, Gothic **weis**, and Lithuanian **vèdu**, and not impossibly it is to be traced in the ō-**u** duals, if these stand for -**owe**.

(3) In Tocharian we have a word for "woman" in the forms **kle** or **k**ʷ**le**. With this may be compared the Irish **caile**, on the assumption that the original I. E. form may be put down as something like *k**ᵛ**]los. But in fact not merely is the resemblance insufficient, but apparently the Tocharian forms point to a feminine in -**yā** or -**yē** in Indo-European, as was to be expected from the sense of **kle**.

(4) Again Tocharian has a remarkable comitative suffix **ŝŝele**, and it has also **ŝle-** as a prefix with a similar sense. Comparison with the Irish **céle**, "companion" is suggested. The suggestion, however, is clearly implausible, for it fails in any way to explain the double **ŝŝ** in the suffix. That the prefix has but one **ŝ** is much more easily explained by the theory of the dropping of an initial letter than is the presence of a double letter in the suffix.

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(1) Greek has **trémō** and **étressa**, **didráskō** and **drameîn**.
(2) Indogermanische Grammatik, 1II. 22.

Moreover it is not at all clear that the suffix was originally ***le*, or not rather ***le*. In any case, however, it is impossible to ignore the fact that in Mitanni[1] we have the form Mitraṣṣil. No doubt there is a long interval in space between Tocharian and Mitanni, and thus the comparison would be invalid if we could prove that the Tocharian comitative was an innovation in Tocharian A of a late date. But unfortunately we cannot establish anything of the kind, and the similarity of form and use strongly supports the view that in this comitative suffix we have a borrowing from some non Indo-European language. In any case the parallel with *cle* is far too remote.

(5) The Tocharian walo, wlo "king" doubtless has a parallel in the Old Irish flaith, "Kingdom", and kindred terms, but admittedly the root exists also elsewhere, and it is impossible to attach weight to the suggestion that krente, "good", is really a participle in -nt- transferred to the -o- declension, and comparable with the Irish care, "friend", which has a participle form. The case of the -n- suffix form kektséne, "body", illustrates well how little exclusive coincidence we find between Tocharian and Italo-Celtic. Accepting the view that -tsen-, goes back to a suffix -tyen-, and that we are to compare Irish cucht, "external appearance", we are faced by the fact that the Irish word presupposes a quite different suffix -tu-, and that it accords exactly with the Norse hátt-r, "appearance, manner", where the suffix again is -tu-. The -tyen- suffix is doubtless, if it is admitted to exist in Tocharian, on the theory that in kektséne and in khautso the -ts' represents -ty-, parallel to the suffix seen in Latin mentio, Irish toimtiu, "opinion", etc.; but the occurrence of the same suffix in Armenian deprives the fact of importance. A further suggestion of a remarkable correspondence of suffix is based on the form wainao, "companion", this is held to be from a stem in -n-, as also is aitamo, "learned man". The suffix in these cases, it is suggested, must have begun with a palatal letter to explain

(1) E. Lewy, KZ. XLV. 365.

the š and the s respectively, and is probably to be compared with the suffix -iyamon- of the Irish brithem, "judge". It must, however, be remembered that it would be equally satisfactory to take the first part of the suffix as -e- and to compare the Greek kedemón, and so on, thus destroying the parallel entirely. Moreover it is significant that of the two words neither has a parallel formation in Italo-Celtic, and only wašamo from vas-, "dwell", has cognates in Celtic alone, not Italic. Contrast the fact that Sanskrit has the root íš-, "rule", Gothic aih, to set beside aišamo, and also the root vas-. What is wanted for purposes of proving close connection is not mere possession of the same roots, but of the roots used in the same formations and these of a rare character, a phenomenon absolutely lacking in the cases adduced. It must be added that it cannot be taken as absolutely certain that in klautso or wašamo we are really dealing with -n- stems.

(6) This point becomes of importance when we consider the suggestion that Tocharian witsako, "root", ought to be regarded as having the suffix which is seen in the Latin plantago, ferulago etc. The fact is that the word witsako is not declined like a stem in -n-, for it gives witsakai, and there is no reason whatever to assume that there is a confusion of -n- stems and feminines in -ā-. It is, therefore, unimportant that Gaulish knew the same suffix as Latin, nor, it may be added, does it seem possible to hold that there is connection with the Greek word for "root". Still less is it acceptable to treat palsko, "thought", as an -ago- stem. It is worth noting that here again there is no adduction of any Italo-Celtic parallel for the root, which instead is compared with Sanskrit nibhālayati, "he observes", and Old High German bilidi, "image".

(7) The greatest stress is laid on the identity in Tocharian, and Italo-Celtic of the word for silver, Tocharian ārkyante Italian argentum, Old Irish argat. But after all we must assign to the same root *areg the Sanskrit rajatá and the Greek árguros

as well as the Armenian **arcath**, and the Avestan **erazata**, and it is impossible to lay any stress on the argument; we may as well look to Avestan and Armenian as to Italo-Celtic for the parallel[1]. Similarly nothing can be made out of the possession by Tocharian of a parallel for Latin **aurum**, which is not shared by Celtic, for Lithuanian and Old Prussian have **áuksas** and **ausis**. What is clear is that Tocharian shows constantly points of contact with one or another Indo-European speech, but without any clearly marked affinity to one special group. Thus, if we accept Pedersen's own views, we have an amazing parallel to Greek **ethélo** in **yśelme** "desire", the **y** corresponding on this theory with the Greek **e**[2], and again in **aitsi** "to give", we have a parallel of the Greek **aisa**,[3] which has an Oscan cognate in **aiteis**, genetive, meaning "part", the semantic development being comparable to that between the Greek **époron**, "I gave" and he **peprôméne**, "fate". There are many other parallels which have been adduced by other writers to support Italo-Celtic affinities for Tocharian; but it is needless to go into them, for they are neither more nor less cogent than the instances already discussed. Quite as remarkable as anything else is the fact that in Tocharian **soye** we have a parallel to the distinctive Greek word for son, and there are other points in which we can find a remarkable similarity between Tocharian and Greek. So again it has been suggested by Hermann[4] that there is a certain affinity between Tocharian and Phrygian which he regards as a **centum** speech. It is not necessary to accept the latter suggestion, which runs counter to the view, based on the testimony of Herodotos and Eudoxos, which holds that the Armenians were an offshoot of the Phrygians. Armenian is unquestionably a **satem** speech, and

(1) Walde, Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen, I. 82.
(2) For this prefix see Hirt, Indogermanische Grammatik, II. 166.
(3) Cf. Hirt, op. cit. II. 182.
(4) KZ. L. 302ff.

though there is a lack of absolutely conclusive evidence, there is a
good deal to suggest that Phrygian was really a **satem** speech.
Pokorny[1] again has suggested that there is much in Tocharian
akin to Armenian, and the evidence for his thesis is quite as
good as that for affinity with Italo-Celtic. The truth is that in
no case have we such a number of striking identities in formation
and vocabulary that it is possible to postulate any close affinity.

There remains, therefore, as the ground for asserting a
special connection of Italo-Celtic, Tocharian and Phrygian
nothing more substantial than the middle and passive forms in
-r. Armenian forms in -r might also be adduced to extend the
number of connected speeches, but Pedersen, despite Meillet's
arguments, does not himself believe that the Armenian forms
bera-r, "you have been carried", and **bere-r,** "he carried", or
"he was carried" have anything historically to do with the -r
forms of the other languages. The matter is further complicated
by the evidence of Hittite[2]. That strange speech seems to add
-er or -ir to form preterite third plurals; thus **kuenzi,** "he kills",
kuenta, "he killed", and **kuennir,** "they killed", **dai,** "he takes",
daš, "he took", and **dair,** "they took". On the other hand -ri is
added to terminations of medio-passive forms, without alteration
of the meaning and only facultatively, so far as can be judged;
thus we have the third persons present **kiš-a** or **kiš-ari, iya-tta** or
iya-ttari; third plural **iya-nta or iya-ntari.** In the Imperative we
have corresponding forms in -ru, **kiš-aru, iya-ttaru,** and **iya-ntaru.**
Hittite thus provides parallels for the Latin forms; -tari being
akin to -tur, -ntari to ntur, while the -ari forms remind us of Old
Irish **berir,** "he is carried", and Oscan **sacrafir,** "let one sacrifice"
(if this is the meaning; the verb may really be passive).
The Phrygian evidence is confined to **addaketor,** which stands
beside the simple **addaket,** corresponding to Latin **afficit.**

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(1) Berichte des Forschungsinstituts für Osten und Orient
in Wien III.

(2) E. H. Sturtevant, Language, IV. 165 ff.

Pedersen's view is that the -r forms are an innovation which never belonged to more than a part of the Indo-European family, in which he inclines definitely to include Hittite. But, even if Hittite is not to be treated as Indo-European in the usual sense, but to be held to be a sister speech of Indo-European,[1] he holds that in the period before the separation of the two families of speeches, Indo-European and Hittite, there must have sprung up in the area separate dialects, one of which possessed the -r conjugation. The alternative, of course, is to hold that the -r formations have Indo-European status.

The evidence of Sanskrit on the whole favours the view that Indo-European knew -r formations, but that the several branches of the family have gone their own way in developing their use. The same remark applies to Hittite, whether it is regarded as a member of the family or a mere cousin speech. The use of the forms as given above is clearly specialised, and the same remark appears to apply to Sanskrit. We have the common -ur as the termination of the third plural Perfect, *e.g.* vidu'r; the Optative syu'r, the Aorist ádur; it is added to the second dual and third Perfect as in bubudháthur, bubudhátur, or aga'n -r is followed by other endings as in the regular Perfect Middle bubudhiré and even bubhujriré; in the third plural Aorist Middle we have -ran or -ram, as in ádṛśran or ádṛśram, ábudhran, or ábudhram, while more sporadically we have forms such as duhré, duhráte, duhrám, duhratām, and aduhra. It will be seen that both Active and Middle forms are found, but, save in so far as outside the Present system Middle forms afford the Passive in Sanskrit, there is no special connection between -r forms and the Passive. When we remember the existence of Latin stetēre, Tocharian stāre and the Hittite forms, it seems legitimate to suppose that, whatever the source of the -r formations, there was nothing essentially Passive connected with them at the earliest stage.

(1) Ibid. II. 25-34; IV. 169f. cf. Kretschmer, Glotta, XIV. 300-19.

Zimmer[1], as is well known, traced the origin of deponents and passives alike to the Indo-European use of a third plural Active in -r; thus a hypothetical *widr, "they see", passes over to "one sees", and thence to the impersonal Passive "it is seen". This is supported to some extent by such cases as the Umbrian pone˘ esonom-e ferar, "when there is carrying to the sacrifice;" Latin vitam vivitur; Old Irish doberr or doberar, "they give," "one gives"; Breton gweler, "they see", "one sees". On the other hand it is pointed out that Tocharian does not show signs of an impersonal use of -r forms[2], and that the same is true of Hittite, so far as we at present know it. Stress instead has been laid on the view that the Passive is a natural development from the Middle which, unlike the Passive on one view, is Indo-European, and it has been suggested that -r formations are naturally connected with deponents[3]. In that case Indo-Iranian in its use of -r formations has often employed them in an Active sense, as has also Latin in the feoɜre type, and it may be doubted whether the connection can be sustained for Indo-European. Again the impersonal use in the third singular is deemed by Ernout[4] among others to be the original; he points out that it is common to Italian and Celtic. The deponents of Italic and Celtic seem to have taken over this -r. It is true that Walde held that it was in Gaelo-Latin as a unity that the deponent developed[5], to the exclusion of Britannic on the one hand, and Oscan-Umbrian on the other; but though the evidence of Britannic deponents is not strong, it is improbable that they were unknown, and Umbrian

(1) KZ. XXX. (1887), 224-89; cf. Lindsay, Latin Language, p. 523.
(2) Vendryes, Revue Celtique, XXXIV. 113.
(3) Cf. Claflin, Language, V. 232 ff.; Am. Journ. Phil. XLVIII. 157 ff.
(4) Morphologie historique du latin (1927), pp. 181, 195 ff.
(5) Über älteste sprachliche Beziehungen zwischen Kelten und Italikern (1917). Contrast Vendryes, Revue Celtique, XLII. 387 ff.

is credited with herter, "he desires" and Oscan with karrnter, possibly, "they feed themselves". Nor generally is it possible to accept Walde's ingenious suggestion.

It is clearly impossible to arrive at any certain results as to the mode in which the -r suffixes developed, but the important point for the purpose of dialect grouping is that Tocharian shows nothing of the impersonal use of -r which is clearly Italo-Celtic, and thus cannot on that ground be grouped closely with Italo-Celtic. Phrygian and Hittite are in like case with Tocharian in not showing evidence of this impersonal use, which we may, therefore, regard as specifically Italo-Celtic, either in the sense that it developed in Italo-Celtic or that it was preserved in Italo-Celtic from Indo-European, while it died out in other Indo-European dialects. The theory, therefore, that Italo-Celtic, Phrygian and Tocharian once formed a continuous series of dialects marked by the innovation of the -r conjugation cannot be held to be plausibly proved by the grounds so far adduced. There is, of course, no objection a priori to any theory of dialectic grouping, but the question is of the extent to which such a group can be established as more probable than another. That Hittite and Tocharian have certain remarkable similarities is perfectly true, but the same remark applies equally to Hittite and most of the other dialects, and we certainly cannot prove the continuity of Hittite and Tocharian from the material available. Indeed, in view of the great difference in date between our records of the two speeches, it would be extremely difficult to expect to find sufficient proof of early contiguity.

As regards the -r suffix it may be added that it is unreasonable to treat as impossible[1] the suggestion that it orginally was the characteristic of the impersonal verb, as taken by Morris Jones[2] among others. The idea that such an impersonal could

(1) Claflin, Language, V. 233, 241.
(2) Welsh Grammar (1913).

paṣs over to the service of the third person plural as in Sanskrit -ur and -re or -ire is certainly not more difficult than Zimmer's view that the third plural Active in -ur could pass over to a Passive sense. It may really be the case that the Indo-European possessed this impersonal in -r, and that the variant uses developed separately in each of the dialects or groups Indo-Iranian, and Italo-Celtic. The Hittite evidence, so far as it goes, shows the most regular uses of -er or -ir as the suffix of a preterite, just as in Sanskrit the third plural perfect Active and Middle is the special form of which -r forms a part. That an impersonal verb expression should be used to denote past time is certainly not surprising.

The origin of -r has often been seen in a locative suffix[1] used predicatively as in the case of the suffix -i seen in the Infinitive, e.g. Latin agere or Sanskrit drśi. We have -r in such a use often in Germanic, e.g. Gothic her, but also in other languages, as in Latin quor, and apparently in Greek gâr, and in -per, Latin paulisper. Hirt,[2] on the other hand believes that we have in -r a particle of the type seen in that use in Greek ar, ra, and he compares Greek ê ra "he spoke" with Sanskrit āh-ur, "they say", stê ra with asthur, and so on. It is impossible to arrive at any conclusion in the absence of decisive arguments, but either hypothesis is at present preferable to any attempt to revive the once prevalent idea, still maintained by Pedersen[3], that in the -r we should find a trace of the reflexive se, a view which is untenable in the absence of any proof that outside Latin s became r. An alternative suggestion, that r at an early period itself had a sense similar to se, is not specially attractive; we have no satisfactory proof that the force of -r was primarily reflexive, which is certain-

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(1) Cf. Johausson, Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen, XIV 163; XVI 133 ff.
(2) Indogermanische Grammatik, III. 137; IV. 134.
(3) Vergleichende Grammatik der Keltischen Sprachen, II 896.

ly not borne ont by Sanskrit or Hittite. It is noteworthy that Pedersen himself in his later discussion of the grouping of the dialects does not pronounce definitely in favour of any theory. He refers to the suggestions in Odé's work,[1] but insists that it is to Celtic that we must look if at all for the possibility of tracing the development of the use of -r, in view of the linguistic particularism which has, on the one hand, produced so many bizarre forms in the later development of the language, but on the other has preserved many irregularities removed in other speeches. It is, however, difficult in view of the late date at which Celtic is recorded to distinguish between what is novel, and what is old material preserved. Thus there is a complete divergence of view between those who, like Pedersen, claim that the Celtic passive is ancient by reason of peculiarities of form and syntax, and those who contend that it is a secondary development and that originally deponent and Passive coincided as in Latin. Nor is it possible to accept as cogent Pedersen's view that there was no Passive in Indo-European, a doctrine which influences his view that -r Passives were a dialectical innovation.

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(1) De uitgangen met r van het deponens en het passivum in de indoeuropeesche talen (1924).

SYANDANIKĀ.

By Sylvain Lévi.

Le Karmavibhāga sūtra est un texte encore inédit dont j'ai trouvé au Népal, en 1922, deux manuscrits, entièrement indépendants l'un de l'autre, coupés l'un et l'autre de lacunes qui fort heureusement ne coincident presque jamais. C'est un ouvrage qui a dû connaître une popularité extraordinaire puisque je l'ai retrouvé en tibétain, en chinois, en koutchéen, et qu'il a servi de texte aux illustrations de la galerie inférieure au Boro-Budur de Java. Ecrit dans un sanscrit fort classique, il foisonne de citations curieuses. Je compte en donner au cours des années prochaines une édition et une traduction complètes avec les textes parallèles. Pour le moment, je me contente de signaler un mot qui peut être intéressant pour le linguiste, et spécialement pour ceux qui, comme l'illustre auteur du Bihar Peasant Life, ne séparent pas l'étude des mots de l'étude des choses.

Le Karmavibhāga s'ouvre par l'histoire de Śuka Māṇa-vaka, fils de Taudeyya. Le Bouddha en tournée de quête à Śrāvastī se présente au seuil de la maison, en l'absence du Maître. Le chien favori de Śuka aboie méchamment. Le Bouddha qui a reconnu dans l'animal le père même de Śuka, à qui son avarice a valu cette fâcheuse renaissance, lui rappelle son passé par une allusion que seul le chien peut comprendre. Le chien, humilié, saute de la couchette matelassée où il se prélassait, et va se tapir dans la **syand-anikā** de bois (**evam ukte śankhakuñjare 'tiśayitaroṣaś caṇḍībhūto 'nāttamanā goṇikāstṛtāt paryaṅkād avatīr-yādhastāt paryaṅkasya dārusyandanikāyāṃ niṣaṇṇaḥ**).

Le mot **syandanikā** paraît avoir embarrassé les inter-prètes. Un texte chinois traduit par Guṇabhadra dit "Il descendit du matelas de son lit et alla en bas du seuil de la porte" (S 門 閾 下) Un autre texte chinois, traduit par

T'ien Si tsai dit : " Il quitta la place où il était et s'en alla sous
un siège de santal 栴 檀 座 下 ce qui suppose une
lecture *candanikāyām*. La traduction du Śukasūtra dans le
Madhyama Āgama Tok. XII, 7, 16, a : " Il descendit de sa
litière et s'en alla prés du tas de bois " 木 聚. Pourtant
le mot **syandanikā** est connu par ailleurs : Le Pet. Wört.
l'enregistre avec une référence au Rāmāyana III, 53, 56 de
l'éd. Gorresio—47, 45 de l'éd. Bombay. Sītā menace son
ravisseur de la vengeance que Rāma saura tirer et compare
dédaigneusement Rāvana avec son époux : " Il y a entre toi
et lui autant de différence qu'entre un ruisseau et l'Océan "
(yad antaraṃ syandanikāsamudrayoḥ). Syandanikā
doit donc désigner un tout petit cours d'eau. La trad.
donnée par T'ien Si tsai " un siège de santal " atteste que
certains Mss. avaient substitué à ce mot la forme **candanikā**
que l'interprète n'a pas su comment traduire. Mais ce mot
candanikā, ignoré en sanscrit, est bien connu en pali. Le
Dict. pali de la P.T.S. le rend par : " a pool at the entrance
of the village (usually, but not necessarily, dirty) " et donne
une longue serie de références qui sont insuffisantes pour
préciser le sens. Le mot est en général accolé à un autre
mot, **oligalla,** qui est également obscur. Pourtant un
passage du Visuddhimagga, p. 343 est nettement en contra-
diction avec la trad. du Dict. pali ; le texte énumère toutes
les saletés et les ordures qui encombrent la porte de la
maison : **taṃ taṃ gehadvāraṃ patvā macchadhovana-
maṃsadhovana-taṇḍuladhovana-khaḷasiṃghānika-su-
nakha-sūkaravaccādīhi sammissāni kimikulāni nīla-
makkikaparikiṇṇāni oligallāni ceva candanikaṭṭhā-
nāni ca daṭṭhabbāni honti :** " En arrivant à la porte d'une
maison ou d'une autre, la vue tombe fatalement sur les
oligalla et les emplacements de **candanikā** où les vers et les
mouches se mêlent aux eaux de lavage du poisson, de la
viande, du riz, avec les crachats et les morves, avec les
crottes des chiens, des porcs etc.

On peut serrer davantage le sens. Et cependant, par une étrange fatalité, la plupart des textes palis donnés en référence n'ont pas de correspondants connus en chinois, et dans le cas bien rare où le texte correspondant existe en chinois, les interprètes embarrassés semblent avoir laissé de côté le mot. Dans le sūtra du Madhyama Āgama Tok. XII, 7, 46a col. 16 qui correspond au Laṭukikopama sutta du Majjhima Nikāya I, 448, et où reparait une énumération analogue (à celle du Visuddhimagga ci-dessus, il semble bien que les caractères **keou tou** 溝 瀆 correspondent à **candanikā**; **keou** 溝; signifie "fosse, rigole"; la Mhvy. 齎 et 勅 l'emploie pour traduire **parikhā** "fossé, d'enceinte"; **tou** désigne un canal destiné à l'arrosage des champs. Dans le sūtra du Saṃyukta Āgama XIII, 3, 76a qui répond au Brāhmaṇa-sutta de Saṃyutta V, 361, au cours d'une énumération assez analogue ("Va droit devant toi; n'évite ni humeurs, ni précipice, ni troncs d'arbre, ni épines, ni **candanikā**, ni **oligalla**") le chinois a **kien** 澗 en regard de **candanikā**; **kien** désigne un cours d'eau resserré, un ruisseau. Dans le Vacchagottasutta de l'Aṅguttara I, 161, **candanikā** et **oligalla** sont les endroits où on déverse les eaux de vaisselle et où grouille la vermine; le sūtra correspondant se trouve dans deux versions du Saṃyukta Tok. XIII, 2, 21a et 5, 84b, mais les deux traducteurs se contentent de dire; "là où l'on jette les eaux de lavage de la vaisselle et les résidus de nourriture".

Il ressort de tous ces exemples que **candanikā** est exactement ce que nous appelons "le ruisseau", la rigole plus ou moins profonde par où s'écoulent les eaux ménagères au devant de la maison. Le mot est donc une simple déformation du sanscrit **syandanikā**, déformation voulue, consciente, d'intention ironique: les puanteurs du ruisseau évoquaient par antiphrase le parfum du santal.

Quant à l'expression composée **dāru-syandanikā** "le ruisseau (la rigole) en bois", on en a le parallèle dans le Vinaya

pali, Cullavagga V, 17 où sont réunies les prescriptions
relatives au bain des moines : " Les Mendiants se baignaient
partout dans le jardin et le jardin était tout fangeux.   On en
fit rapport au Très Saint.   " Je vous permets, Mendiants, la
candanīkā ", dit-il.   La **candanīkā** était à ciel ouvert ; les
Mendiants étaient gênés pour se baigner.   "Je vous permets,
Mendiants, dit-il, trois sortes de murs à l'entour : mur en
briques, mur en pierre, mur en bois **(dāru)**".   Suit une
prescription relative au pavage du fond **(santhāra)**, qui
peut être fait également en briques, en pierre ou en bois.   La
syandanīkā (pali candanīkā) était donc 1° la rigole d'éva-
cuation des eaux ménagères qui partait de la cuisine pour
rejoindre le ruisseau, 2° le ruisseau lui-même, c'est à dire la
tranchée creusée dans la rue au long des maisons.   La rigole
domestique pouvait être tout entière en bois, creusée dans
du bois plein ou formée de lattes assemblées, ou être revêtue
de boisage pour empêcher les terres d'être entraînées par
l'eau ; le Japon contemporain montre encore partout, dans
les grandes cités comme dans les villages, ces tranchées
boisées, tantôt à ciel ouvert, tantôt couvertes avec des dalles
de pierre.   Leur existence dans l'Inde ancienne est attestée
par la Sukraniti I, 352 :

**Kuryān mārgān pārśvakhātān nirgamārtham
jalasya ca** "Il faut faire, pour l'écoulement des eaux, des
conduites creusées sur les côtés (de la rue)".   M. Binode
Behari Dutt, à qui j'emprunte cette citation, rapporte en
outre dans son livre vraiment remarquable : Town Planning
in Ancient India, Calcutta 1925—un des meilleurs
travaux publiés au cours de ces derniéres années—un
passage d'un livre récent que je n'ai pu consulter
directement, Town Planning in Ancient Deccan, par M. Ven-
kataram Ayyar, passage qui semble écrit à dessein pour
éclairer la question de la **syandanīkā-candanīkā**: "As in
other cities, so also in Vanji the ditch encircled the walls of
the city.   The water from the palace, public halls, and
private residences fell into this ditch by means of a conduit

sluice known as Tumbu. The conduit-pipe discharged the
water of the city into the ditch near the entrance gate where
it was covered over with a stone culvert. By such a drainage
system, the water used in private homes for domestic and
bathing purposes, was conducted by pipes into the main
conduit which poured its contents into the ditch. Those
who could afford the expense had separate baths specially
constructed for them in such a manner that water might be
filled in or let out of such baths at their pleasure. When
they had finished bathing they opened the outlet of the
baths which emptied water into the drain which led to the
ditch outside."

Observons encore que dans le récit correspondant en
pali, Sumangala Vilāsinī, éd. siamoise I, 437 (récit très
étroitement apparenté à notre texte) le chien mécontent va
se coucher dans les cendres à l'intérieur du fourneau (uddha-
nantare chārikāya nipanno); ici encore l'obscurité du
terme candanikā paraît avoir décidé le narrateur à lui
substituer un autre mot et une autre chose, plus facilement
intelligibles.

J'ai fait usage, chemin faisant, des récits parallèles que
j'ai rencontrés en pali. Notre Karmavibhāga sūtra est le
développement du sutta pali intitulé Cūḷa Kammavibhaṅga
qui forme le 135e sutta du Majjhimanikāya Le personnage à
qui ce sutta sur la classification des actes est adressé y est
appelé Subha Māṇava Todeyyaputta; le commentaire sur ce
texte, dans la Papañcasūdani (éd. Siam. III, 648) raconte en
guise d'introduction l'histoire du Bouddha et du chien qui
est rené le père de Suka. L'identité est donc incontestable.
Le même Subha Māṇava Todeyyaputta reparaît dans un
certain nombre d'autres textes que nous laisserons ici de
côté. En face du pali Subha, la forme sanskrite Śuka est
attestée non seulement par le Karmavibhāga, mais aussi par
les textes chinois correspondants ou apparentés qui rendent
ce nom soit par une transcription: Chou kia, soit par une
traduction " Perroquet ". Le tibétain, contrairement à sa

pratique générale, ne traduit pas le nom et se contente de le transcrire. Nous avons donc d'une part Śuka, de l'autre Subha (sk. Śubha). On ne peut passer directement d'une de ces formes à l'autre; ni Śuka n'a pu aboutir à Subha ni Subha à Śuka. Il devient donc nécessaire de supposer à la base une forme antérieure d'où auraient pu diverger deux restaurations différentes. Le mot **Suka** est dans les pracrits, et notamment dans le pracrit jaina où il se rencontre fréquemment comme nom de personne, **Sua** susceptible de se développer en **Suva** (=śruta, suta, etc.). De l'alternance **bh** pali en face de **v** par ailleurs, nous avons tout au moins un exemple dans un des termes les plus importants de la théorie du saint bouddhique; le pali a **paṭisambhidā** tandis que le sanscrit a **pratisamvid**. Nous sommes ainsi ramenés par un nouvel exemple à la théorie que j'ai eu l'occasion de présenter, il y a déjà longtemps, sur l'emploi dans le bouddhisme ancien, antérieurement au pali et au sanscrit, d'un dialecte disparu, cousin germain de l'ardha-magadhı jaina, et qui avait atteint déjà un stage avancé d'usure phonétique (Cf. Journ. Asiat., 1912, II, 495–514).

Le mot **syandanikā** avait déjà attiré l'attention du Rev. Richard Morris, dans la série des Notes and Queries où se rencontrent tant d'indications importantes. A propos du mot **ekodibhāva** (Jour. Pali Text Soc., 1885, p. 35), dont il propose d'ailleurs une interprétation fausse, il est amené à citer le mot **oligalla**, et **oligalla** attire **candanikā** dont il est presque inséparable. Il signale l'usage, du mot **syan-danikā** dans un passage du Saddharma Puṇḍarīka (Chap. VI, éd. Kern-Nanjio, p. 144, l. 10) que d'ailleurs il connaît seulement par la traduction de Kern (Sac. Books, Vol. XXI), et il écrit: "A very good instance of this sanskritizing process [la marotte des Palisants de cette époque!] in the Saddharma Puṇḍarīka (pp. 142, 146, 395) which has escaped the keen eye of Prof. Kern, is seen in **syandanika** [corr. **kā**, que donne bien le texte sanscrit imprimé]-**gūthodilla** (var. lect -oḍigilla, -oḍigalla) translated by 'gutters and dirty

pool⚹'. Prof. Kern acknowledges that his rendering of
gūthoḍilla is conjectural. Here we may call in Pali to
throw some light upon the whole compound syandanika°.
Not seldom we find the Pali terms candanikā and oligalla
occurring together (see Aṅguttara Nikāya, III, VI. ˙8;
Milinda Panha, p. 220; Sabbāsava Sutta) the former meaning,
according to the Abhidhānappadīpikā, 'a dirty pool at the
entrance of a village'. The Pali candanikā is probably to
be referred to a more original caṇḍanikā, from the root
caṇḍ, and signifies a turbid pool, or one liable to become so
on account of not being inclosed (see Thera Gāthā, 1. 567;
Cullavagga, V. 17, 1). Buddhaghosa defines it as asucikala-
lakūpo. The Sanskrit syandanikā, according to the lexico-
graphers, does not mean a tank, well, or pool, but 'a drop
of saliva', and the meaning 'gutter' given to it by Prof.
Kern, is deduced by him from the root syand (syandana,
oozing water). It is one of those words that may be restored
to its primitive form since it is in fact a clever sanskritizing
of Pali candanikā."

Morris discute ensuite le terme gūthoḍilla associé à
syandanika dans le texte du Saddharmapuṇḍarīka. Uḍilla
serait une sanscritisation (une de plus) faite sur le pali
oligalla, qui pourrait être une altération de allagalla,
"from alla wet" (ulla, olla well-known Prakrit forms,
Sanskrit ārdra) "swampy, marshy" and galla, Sanskrit
garta, Prakrit gaḍḍa "well, pit". Et il ajoute sagement:
"But all this is by way of conjecture".

Pour ajouter une conjecture de plus, je signale que,
d'après un informateur hindou venu de Madras (M. Venkata-
chalpati), le télougou a ōḍagalavāḍu pour désigner "le
nettoyeur, le boueux" (où vāḍu est un simple suffixe
d'emploi analogue à wāla de l'hindoustani). Le tamoul
possède aussi le mot ōḍugāl pour désigner une "conduite
d'eau", comme me l'indique mon collègue M. Bloch.

Enfin la substitution de chārikā "les cendres" "dans
le récit pali à syandanikā de la rédaction sanscrite peut

remonter à une confusion entre **kṣāra** " caustique " et **kṣara** " coulant.

Burnouf qui n'avait pas rencontré le mot dans le premier des Mss. sur lequel il traduisait et où ce mot est omis, n'a rien naturellement qui puisse y correspondre dans sa traduction ; mais dans ses notes sur le chapitre VI (p. 385), il observe que les deux Mss. de Hodgson, qu'il a pu consulter depuis, lisent **syandanikā** devant **gūthodillam** ce qui ajoute (dit- il) à la précision de l'idée, car **syandanikā** peut répondre au sanscrit **syandinī** et signifier " salive ".

Aucune des trois traductions chinoises du Saddharma Puṇḍarīka n'apporte d'éclaircissement sur ce passage ; elles se contentent toutes trois d'écrire : " sans ordures ".

M. Grierson, à qui cette note a été commniquée en manuscrit, me signale que **syandanikā** survit encore en hindi comme mot tatsama, et qu'il est enregistré dans le Dictionnaire de le Nāgarī Prachāriṇī Sabhā, le Hindī Sabda Sāgara, pp. 37–36, avec le sens de " salive ", " petit ruisseau ", et " conduite d'ean, rigole (nahar)".

RÈMARQUES SUR LES VERBES DE MOUVEMENT·E INDO-EUROPÉEN

By J. Vendryes

Dans un article des Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique (t. XXIII, p. 264 et ss.), M. Meillet a attiré l'attention des linguistes sur la distinction du déterminé et de l'indéterminé dans les verbes de mouvement en grec. Un examen sommaire permet de reconnaitre la même distinction en celtique (cf. ·Rev. Celtique, t. XLVI, p. 215 et ss.). Il s'agit d'un fait général, qui devait en indo-européen tenir une place importante et dont il est possible de marquer dès maintenant certains caractères.

Un verbe indo-européen pouvait etre employé avec ou sans régime, c'est à dire que le proces pouvait etre considéré comme portant ou non sur un objet. En latin, **amo** signifie "j'aime", **amo patrem** "j'aime mon pere". Dans un cas, le proces est considéré en lui-meme, avec toutes les modalités qu'il comporte; dans l'autre, il s'étend à un objet qui peut meme devenir l'élément prépondérant, en exprimant la raison d'etre du proces. Considéré en lui-meme à l'exclusion de tout objet, le proces, confiné dans l'activité du sujet, prend aisément une valeur neutre ou meme réfléchie: φέρω τι veut dire en grec " je porte quelque chose", comme en latin **uerto id** "je tourne cela"; mais φέρω et **uerto**, tout court, veulent dire "je me porte" ou "je me tourne".

Cette distinction vaut pour la plupart des notions verbales. Elle est toujours possible en indo-européen, grâce à l'autonomie des mots, qui résulte des conditions menues de la morphologie (cf. Meillet-Vendryes, Traite, p. 519). Mais pour certaines notions la distinction est tellement importante qu'elle se traduit dans le vocabulaire par l'emploi de mots différents. Elle n'est pas seulement syntaxique, mais aussi lexicographique: à cote d'un verbe ayant la valeur déterminée, il existe alors un verbe tout différent qui est indéterminé. Ainsi en français pour la notion de "parler". Le verbe **dire** est déterminé: il ne se conçoit pas aujourd'hui sans l'addition d'un régime indiquant ce que "dit" le sujet. Au contraire le verbe **parler**, qui est indéterminé, ne

comporte d'autre régime que ceux qui portent sur les modalités variées de la parole. Le fait est ancien. En latin le verbe **dicere** est déterminé, comme le grec δείκνυμι et le gotique **teihan**; cela explique le sens particulier qu'ont pris ces verbes en grec et en germanique, celui de "dénoncer, accuser".

Les verbes déterminés sont relativement stables: le verbe latin **dicere** survit encore aujourd'hui dans toutes les langues romanes. Au contraire les verbes indéterminés sont éminemment instables; ils s'usent vite et se renouvellent fréquemment. Les diverses langues indo-européennes présentent pour l'idée de "parler" les verbes les plus variés, souvent d'origine inconnue; à ce point de vue même, les langues romanes ne s'accordent pas, et en en français populaire on remplace aujourd'hui le verbe **parler** par un bon nombre de synonymes (**causer, bavarder, jaspiner**, etc...). C'est que le verbe indéterminé comporte des nuances affectives dont le déterminé est dépourvu. Par l'emploi du déterminé, le procès se présente sous sa forme brute, dépouillé de circonstances accessoires. En employant l'indéterminé, le sujet parlant s'exprime lui-même, manifeste l'action de sa personnalité sur le procès que marque le verbe. Ainsi s'ajoutent à l'idée du procès des modalités variées qui entraînent un renouvellement fréquent de l'expression.

Un procédé dont usait l'indo-européen pour renouveler l'expression d'une notion - en dehors de l'emploi d'une racine différente - était l'élargissement de la racine. L'addition d'un élément phonétique à une racine donnée permettait de souligner certains caractères particuliers de la notion verbale. Peu importe l'origine de cet élément phonétique; il est permis de penser qu'il n'était parfois qu'un débris morphologique de dérivation ou de composition. Il ajoutait en tout cas à la racine une nuance de sens souvent compatible avec l'emploi indéterminé. Ainsi dans le cas de la racine marquant le "tremblement" d'où l' "effroi": *tre-m-, *tre-p- à côté de *ter- (skr. **tarala-**). On peut dire que la présence d'un élargissement est un indice que la racine était employée avec une valeur indéterminée.

Un autre indice de même ordre est dans 'existence d' une formation de causatif. Lorsqu'on impose un acte à quelqu'un, l'essentiel n'est pas que cet acte porte sur tel ou tel objet, mais bien que l'acte lui-même se produise. C'est bien pour que quelqu'un dise quelque chose qu'on le fait parler; mais l'important est qu'il parle, c'est à dire qu'on le décide à parler. Un aphrodisiaque fait aimer, comme l'opium fait dormir; la personnalité de l'être qu'on aime est secondaire.

Les observations qui précédent éclairent l'histoire et la formation de certains verbes de mouvement. C' est dans les verbes de mouvement qu'apparaît le plus nettement l'opposition du déterminé et de l'indéterminé, suivant qu'on considère le mouvement comme comportant un certain objet ou un certain but qui lui serve de terme (**agit boues, peto urbem**); soit qu'on se borne à la considération du mouvement en lui-même avec ses diverses modalités (**bene** ou **male agit, ambulat in horto.**

La présence d'un élargissement implique indétermination: à côté de la racine * ei- (cf. skr. v d. **sabhám eti**, lat. **eo Romam**), il existe une racine * eit-, qui est nettement indéterminée (cf. Bull. Soc. Lingu., XXV, p. 45), comme suffiraient à le prouver en latin **iter**, en osque **eituns**, en grec ἰταμός "hardi, impudent" et peut-être en germanique et en celtique le nom du "serment", got. **aiÞs**, irl. **oeth.**

Lorsqu'une racine de verbe de mouvement comprend un élargissement et sert en plus à former un causatif, on est doublement assuré que la valeur de ce verbe était indéterminée. C' est le cas des racines * **leudh-,** * **leit-,** * **sent-.**

La racine * **leudh-** sort d'une racine * **leu-,** attestée en grec dans ἐλήλυμεν et dans προσ-ήλυτος; un autre élargissement apparaît d'ailleurs dans la racine * **leugh-** des formes sanskrites **aruhat, arukṣat, rokṣyati, rūdhaḥ** "grandi, accru" et dans la racine * **leup-** du skr. **ropáyati** "il fait grandir, il soulève". C'est de * **leudh-** que sortent à la fois les formes gr. ἐλεύσομαι ἤλυθον

got. **liudan**, skr. **rodhati**; la formation nominale ʎɛúθɛρος en montre bien le caractère indéterminé. Et l'on a le causatif correspondant dans l'irlandais **luadim** "je mets en mouvement, je lance", particulièrement employé au figuré **luadim molad** "je développe, je fais grandir la louange".

Dans les racines *leit- et *sent- l'élargissement est moins apparent, mais elles ont toutes deux fourni des causatifs: le germanique a v. h. a. **leiten** v. isl. **leida** en face de got. **leiþan** v. h. a. **lidan**, comme got. **sandjan** en face de **sinþan**. Le sens figuré de v. h. a. **lidan** "éprouver, souffrir" s'explique par la valeur indéterminée du verbe. On observe aussi un sens figuré dans le dérivé latin de la racine *sent-, à savoir **sentiō**.

Deux autres racines marquant un mouvement se présentent avec des élargissements qui en précisent la valeur: c'est d'une part *ser-, d'autre part *drā-. La première, bien attestée par le sanskrit **sisarti** et **sarati** a fourni sous la forme * serp- le sanskrit **sarpati** "il rampe" (lat. **serpo**) mais aussi le grec ἕρπω qui signifie seulement "je vais". La spécialisation au sens de "ramper" s'accorde bien avec la présence d'un élargissement. Sous la forme * serg- la même racine a donné au sanskrit le verbe **sarjati**, **srjati**. La seconde, attestée dans le grec ἔδραν et le sanskrit **drāti** est pourvue d'-élargissements vari-és dans skr. **dramati**, gr. δρόμος ou dans le skr. **drávati**. Un autre élargissement apparaît dans le causatif sanskrit **drāpayati**, qui suppose une racine de forme * drāp-, dont l'antiquité est attestée par le grec δραπέτης "déserteur". Ce fait pourrait suggérer une explication du suffixe de causatif sanskrit -**payati**, dont l'origine est énigmatique (cf. Sutterlin, I. F. XIX, 536; Thumb Handb. d. altind., I, 403; Brugmann, Grdr., 2ᵉ éd., II, 3, p. 256; et P. Persson Beitr. z. idg. Wortfschg., II, 592). On sait que le suffixe de causatif se présente régulièrement sous la forme -**payati** dans les racines qui se terminent par une voyelle: **dádhāti** "il pose", **dhāpayati** "il fait poser "; **snāti** "il se baigne", **snāpáyati** "il fait baigner, il plonge quelqu'un dans l'eau" etc., et dans un

verbe de mouvement, yắti "il va" (déterminé; cf. yắd ājím yắti
"quand il va au combat", R. V. VIII, 45, 7), yāpắyati "il fait
aller".

Il est évident que le **p** joue ici un rôle de phonème de
liaisonp ermettant l'addition d'un suffixe commençant par une
voyelle à une racine elle-même de terminaison vocalique. C'est
un procédé répandu dans la morphologie de bien des langues; la
formation du parfait grec en -χα présente un cas analogue. Il
est permis de penser que ce **p** est un ancien élargissement, qui
aurait été originellement à sa place dans les verbes de mouvement
pour le motif qui vient d'être indiqué.

On a peut-être une confirmation de cette hypothèse dans le
fait suivant. En plus des racines terminées par une voyelle,
le suffixe **-payati** apparait au causatif dans la racine **ar-** de
íyarti, arpắyati "il met en mouvement". Or, le **p** de **arpắyati**
peut passer pour un élargissement, car la racine en présente un
autre. À côté de **rṇóti** gr. ὄρνυμι on a en effet **ṛghāyati**
"il s'élance, il s'agite" (intensif et noncausatif). Ce serait des
causatifs de verbes de mouvement comme **arpắyati, drāpéyati,**
yāpắyati, qu'aurait été tiré le suffixe **-payati** commodiment
utilisé ensuite dans les racines a terminaison vocalique.

LE PRÉSENT DU VERBE "ETRE" EN TSIGANE

By Jules Bloch

Le conjugaison normale du présent des verbes tsiganes est claire dans l'ensemble. En voici le paradigme (d'après Sampson, Dial. of the Gypsies of Wales. §385 sq.; Macalister, Language of the Nawar or Zutt, §87):

en Europe:	en Syrie:
kamav "j'aime";	nanam "j'apporte"
kames	nanêk, nanay-
kamel	nanar
kamas	nanan
kamen	nanas
kamen	nanand

Au contraire, dans le verbe "être", non seulement les radicaux, mais les désinences diffèrent de l'Asie à l'Europe, et même dans les diverses parties de l'Europe (Miklosich, Ueber die Mundarten_____,XI, p. 49; Sampson, §432; Macalister, §116); voici les types principaux:

Syrie:	Roumanie:	Hongrie:
aštōm (i)	som	som
aštūr (i)	san	sal
ašti, ašta	si	si
aštên	sam	sam
aštês	san	san
ašte	si	si:

Au roumain se rattachent le grec (avec i- initial isom etc.), le russe et le gallois; au hongrois, le transylvain, le finnois et l'allemand.

L'explication de ces formes, telle qu'elle a été proposée par Sampson, n'est pas exempte d'obscurité et d'arbitraire. En premier lieu, il l'a bien vu, isom ne peut dériver directement de skr. asmi, la conservation de la sifflante s'y oppose (cf. ame "nous"). Faut-il donc poser un verbe du type asāmi? Mais alors on attend les désinences du verbe normal; or som ne rappelle aucunement kamav. De plus les diverses désinences du 2e singulier, en particulier de hongrois sal, all. hal, restent inexpliquées; in-

expliquée enfin l'opposition des voyelles au singulier et au pluriel, opposition nette en nuri, reconnaissable partiellement en européen.

Puisque les désinences des 2es personnes sont les plus compliquées — et Sampson renonce même à expliquer nuri **ăštūr**— il convient de les examiner d'abord; peut-etre fourniront-elles un résultat susceptible d'extension aux autres désinences.

Comme Sampson l'a reconnu, la forme de 2e personne commune au singulier et au pluriel, roumain **san**, grec isăn, est de par son origine une 3e personne du pluriel: de même dans le verbe normal des dialectes européens, **kamen** 3e pl. a été étendu à la 2e pl. Il en résulte que la 3e pluriel actuelle **si**, grec **isi** est récente, et provient du singulier; il en sera question plus loin.

Le hongrois distingue 2 sg. **sal** de 2 pl. **sın**; **san** étant, comme nous venons de voir, une 3e personne ancienne, il est facile de reconnaître dans **sal** l'ancienne 2e du pluriel passée au singulier, comme **san** a fait dans le groupe roumain: -**l**- représente ici la désinence sanskrite - **tha**, cf. **sovel** < **ŝapatha**; on sait d'autre part que le représentant nuri de - **th** - est - **s** -: on a donc le droit de comparer directement, du moins pour la désinence, 2 pl. **ăštēs**.

Reste à expliquer nuri **ăštûr**, — en fait la seule forme qui soit réellement de deuxième personne du singulier, et dont l'isolement permet d'inférer l'ancienneté. Il ne peut être question ici de rappeler skr. **asi**, puisque dans ce cas le verbe "**être**" et le verbe normal devraient présenter la meme désinence: or **nanêk**, obscur du reste, et **nanay** - ne rappèllent aucunement **ăštûr**. Mais la 3e personne du verbe normal en - **ar**, issue de skr. -**ati**, nous avertit que - **r** final de **ăštûr** peut représenter un -**t**- intervocalique. Des lors il apparaît que cette désinence doit renfermer une forme du pronom (**a)tu** "toi", qui n'a pas été reconnue (¹), parce que les formes pronominales enclitiques

(¹) Au moment où j'écrivais ceci, j'oubliais - et j'avais tort d'oublier - que M. Turner avait deviné l'origine de la forme (BSOS, V, p. 47). Je me félicite de la rencontre.

annexées aux verbes font normalement fonction de régime, v. Macalister, § 61: or - m - et - r peuvent représenter aussi bien ama et atu que *me et * te.

Ceci emporte une conséquence importante qu'il faut souligner avant d'aller plus loin. Si nuri -r est un pronom enclitique sujet, le mot sur lequel il s'appuie doit être, comme M. Macalister l'avait entrevu, un participe. Dès lors un trait caractéristique du nuri s'explique immediatement: c'est l'opposition entre les voyelles désinentielles au singulier et au pluriel, qui représentent les désinences nominales, sing. -ō, pl. -e.

La troisième personne du pluriel, accommodée à la forme du verbe normal dans le dialecte noté par Pott (steindi comme awendi "ils viennent"), est chez Macalister la forme nominale sans verbe: ceci est conforme à la règle constante en indo-européen et en indo-aryen.

La contradiction entre 3 sg. -a et-ô- de aštôm aštûr doit s'expliquer par la position: -a est la désinence normale des noms élargis; kajja "non-tsigane" paraît s'opposer à européen gajo, comme hindi ghoṛā "cheval" à gujarati ghoṛo; mais lep luriel, qui. est semblable (nuri kajje, eur. gaje) tandis que h. ghoṛe, guj. ghoṛā different, montre que l'opposition n'est pas de meme sorte Il doit s'agir d'une variation intérieure au nuri: -ō- est sans doute le traitement en position protégée; c'est ainsi qu'au prétérit on a nanda kajjan "il amena les gens", mais nandôs-san "il les amena", et bien entendu nandôm "j'ai amené" (Macalister. §92-93).

Une difficulté plus sérieuse reside dans la forme du thème: ašta ne peut etre un participe normal. Le participe normal se termine en nuri par -r-, en Europe par -l-, issus de skr. -(1)ta-; ex. nuri kèra, eur. xalô (khādita); n. gara, eur. gilo (gata); -t- se rencontre dans les groupes: n. sita, eur. sutô (supta); n. vèšt- doublet de vèš, part. eur. beštô (upaviṣṭa-). Or as- n'a

pas de participe ancien (**hrŏmi** "j'ai été" semble contenir **bhŏta-**, cf. **ôŏzŏ** "je suis, serai"); d'autre part, si pkr. **aooh-**, tsig. eur. **ao-** a bien laissé une trace dans l'optatif nuri **hŏcam** (sur ce point voir J. Gypsy Lore Soc., XI. p. 32), il n'y vit pas de façon indépendante, et du reste ce verbe non plus n'a pas de participe ancien; on attendrait une forme secondaire, comparable à europ **acilŏ**. Avons-nous dans **a-ŝt-a** une forme syncopée de **sth(i)ta-**, comparable (mais à l'inverse) à celle [**(da) tta-**] contenue dans **tŏmi** "j'ai donné"? Dans ce cas **a-ŝt-a** serait à **ŝtir-ar** "il se lève" (cf. skr. **uttiṣṭhati** ou pkr. **citthai?**) comme **a-tr-a** "il fut, parut" où **sthita-est** conservé, à **tir -** "mettre", cf. encore **ta · taw** "mettre, placer (**sthāp-**), **tan** "lit", eur. **than** "place, maison".

Du reste la difficulté est exactement la meme pour eur. **sŏ**; or il semble qu'on puisse poser **so : aŝtâ = si : aŝti**. Les termes de la correspondance ne sont pas limpides, mais l'existence meme d'une corrélation est rassurante, et nous pouvons conclure que **aŝt-** et éventuellement **s-**, quelle qu'en soit la formation, se comportent comme des themes de participe.

    *   *   *   *   *   *

Il doit en effet y avoir un participe également à la base du verbe "etre" européen. Une indication s'en trouve déjà dans le fait qu'il a conservé dans l'ancienne 2 pl. **sal** la désinence skr. **-tha** disparue dans les verbes normaux; j'ai déjà indiqué (J. Gypsy Lore Soc., VII, p. 113) que la cause de cette disparition avait dû etre la rencontre de -l- issu de **-th-** avec -l- issu de **-t-**, donc la double valeur de 3e sg. et de 2e pl. d'une forme comme **kamel**; si dans le verbe "être" la 3e sg. était une forme nominale pure, l'amphibologie n'existait pas et 2e pl. **sal** pouvait subsister.

En second lieu, si **sal** et **san** sont des formes primitivement plurielles, on retrouve dans l'opposition de 1 sg. **som** d'une part, et de l'autre pl. 1 **sam**, 2 **sal**, 3 **san** une opposition vocalique comparable à celle du nuri.

Il y a ici une nouvelle difficulté qu'il faut signaler, mais qui ne paraît pas insurmontable: 1 sg. **so-m** donne la forme attendue,

mais ça n'est pas le pluriel normal de cette forme: le pluriel en
-a des noms élargis en -o n'est pas inconnu de l'indo-aryen, et se
trouve p. ex. en sindhi, mais il ést exclusif du pluriel en -e (sauf
archaïsme comme le relatif je, pluriel de jo). En tsigane
d'Europe, -a est la désinence plurielle des noms non élargis: phral
"frère", pl. phrala. On aurait donc ici, à côté de so, le pluriel
d'un singulier s-. Cette forme étonne au premier abord; mais
elle doit sans doute se ranger avec les participes dont j'ai montré
ailleurs (Bull. Soc. Ling. XXXIII p. 61 sqq.) l'abondance dans
les parlers du Nord-Ouest de l'Inde, et qui ont été créés par utilisa-
tion d'un ancien ás provenant de skr. asit De cette forme le
tsigane d'Europe a par ailleurs tiré une particule indéclinable
servant à former le prétérit (ib'd p. 59 sq); c'est sans doute la
même qu'on retrouve dans le prétérit composé du nuri sandō-s-
cité plus haut, où l'on ne voit pas pourquoi s- serait un pronom
oblique.

Qu'en ts'gane d'Europe ce participe ait pris le sens présent,
n'est pas pour étonner; cf. kśm. chu, torwali, maiyâ thu etc.
(ibid. 62 sq)

Donc ni la forme ni le sens ne s'opposent à ce qu'on voie
dans l'opposition so-: sa- l'opposition de formes nominales du singu-
lier et du pluriel.

Cette interprétation permet d'abord d'écarter une objection
possible à l'interprétation ci-dessus proposée de sal: cette forme
n'est attestée que comme appartenant au singulier; ne pourrait-
on y chercher le pronom tu, reconnu dans la 2e sg. du nuri?
Cette explication, admissible en ce qui concerne la consonne (cf.
3 sg.-el du skr. -ati,), ne rendrait pas compte de l'identité de la
voyelle avec celle des formes plurielles.

A vrai dire si les formes sont claires, leur histoire se devine
mal. Pourquoi la 2e sg. ancienne a-t-elle disparu au profit de la
2e pl. sal (ou san, elle-meme ancienne 3e pl.)? A-t-il existé à une
époque comparativement récente une forme *so-l (so+tu) éliminée

au profit de **sal** presque homonyme ? ou une forme **so-s** (**so+asi**) qui genait comme d'aspect prétérit ? La syntaxe en tout cas n'y poussait pas : le tsigane d'Europe distingue encore bien **tu** "toi" de **tume** "vous", pluriel réel, comme l'asiatique distingue **atu** de **atme**.

Quoiqu'il en soit, il semble qu'à la deuxième personne le parti-cipe s'accompagne d'une désinence verbale au pluriel, et, en Asie au moins, pronominale au singulier. Les premières personnes contiennent-elles des pronoms ou des désinences verbales ?

Le singulier est ambigu : -**m** peut s'expliquer par **me** ou par **asmi**. La formation avec **asmi** se trouve ailleurs : le kaśmiri a masc. **chu-s**, fém. **chŏ-s** "je suis", en regard de **gupa** "je cache"; dans cette langue "moi" se dit **boh**, oblique **me**; donc-**s** ne peut étre que **asmi**, ce qui est d'accord avec la phonétique locale, cf. **asi** <skr. **asme**. C'est aussi le cas pour le shina (**ma**) **hanus**, f. **hanis** "(je) suis", en regard de **hanu, hani** "il, elle est"; cf. le pluriel **hane s** "nous sommes" où -**s** provient de skr. **smah** d'après l'explication que je dois à M. Turner. Avec le meme aspect phonétique qu'en tsigane, il semble qu'on reconnaisse **asmi** dans le dialecte pašai de Laurowan (Morgenstierne, Report.........p. 93), **hang-âm** "je bats", en regard de **hangâ** "il bat", **hang-I-âm** "je te bats", cf. **hanam-I** "je te battrai". Quant à bengali -**âm** du prétérit, S. K. Chatterji, Origin and dev.__, p. 977, n'a pu y apporter la clarté.

Si l'hypothèse indiquée plus haut d'un ***sos** 2 sg. perdu était admise, on choisirait pour la 1e sg. **so+pkr. ahmi**; mais c'est un faible appui qu'une hypothèse pour choisir entre deux hypôthèses.

Le pluriel européen nous laisse dans le meme embarras : **sa-m** peut contenir également bien pkr. **mha** ou **amhe**; peut-être l'absence de trace de voyelle finale serait-elle une indication contre le pronom. Le nuri n'est d'aucun secours, d'autant que la désinence

du verbe "être" est ici celle du verbe normal: ce qui permet en
tout cas d'écarter l'idée qu'on aurait dans aĩtên affaire à skr
naḥ; du reste naḥ n'est pas un nominatif; et enfin le nuri pas
plus que le tsigane dans l'ensemble n'ont gardé de trace de cette
forme (M. Morgenstierne croit la reconnaître dans l'unique
dialecte pashai de Nilam, Report—, p. 91).

A le 3e personne, nous avons vu que le nuri a des formes
nominales pures. Le tsigane d'Europe si provient peut-être de
asti comme l'enseigne Ṣampson; à vrai dire la présence au Suket
(G. Bailey, Ling. Studies——p. 208) de asi indéclinable à côté
de ni athi indéclinable permet d'entrevoir que la question n'est
pas simple. On peut rappeler qu'au Punjab sī primitivement
réservé au prétérit fém. sing. s'est, sous l'influence de i "est"
commun aux deux genres, étandu au masculin, et meme au
pluriel, ainsi que m'en informe M. Siddheswar Varma. En
tout cas le passage du singulier au pluriel, et en ce qui con-
cerne all. hin le passage inverse, ne font pas difficulté (sur ces
points, indications de M. Woolner, J. G. L. S.' III p. 181, 183).

Il faut dire un mot de sen coexistant avec san en finnois, et
unique en gallois. Faut-il y voir la continuation de santi (cf. eur.
ivend<skr. hemantı)? Possible à la rigueur, un tel archaïsme
étonne dans ces dialectes. Il paraît plus sûr d'y voir une adapta-
tion de san au verbe normal, du type kamen.

<p style="text-align:center">*   *   *   *   *</p>

Tout n'est donc pas clair dans le verbe "être" du tsigane.
Mais il semble que le nuri fournisse la clef des principales diffi-
cultés; en laissant apparaître un participe à la base du para-
digme. La meme formation est, comme on a vu, fréquente dans
l' Indoukouch, où le participe se rencontre même à l'état nu, et
avec le sens présent, contrairement à l'usage de l'Inde propre. Ce
qui est curieux, c'est le mélange des désinences pronominales et
verbales, sûr aux deuxièmes personnes en Asie, possible ailleurs,

Le schème est celui-ci:

	Europe	Asie
3 sg.	astif	Participe seul
3 pl.	(Participe+désinence du verbe normal)	Participe seul
2 sg.	(perdue)	Participe+tu
2 pl.	Participe+ -tha	Participe+ -tha
1 sg.	Participe+ahmi plutôt que me?	Participe+ahmi ou me
1 pl.	Participe+mha plutôt que ahme	Participe+ désinence du verbe normal

On peut se demander si ce système composite n'est pas issu d'un état comparable à celui du kaśmiri qui a à la 1e sg. asmi affixé, et à la 2e pl. -tha: chiwa, f. chewa comme gupiw "vous cachez"; la 2e sing. aussi a été adaptée au verbe normal: chukh comme gupakh). Dans ce cas il est concevable que l'ambiguïté de -m à la 1e personne du singulier ait pu servir de point de départ à l'affixation de formes pronominales à la 1e du pluriel et à la 2e du singulier.

SUR LES NOMS INDO-EUROPÉENS DU "LAIT"
By A. Meillet

L'existence d'un nom ancien, établi par des concordances entre plusieurs langues distinctes, garantit le fait qu'une notion était connue des hommes qui parlaient l' "indo-européen" commun; en revanche l'absence d'un nom commun à plusieurs langues n'est, bien entendu, pas une raison suffisante de douter qu'une notion ait été nettement dégagée dans le monde indo-européen. Les noms du "lait" illustrent ce principe.

Dans une société où le bétail était la principale richesse, le lait était utilisé, donc nommé (v. l'article **Milch** du Reallexikon de Schrader-Nehring). Mais les noms varient d'une langue à l'autre, et, en général, ils n'ont pas cette transparence qui caractérise les noms présentant des innovations dues à des interdictions de vocabulaire. Ils rappellent plutôt ces noms de parties du corps qui diffèrent d'une langue indo-européenne à l'autre même quand ils présentent entre eux des ressemblances et qu'on n'arrive pas à ramener a une forme originelle commune. Il s'agit du vocabulaire technique et familier qui n'avait pas d'unité en indo-européen; seuls étaient communs à l'ensemble du monde indo-européen les termes qui désignaient les actes principaux de la vie, les principales institutions sociales comme la parenté, les grands animaux domestiques. On ne connaît, pour l'indo-européen commun, qu'un seul nom d'oiseau, celui de l' "oie"; mais s'agit d'une volaille, c'est à dire d'une chose qui intéressait proprement les femmes; qu'on se reporte au songe de Pénélope dans l'Odyssée I. 535 et suiv. Et le nom se dénonce par sa vocalisation comme un terme populaire: les langues qui révèlent le timbre de la voyelle s'accordent à présenter l' a, qui est, on le sait, l'une des caractéristiques du vocabulaire populaire en indo-européen: χανά en grec, anser en latin. Si le lait n'a pas de nom indo-européen commun, c'est que c'est un produit qui relève des techniques féminines et n'intéresse pas proprement les chefs.

La forme grecque du nom du lait, γάλα, γάλακτος est, par elle-même, insolite au point de vue indo-européen. Le caractere

"populàire" du mot est indiqué par ceci qu'on trouve la consonne géminée intérieure, si rarement attestée en grec, au moins dans une forme d'un glossaire: **glakkòn. galathēnòn.** Hes., dans un dérivé. Et l'on observe des flottements entre **k** et **g**; Homère a **glágos** et **periglagéas** (acc. plur.) tandis que le crétois a **klagos**; le vocalisme est aussi flottant: Homére a **glaktophágos** et on lit chez Hesy-chius **glakkônes mestaì gálaktos** (v. Boisacq, Dict etym. de la l. **gr.,** p. 1102, et la biblio-graphie citée).

Le latin **lac, lactis** ne se laisse rapprocher d'une forme grecque **glakt-** qu'à la rigueur, à cause de l'absence de la gutturale initiale. Et le mot grec n'a aucun correspondant ailleurs.

Le mot grec et le mot latin, qui ont entre eux une grande ressemblance, s'accordent du reste à présenter le vocalisme "populaire" **a.**

Dans une autre region dialectale de l'indo-européen, on ob-serve une concordance limitee à deux langues: le mot du type archaique ved. **dádhi, dadhnáḥ** désigne le "lait aigre"; la langue religieuse en a tiré parti, et on trouve **dadh(i)y āśiraḥ sómāsaḥ** les **somas** mélangés de lait (aigre). Or, en vieux prussien, le vocabulaire d'Elbing a le neutre **dadan** comme nom du "lait", et **rustan dadan** "sauermilch" (lait aigre.) Les langues baltiques autres que le vieux prussien et les langues slaves ignorent le mot. On a l'impression qu'il y a ici un nom a redoublement; or, dans les noms indo-europeens, le redoublement est une des caractéristiques du type "populaire". Sur le timbre de la voyelle de la syllabe initiale, on ne peut rien dire, puisque l' **a** baltique comme l' **a** védique peut reposer sur **o** aussi bien que sur **a**; le vocalisme "populaire" **a** n'est pas exclu.

Un autre groupe de noms du "lait" se trouve à la fois en indo-iranien et en baltique, mais sous des formes différentes dans les deux familles de langues. Le sanskrit a **páyaḥ, payasaḥ, à** quoi l' Avesta récent répond par **payō**; c'est le nom du "lait" en tant que liquide nourricier. Mais l'Avesta a aussi une autre

formation, **paᵲma,** et c'est au dérivé **paᵲmavaiti** que répond pour
le sens véd. **páyasvaíí.** Une chienne qui allaite est dite dans,
l'Avesta **paᵲmaini.** Le letto-lituanien a un mot parent, mais qui
ne concorde ni avec l'un ni avec l'autre des deux mots cités: lit.
piᵲnas lette **piᵲns.** Le lituanien laisse, comme l'indo-iranien,
apercevoir que tous ces mots appartiennent à une racine verbale:
en lituanien **papìjusi kárvė** se dit d'une vac e qui ne retient pas
son lait, et **py'dyti** "faire donner du lait" (v. A. Walde-Pokorny,
Vergl. **Wört** d. indog Sprachen, II, p. 73 et suiv.). M. H. Pedersen,
dans Grammatical Miscellany Jespersen. p. 65, a écarté avec
raison le rapprochement qui a été proposé avec v. angl. **fæmne**
"jeune femme".

Le sanscrit a un autre mot, **kṣīrám** "lait" (khir dans
l'Inde actuelle), qui n'a de correspondants connus qu'en iranien:
persan **šīr** etc.

Le mot skr. **mástu,** qui distingue la creme montée sur le lait
aigre, a des correspondants en iranien, notamment persan **māst**
"lait aigre", à côté du verbe **māsīdan** "cailler". On rapproche
souvent arm. **macanim** "je me colle" et "je me coagule"; mais
c'est v. sl. **mazati** "enduire" et gr. **mágis** 'pâte petrie' que la pho-
nétique et aussi le sens de 'se coller' autorisent à rapprocher du
mot arménien. Le mot indo-iranien est donc isolé.

Tous les substantifs cités jusqu'ici sont neutres, parce que le
lait était en général envisagé comme un produit. Mais on pouvait
aussi considérer le lait comme actif, et en effet l'Avesta oppose
xšvīs (nominatif), designant le "lait" liquide, à **āzuitiš** qui désigne
ce qui est solide; les gāthā ont l'accusatif **xšvīdəm**

On s'explique ainsi la différence entre le nom germanique du
"lait', got. **miluks,** etc., qui est féminin, et le nom v. sl. **mlěko**
(russe **molokó** etc.), qui est neutre. Les deux mots ne
concordent pas dans le détail; car le mot germanique repose
sur un radical **meleg,** et le mot slave sur un radical **melek.**
La différence rappelle celle entre **glag-** et **glak-**—en grec, Mais
on peut aussi se demander si le mot germanique n'a pas subi

l'influence de la racine signifiant "traire", v. angl. **meloan**, etc. La forme du mot slave exclut l'hypothèse d'un emprunt au germanique; et elle exclut également tout rapport d'origine avec la racine signifiant "traire" qui, en slave, est de la forme **melz-; du** reste, même en germanique, v. angl **meoluc** 'lait', n'est pas conciliable avec **meloan** 'traire'. Mais une 'étymologie populaire' est toujours possible, surtout dans un mot tel que le nom du 'lait'.

Il n'est pas surprenant que la racine signifiant 'traire'. ait agi sur le nom du "lait". Car le celtique en a tiré le nom même du 'lait,' irl. **mlicht (blicht)**, gall. **blith**. Les noms tokhariens, A **malke**, B **malkwer** paraissent aussi appartenir à la racine **·melg-**.

Dans l'Atharvaveda, x, 10, 30-31, la traite de la vache', **dugdhám vásāyāḥ**, s'oppose au nom propre du 'lait' **ḥáyaḥ**; et, par la suite, **dugdham** 'ce qui a été trait' est devenu un nom courant du 'lait', si bien que **dūdh** est demeuré dans l' Inde actuelle au sens de 'lait frais'.

Le genre neutre de la plupart des noms qu'on vient de voir n'est pas inhérent à ces substantifs eux-mêmes, mais provient de la manière dont les choses étaient conçues. Car les mêmes substantifs, s'ils designent des laitances (de poissons), sont du genre animé (féminin) : **lactés** en latin, **molóki** en russe.

Les mots déjà indiqués n'épuisent pas, tant s'en faut, la terminologie du 'lait'. On s'est abstenu de citer ici les mots isolés comme arm. **kat'n** (gen. **kat'in**) ou alb. **dhate** (nom du lait aigre).

Si les noms du 'lait' sont variés, et parfois dans une même langue: le sanskrit ayant à la fois, dès le début, **payaḥ**, **dádh** et **kṣīram**, l' Avesta ayant à la fois **payō**, **paēma**, **xšvis** (et de plus, une fois, on lit **xšiptavaiti** à côté de **pamavati**, et ce **xšipta** n'est pas isolé en iranien, voir le Wörterbuch de Bartholomae) c'est que le lait est envisagé d'une manière toute matérielle, comme une chose qu'on considère de manières diverses suivant l'état où il se présente et suivant les usages qu'on en fait,

On aperçoit ici quelque chose du vocabulaire technique indo-européen, et d'une technique féminine, chose exceptionnelle. Le vocabulaire indo-européen ne se bornait naturellement pas aux mots de la langue des chefs que présente en évidence la comparaison des langues indo-européennes et sur laquelle est fondée la grammaire comparée des langues indo-européennes.

A NOTE ON THE HATHIGUMPHA INSCRIPTION OF KHARAVELA

By L. D. Barnett

In his very able and for the most part convincing paper on "Puṣyamitra and the Śunga Empire" in the Indian Historical Quarterly, vol. V. pts. 3 4, Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda adds to our many obligations to him by giving the true reading of the crucial passage in the Hathigumpha inscription which is com monly but wrongly supposed to contain a date. The actual letters of l. 16, according to the irrefutable evidence of the cast in the Indian Museum, are as follows: panatariya...... [m ? u ? r ?] iyakāle v o ch i n e c a c o y a ṭh i a g a s a t i k aṃ t a r i y aṃ u p ā- d a y a t i*.

With his ingenious interpretation of these letters I regret that I cannot agree, as it would require the change of **vochine** to **vochinaṃ** and ignores the patent parallelism of the words **pana-tariya and satikaṃtariyaṃ**, and I therefore venture to put forward with considerable diffidence a new version of the passage.

The Prakrit words of the passage may be naturally con-verted into Sanskrit and translated thus:—**pañcāntarīya......Mauryakāle (?) ɣyavacchinne ca catuḥṣaṭyagraṃ saptikān-tarīyam** [scil. **kālam**] **utpadayati**, "and when the Mauryan (?) time-reckoning...... which consisted of lustres (**antara**) of five [years] each, had broken down, he founds [a new time-reckoning] consisting of lustres of seven years each and mounting up to the sixty-fourth year". With such a use of **antara** in the sense of successive periods of time compare e. g. **Manvantara.**

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*The Rai Bahadur with extreme kindness has sent me a photograph of the passage as it is preserved on the cast, which shows no trace of the chisel-mark where Bhagvanlal Indraji read mu, and only an uncertain trace of an r.

It is well known that in early time a lustre or **yuga** of five solar years of 366 days each, amounting in all to 1830 days, was in use, and that subsequently 12 **yugas** of five years each were combined to make up the cycle of Bṛhaspati (Jupiter) or **Bārhaspatya samvatsara-cakra,** which comprises 60 years and thus forms a period combining the five-year solar **yugas** with the twelve-yearly cycles in which Jupiter completes his sidereal revolution. It is this system of five-year **yugas,** I believe, to which Khāravela here refers when he speaks of "the Mauryan(?) time-reckoning consisting of lustres of five [years] each". The system apparently had broken down and ceased to work in Kaliṅga, in other words, astronomical calculations were unable to harmonise the solar with the lunar year; and to reform the calendar, it would seem, Khāravela introduced a new cycle of 64 years consisting of 9 **yugas** of 7 years each (*viz.* 1-7, 8-14, 15-21, 22-28, 29-35, 36-42, 43-49, 50-56, 57-63) with a concluding 64th year. On what astronomical principles this attempt at calendarial reform was based we cannot tell. Apparently it aimed at harmonising somehow the cycle of Bṛhaspati with the solar year. It is worth nothing that, as according to the Sūryasiddhānta a year of the cycle of Bṛhaspati is about 4·232 days less than a solar year, this deficiency in seven years would amount to 29·624 days, nearly agreeing with the length of the synodic month of $29\frac{1}{2}$ days, and this deficiency could then be made good by intercalation of an **adhika** month.

For the odd 64th year the following explanation may be suggested. If, as is quite possible, the cycle started from a day other than the first of the calendarial year, say the day of Khāravela's coronation, a year reckoned from this starting-point would run over into the next calendar year; hence after the completion of the 63rd year of the cycle there would remain a certain space of time, less than a calendar year, between the end of the 63rd year of the cycle and the termination of the calendar year in which that end fell. For instance, suppose the calendar

began the year with Caitra, and that the cycle of Khāravela started on the first day of Kārttika; then the 63rd year would end on the last day of Āśvina. after which there would be a period of 5 months (Kārttika to Phālguna) which would be reckoned as the 64th year, after which the following 7 months (from the first of Caitra to the end of Āśvina) wou'd be counted as constituting the first year of a new cycle. Thus the last year and the following first year would in reality comprise only one true year, and the cycle would consist altogether of not more than 63 real years. Such a practice is not unknown: a parallel may be quoted from the Aṅka or "Onko" system of Orissa (which, it should be observed, was the home of Khāravela), according to which "when a prince dies in the middle of an Oṅko year, his successor's 1st Oṅko which commences on his accession to the throne, does not run its full term of a year, but ends on the 11th day of Bhādrapada-śuddha following; consequently the last regnal year of the one and the first of the other together occupy only one year, and one year is dropped in effect" (Sewell and Dīkshit, The Indian Calendar, p. 38).

As the first letter of the word **muriya** in the inscription is quite uncertain, one is tempted to suggest that after all the reading **muriya** may be erroneous, and should be corrected to **suriya**: the system of five-year lustres is a solar one. The Rai Bahadur further tells us that before **muriya** are traces of four or five letters which are now "totally defaced". These were read by Bhagvanlal Indraji as **saṭhivasasate raja-**, and by Mr. Jayaswal as **satasahasehi**. Very little reliance can be placed upon either of these decipherments: but as the inscription was probably in better condition when first found by Bhagvanlal, his reading of the first four letters, **saṭhivasa**, may possibly be right, and if so, it will support my interpretation. For it means that the cycle superseded or amended by Khāravela was the cycle of 60 years, i. e. of 12 lustres of 5 years each, and may we

conjecturally restore the text to **panatariya-saṭhivaṣage**, ... in Sanskrit **pañcāntarīya-ṣaṣṭi-varṣāgre** . . . . . .

A slight difficulty in the way of accepting 'the above suggestions arises from the fact that **pañca** in the sense of **pañcakam** or **pañcikā**, a group of five, is somewhat unusual; but **pañcāntaram** in the 'meaning of 'an interval of five [years]' may be justified by compounds like **páñcahotā** (RV. V. xl. 1). It may also be remarked that **saptikā** in place of the common **saptakam** is without authority; but it is fully justified by the analogy of **pañcikā**.

SOME SANSKRIT AND PALI NOTES

By Jarl Charpentier

1. Skt. avadhvaṃsa.

In AV. V, 22. 3 we read the following words: yaḥ paruṣaḥ pāruṣeyo 'vadhvaṃsa ivārunaḥ, takmānaṃ viśvadhāviryā-dhārāñcam para suvā, where apparently takman, the demon of fever[1], is spoken of as being "red as avadhvaṃsa." To this word is ascribed in the dictionaries the sense of "sprinkling, powdering" (Hc. an. IV, 324; Med. p. H 47); and Bœhthlingk - Roth, quoting the AV.-passage, translate the word with "dust" or "flour".

Professor Lüders some years ago[2] dealt with this verse in the Atharva-Veda and translated the words in question "rot wie Streupulver", at the same time suggesting that avadhvaṃsa should really mean the same as as manaḥślā, red arsenic, which like the yellow one (haritāla) seems to have been frequently used, already at an early time, for paint and powder, for making tilakas etc. Although such a suggestion is altogether justified it seems that we can perhaps, with the aid of a fairly late source, fix beyond doubt the real sense of avadhvaṃsa. For, we find in Hemacandra's Deśināmamālā, 1,168 the following words: ohaṃso candanaṃ candanagharṣaṇaśilā ceti dvyarthaḥ. The word ohaṃsa- consequently means "sandal" and "a stone for rubbing sandal into powder". In the sense of "sandal" it is undoubtedly a tadbhava from avadhvaṃsa- and thus proves that this word in the AV.-passage must mean "red sandal". Again in the sense of "rubbing stone" it is apparently identic with ohariso........candana-gharṣana-

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(1) He is said to make men and all beings " green " or "yellowish green" (harita, AV. V, 22, 2; VI, 20, 3; cf. I, 25, 2, 3). In VI, 20, 3 he is called aruṇa "red" and babhru "tawny" etc.

(2) Cf. Aupsätze... Ernst Kuhn gevidmet (1916), p. 321 sq.

sīlā in the Desīnāmamālā 1,169 and must be derived from Skt. ***avagharṣa.**[1]

Takman, the fever demon, is red in colour like red sandal. For, red is the colour of blood, of death, of fear; it is frequently the colour of evil spirits but also the one with which you scare them off, with which you turn off the evil eye and other malign influences.[2]

2. P. asimālā.

The Culladhammapālajātaka (358) is one of the most insipid and unattractive of all the texts belonging to the great collection of Jātakas and bears a certain similarity to the often rather unsavoury tales of the various arts of self-sacrifice practised by the Bodhisattva. It tells us how King Mahāpratāpa of Benares got angry with his seven months old son (the Bodhisattva) because his mother paid too much heed to him, and decided to have him killed. He thus called for the chief executioner (coraghātaka)[3] and ordered him to fetch the child and successively to slash off its hands, feet and head.[4] At last even the mangling of the lifeless

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(1) The Petersburg Dict. only gives **avagharṣaṇa-** in the sense of "rubbing off"; but there is no doubt that ***avagharṣa-** must mean the same thing.

(2) On red as a magic colour cf. above all the articles of Professor Zachariœ in VOJ. XVII, 135 sq. 211 sq. and Kleine Schriften p. 233 sq.; also my article on **pūjā** in the Festgabe, H. Jacobi p. 276 sq. (reprinted in the IA, LVI; on **pūjā** Cf. also M. Przyluski, Revue de l'Hist. des Religions XCV, 347 sq.).

(3) Here as in Jātaka 313 and elsewhere he carries yellow robes (**kāsāyavattha**) and garlands of red flowers; his chief instrument is an axe (**pharasu**). In Jātaka 313 he carries a thorny whip (**kaṇṭakakasā**) while in our text he is provided with an **upadhāna-ghaṭikā** (a word, it seems, of uncertain sense but which must mean the same as **dhammagaṇṭhikā** in Jātaka I, 150, 24. 27, viz. "an executioner's block"). On yellow colour in magic etc. cf. Festgable, H. Jacobi p. 296 n. 4 where these passages have, unfortunately, been left out.

(4) It seems obvious that the verses of this Jātaka are in disorder and do not tally with the prose version. The order should probably be 4-5, 1, 6, 2-3.

corpse is ordered by the unnatural father: "asitundena nam paṭicchitvā asimālaṃ nāma karohiti". So¹ tassa kalevaraṃ ākāse khipitvā asitundena paṭicchitvā asimālaṃ nāma katvā mahātale vippakiri (Jātaka III, 180, 23 sq.).

The general trend of the narrative is quite clear: the executioner throws the corpse into the air, catches it on the point of his sword and then in some way, cuts the corpse to pieces and flings them all over the palace-roof. In the following the poor mother is made to collect the scraps of flesh and put them in her lap. However, the word asimālā does not seem to be sufficiently clear; nor does the second passage where it occurs, viz. Dāṭhāvaṃsa III, 45², make it clearer as this verse simply sums up the main contents of our Jātaka:

> yo Dhammapālo api sattamāsa-
> jāto paduṭṭhe janake sakamhi
> kārāpayante asimālakammaṃ
> cittaṃ no dūsesi Patāparāje.

However it seems sufficiently obvious that asimālā "sword-garland" must mean some peculiar trick by which a corpse impaled on a sword is at the same time quartered and the pieces made to spread into different directions.³

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(1) Viz., the coraghātaka.
(2) JPTS. 1884, p. 128.
(3) The PTS. Pali Dict. I, 88 gave an absolutely senseless interpretation of the word but this has been corrected in Corrigenda to pt. I (inserted between n and p, the curious pagination not admitting any better way of quoting the passage) and s. v. māla-. Inspite of Kern, Toevoegselen, I, 161 there scarcely exists any word māla-, māla- "mud". In Jātaka, VI, 400, 13 "pitch" would be a much more sensible translation; and ibid. II, 416, 12 sq. mālākacavara- probably means "a heap of withered garlands "(under which the corpse of Sundari was concealed just as in the Mrcchakaṭikā the rogue conceals Vasantasenā under a heap of fallen leaves; the meaning of p. kacavara- becomes still clearer by a Prākrit word which must in some way belong here, viz, kayāro kajjavo tathā katavaro tṛṇādyutkaraḥ, Deśināmamālā, 2, 11). and in Mil. p. 117. there cannot be the slightest doubt that phenamālā means "wreathes of foam"—a not uncommon mode of expression.

The word asimālā "sword-garland" seems to me to have an illustrative parallel in certain expressions that have formed round that most horrid mode of punishment, viz the impaling on a stake. First of all we find the expression uttāseti (generally identified with Skt. uttamsayati) for which some examples from the Jātaka-book may be sufficient. In Jātaka, I, 326, 2 we read the following order of a king: "āghātane sīsaṃ assa chinditvā sarīraṃ sūle uttāsethā 'ti'"; in II, 443, 6 we meet with the expression: taṃ pana purisaṃ jīvasūle' uttāsesuṃ (where in V. 2 the sūla is spoken of as asi and śakti); in III, 34, 6-7 we are told that tasmiṃ pana kāle core gahatvā nimbasūle uttāsenti (in the same text III, 34, 25-26: coraṃ gahetvā rājāno gāme kibbisakārakaṃ appenti nimbasūlasmiṃ)[2]; in IV, 29, 2-3 the king orders his men concerning the ascetic Maṇḍavya: "gacchatha, naṃ sūle uttāsethā 'ti'", and ibid. 11. 13-14 the ascetic speaks thus to his executioners: "sace maṃ sūle uttāsetukām' attha koviḷārasūlaṃ āharathā 'ti'". On the same page 1.18 there occurs the participle of this same verb in the expression sūle uttāsito "he is impaled on a stake"; and the identical expression is found in I, 499, 14 while in I, 500, 11-13 we again meet with the words sūle uttāsetha and sūle uttāsesuṃ. Finally we also find a substantive uttāsana- "impalement" in II, 444, 1.

Now there is no doubt that p. uttāseti is Skt. uttamsayati[3], a derivative of uttaṃsa- "wreath", and means "to adorn with a

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(1) Cf. the curious expression in Divyāvadāna, p. 417. 8: jīvantiśūlām atha kārayāmi. There are different modes of impaling a dead corpse or a person who is still alive.

(2) The Nim tree (L. Melia Azadirachta) which is sacred to various gods seems to have sometimes enjoyed a sinister reputation though it is also useful in several ways, cf. e.g. Witts, Commercial Products, p. 780; Sir George Grierson, Bihar Peasant Life p. 391; Enthoven, Bombay Folklore pp. 137. 139 sq. 224. 246. 262. 264. 342 etc.

(3) This verb is found in the Mukundānandabhāṇa 12, 4; 23, 6; cf. also samuttaṃsita- in Dharmaśarmābhyudaya, 4, 39.
The substantive uttāsaittā in Āyār. sutsa p. 7, 1 (Schubring) must, I suppose be taken to be *uttrāsayitar—and not *uttaṃsayitar (Pischel, Pkt. Gr, §582 less correctly takes it to be=uttrāsayitvā)

wreath, a garland". The grim humour has thus described the poor wretch impaled on the stake as a sort of wreath adorning this horrible instrument of torture. No doubt the same sort of grim and expressive humour underlies the word asimālā which, unfortunately, I have only been able to find in the passage quoted above[1].

In Sanskrit we seem to have at least one passage where the verb ava-tams- is used in the same sense in which we have here found ut-tams- being made use of. Professor R. Schmidt in his supplements to the Petersburg Dictionary quotes from the Daśakumāracarita p. 41, 16 the expression śūlāvataṃsita-[2] which must mean exactly the same as śūla uttāsita in Pali, i.e. "placed like a wreath on the stake". Though there would always be a possibility that uttāseti could, by the way of *ōttāseti, be derived from ava taṃsayati this does not seem at all necessary. We may rest content that both śūle avataṃsayati and uttaṃsayati meant the same thing and that they may both throw some light on the word asimālā dealt with here.[3]

3. Skt. Kalevara-.

To Skt. Kalevara- correspond in Pāli kaḷebara- , kalebara-, kalevara- and in the "Sanskrit" of the Northern Buddhists kaḍevara-[4]; once we find even a form kaḍepara-[5]. According to

(1) There is another expression which is somewhat parallel in sense to uttāseti, viz., sūle āvunīti " to impale" (properly "to string, tie, fix to a stake") e.g. Jātaka, III, 35; āvuṇāpeti, III, 218; āvuta- "impaled", V, 145; VI, 105 of fishes stuck on a spit, etc.; cf. Morris, JPTS. 1884, p. 91.

(2) Though I have looked through all the editions of the Daśakumāracarita available to me I have, unfortunately, not been able to identify the passage.

(3) A parallel expression is found in the term jotimālaka- "the garland of fire", denoting some other horrible form of torture, Mil. P. p 197 etc. The way of procedure is not quite clear (cf. Spence Hardy, Eastern Monachism p. 32; Kern, Toevoegselen I, 46); I suppose it means wrapping the body in oiled wreaths of cotton and putting fire to them.

(4) E. g. Divyāvadāna p. 39, 11; Avad. śat. II, 26, 1 (the same phrase in both passages).

(5) Leumann. Zur nordar. Sprache u. Literatur p. 41 n.

the researches of Professor Lüders Festschrift Wackernagel p. 294 sq. the -ḍ- or -ḷ- shou'd everywhere, when found besides a dental -l-, be the primary sound; and although his conclusions are at times rather uncritical[1], I should feel inclined to think that this is most'y—though not always—the case. However, it is not my purpose here to try to find for kalevara- any etymological connection which would probably be a quite hopeless task; I only want to add a few remarks concerning the real meaning of the word:

Kalevara- is generally said to mean "the body" and "a dead body, a carcass" which undoubtedly seems to be the case. If that be so, it is, however, extremely d fficult to find out what underlies the Pāli expression sopāna-kalevara- which in Majjh. Nik. II, 92 apparently means "(the step in) a flight of stairs" and which is certainly to be preserved in CV. V, 21, 2(=Vin. P ṭ. II, 128) as being the lectio d ficilior instead of °kaliṅgara adopted by Oldenberg[2]. This again goes far to explain an otherwise puzzling expression in the Jain Uttarādhyayanasūtra 0, 35 where we read:

kakalevaraseṇ'ṃ uttiyā siddhiṃ Goyama loyaṃ gacchasi |

hemaṃ ca sivaṃ aṇuttaraṃ samayaṃ Goyama mā pamāyae||

The word akalevaraseṇi is explained by Devendra in his ṭīkā in the following way[3]: akalevaraśreṇih | avidyamānaṃ kaḍevaram eṣ̄m akaḍevarāḥ siddhās teṣāṃ ' śreṇir akaḍevaraśreṇih etc, which only shows that even a good commentary

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(1)   This is exemplified by such passages as that dealing with the name of the pomegranate (Skt. dāḍima- etc.,) on p. 305; as Dr. Laufer. Sino-Iranica p 282 sq. had previously shown the word is traceable to some Iranian name of this tree which is decidedly not a native of India. Nor does the paragraph dealing with kāla- and kāḷa: (p. 300 sq.) inspire entire confidence etc.

(2)   And also by Kern, Toevoegselen, I, 141.

(3)   Cf. my edition of the Uttarādhyayana-sūtra p. 319).

like that of Devendra is apt to produce, in dubious cases, almost unlimited nonsense. For, compared with the Pāli word it is at once obvious that akalevara-śreni can mean nothing but "a ladder without steps or rungs".

As it would be rather out of the way to assume the existence of two different words kalevara- (kaḍevara- etc.) one is entitled to ask for some sort of connection between the meanings, "body, carcass" and "step of a flight of stairs, rung of a ladder". Such a connection, I venture to believe, is established by the Prakrit word kalero kaṅkālaḥ karālaśca (Dēśīnāmamālā 2, 53, cf. Trivikrama I, 3, 105) which Pischel[1] has correctly derived from kalevara[2]. This seems to make the whole thing tolerably clear: kalevara- (kaḍevara-) originally means "the ribs, the thorax", and it thus naturally enough developed the sense of "carcass" and "body". As, on the other hand, the steps in a flght of stairs or the rungs of a ladder were not ineptly compared with the ribs of the thorax this gave rise to the expressions sopāna-kaḷevara- and akalevara-śreni- dealt with above. Thus sopāna-kalevara- originally means something like "the ribs of staircase".

4. P. iṭṭhi.

In the Mahānāradakassapajātaka (544), V. 22[3] we read in the description of an excursion of the King of Videha:

Taṃ anuyāyuṃ bahavo iṭṭhikhaggadharā balī
assapiṭṭhigatā dhīrā narā naravarādhipaṃ.

The commentary does not explain the word iṭṭhi°[4], and it does not seem to have been understood. For, Kern, Toevoegsclen I, 139 suggests that the true reading should be iddhakhaggadharā "carrying flaming swords "which is accepted without further commentaries by the PTS Pali Dict. I, 119.

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(1) Bezz. Beitr. VI, 95; Pkt. Gr. §149.
(2) I do not here touch upon kalera- = karāla- as I shall hope to deal with that later on.
(3) Jātaka ed. Fausbœll VI, 223, 18.
(4) For which the Ms. B^d = reads inda°.

Suśruta and may well be a later formation than the Pāli word.
This, however, is of no consequence; for, °poṇa- is pavana-
meaning "an instrument for cleansing, rinsing (the teeth)".[1]

The -ṇ- in *poṇa- is out of order from the ordinary point of
view and simply belongs to those not uncommon cases where Pāli
shares with the later Prakrits the cerebralisation of an inter-
vocalic -n-. A word of exactly the same formaton is moṇi- "a
basket for keeping snakes", Hc. au. II, 151; it must be derived
from Skt. *mavana-[2] which belongs to mav- "to bind" (Pāṇ.
VI, 4, 20). Another word which seems to be identical in its
structure with these both is p. Pkt. loṇa- "salt" (for which the
modern vernaculars, as is well known, have forms beginning with
l- or n-)[3]. There, however, already the Sanskrit shows a cere-
bral in the form lavaṇa-. The etymology of this word remains
unknown;[4] there is nothing to correspond to it even in the
Iranian languages.[5] Nor can the exact meaning be said to be
absolutely clear; at any rate the meaning of the derivation lāv-
aṇya- might easily suggest that the original sense was both that
of "salt" and "sweet"—a case which is by no means without
parallels. However, this is probably not the case: lavaṇa-

(1) For the sake of the meaning cf. pavaṇī "a broom".
Whether poṇiā sūtrabhṛt tarkuḥ (Deśīnāmamālā, 6, 61) could
be connected with these words I dare not decide. If so it would
correspond to Sanskrit *pavanikā.
(2) In Indog. Forsch, XXIX, 399 n. 3., I less correctly
derived it from *mauna-.
(3) Cf. e g. Bloch, La formation de la langue Marathe, p.400.
(4) The suggestions of professor Reichelt, Streitberg
Festgabe, p. 295 sq. are wholly unconvincing.
(5) The Indo-Iranian languages have no common name of
the salt; nor do they share in the common European name of this
mineral, which was something like *sāl-d, *sal-n-és (cf. J. Schmidt,
Pluralbildungen, p. 182 sq.). This still forms a weighty argu-
ment in favour of the theory that the unbroken Indo-European
community did not know the use of salt (cf. Schrader, Reallexi-
kon, 2nd ed., II, 273, and the present writer in BSOS., IV, 156).
The European tribes probably learnt to use it, after the separa-
tion from the Aryans, on the northern shores of the Black Sea.

originally meant "salt" and especially "sea salt".[1] The word is first met with in Av. VII, 76, 1; and there is, of course, no reason for thinking it impossible that the -ṇ- could already at that time be due to "Prākritic" influences.[2] However in, consideration of the curious interchange between śroṇa- : śloṇa- and śravaṇa- : ślavaṇa- "lame, crippled" already in early texts[3] I should feel inclined to suggest that lavaṇa- has really developed from an older form *ravaṇa- of which there is now no trace.[4]

We find a cerebral ṇ in about the same position in the curious Pāli verb oṇojeti" to cause to wash off, to cleanse; to give as a present, to dedicate (with the rite of washing one's hands)", oṇojana- "washing one's hands". According to Kern[5] this represents Skt. ava-nejayati, ava-nejana-; and although the suggested transposition of -e- into an -o- is extraordinary and unexplained there can be little doubt that this is really the correct explanation. In that case the cerebral -ṇ- is rather out of order. We also find a verb oṇati "to drag away", Dhp. 13, 12 which, according to an old but still valid explanation is really = Skt. ava(apa)-nayati.[6] Even here we find the cerebral -ṇ- in a similar position; the same is the case in oṇamati, oṇamana-, oṇata- (inter-changing with o-nam- cf. Morris JPTS. 1887, 125).

(1) Compared with saindhava- "salt from the Salt Range" etc.

(2) No possible influence in the case of the cerebralisation can be ascribed to the neighbourhood of the l- sound; the form anulepaṇa- mentioned by Wackernagel, Ai. Gramm. I, 194 is purely Prākritic.

(3) Cf. Wackernagel, Ai. Gramm. I, 193.

(4) If this be so *ravaṇa-, lavaṇa- is certainly a word which the Aryans picked up from some aboriginal stem in India. Certain Indo-European connections would perhaps suggest themselves, but they would certainly be far too hazy to be of any value whatsoever.

(5) Cf. Buddhism, p. 92; Toevoegselen II, 5. 138; also Morris, JPTS. 1887, 150; Müller, Pali Grammar p 9.

(6) Cf. Pott, Etym. Forsch. I, 169; Wackernagel, Ai. Gramm. I, 194.

It is rather apparent that in all these cases the cerebrál -ṇ-
comes immed'ately after an -o-vowel.[1] The Sanskrit and Prākrit
grammar knows of no possible influence of such a vowel in the
direction of a cerebralisation of a following n, and it may be well
doubted whether such an influence could really be traced. How-
ever, a cerebralised ṇ in such a position would be of very high
age if the Rigvedic word oṇi- could also be brought under this
head The real meaning of this Ved'c word seems to be far from
clear;[2] according to the Nighaṇtu 3, 30 the dual oṇyau means
"heaven and earth", and Sāyaṇa, commenting on RV, X, 96, 12,
interprets it as "finger", cf. the proper name daśoṇi-. Modern
interpreters have tried, with no great success, still other possibili-
ties.[3] But whatever may be the original meaning of oṇi-[4] I am
firmly convinced that it is only a very early "Prakrit" form of
avani-. Of this word there are three traditional meanings;
accord'ng to Nighaṇtu 1, 1 it is—pṛthivī, "earth", accord-
ing to 1, 13—nadī, "stream, river", and accord'ng to 2, 5—anguli,
"finger". No doubt the first and last one are those ascribed
by the native trad'tion to oṇi-; and it seems fairly obvious
that even the old Indians interpreters may have had a vague
idea of the identity of these two words.

(1) Still other such instances present themselves within the
Sanskrit dictionary as e.g koṇa- and kaphoṇi- (on which cf.
Morgenstierne, Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan
p 88; Chatterji, Bengali Language I, 315). But for these words no
plausible derivations suggest themselves—at least not to me—and
I highly doubt whether they can be considered as real Sanskrit
words. For kaphoṇi- (there also seems to be kaphaṇi- which
is, however, doubtful) and the related Bengali and Iraniah words
a common orig'nal form can scarce'y be f und.

(2) A certain d'fficu'ty also seems to beset the Pali word
-oṇi- in oṇi-rakkha-, cf. Morris, JPTS. 1887, 150; Kern, Toevoeg-
selen II, 5.

(3) Cf. e.g. Baunack, Zeitschr f. vgl-Sprf. XXXV, 520 sq.;
Wackernagel. Aï. Gramm, I 191; O'denberg, RV. Noten I,
61. II, 311; Neisser, Z. Wb. des RV. I, 197 f.

(4) The TS.-variant ūṇi- seems to be of no importance.

6. P. rajassira-.

The Pāli word **rajassira-** is known to me only from the following six passages, five of which apply it as an epithet to ascetics or brahmins: **Suttanipāta** v. 980:

> ugghaṭṭapādo tasito paṅkadanto rajassiro |

"foot-sore, thirsty, with dirty teeth, covered with dust" (in the description of a wandering Brahmin); there is no commentary on the word here.

Jātaka IV, 184, 10 sq:

dīghuttaroṭṭhā jaṭilā paṅkadantā rajassirā |
inaṃ vodāya[1] gacchanti tadā Kaṇho pamokkhati||

"When ascetics with long moustaches, with braided hair, with dirty teeth, and covered with dust will live by usury[2] then will (the dog) Kṛṣṇa be let loose". No commentary on **rajassira.**

Jataka IV, 362, 25 sq.

parūḷhakacchanakhalomā paṅkadantā rajassirā |
okiṇṇī rajareṇūhi yācakā vicaranti te||

"with long hair in the armpits and long nails, with dirty teeth and covered with dust, sprinkled with dirt and dust these (false Brahmins) run round like beggars." No commentary on **rajassira.**

Jātaka IV, 371, 19 sq.

isiñ ca dāni pucchāmi kisaṃ dhamanisanthataṃ |
parūḷhakacchanakhalomaṃ paṅkadantaṃ rajassiraṃ||

"Now I ask the lean ascetic with veins showing, the one with long hair in the armpits and long nails, with dirty teeth and covered with dust". No commentary on **rajassira.**

Jātaka IV, 476, 23:

cirassaṃ vata passāma brāhmaṇaṃ devavaṇṇinaṃ |
mahājaṭaṃ bhāradharaṃ paṃkadaṃtaṃ rajassiraṃ||

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(1) There is a v. l. **codāya** which would give a better sense (or rather would alone make the passage intelligible); but I do not see my way for explaining a form like *codāya.

(2) Such ought to be the interpretation according to the commentary.

"At last we get sight of the Brahmin of godly hue, with long braid, carrying his load, with dirty teeth, covered with dust". No commentary on rajassira.

Finally we find it in another connection in Jātaka IV, 398, 14:

upaniyati jivitaṃ appamāyu
jārūpanitassa na santi tāṇā |
károhi pañcāla mam'eta vākyaṃ
mā kāsi kammāni rajassirāni||

"Life, of short duration, draws towards its end, there is no safeguarding for one who has reached old age. O King of Pañcāla, act now (etc.) according to my word, fulfil no sinful actions". Commentary: rajassiraniti kilesarajena okiṇṇasīsāni.

This commentatorial passage thus seems to derive rajas-sira- from rajas- "dust" and sira(s)- "head"; and such an opinion seems to have won the applause of modern scholars, cf. Kern, Toevoegselen II, p. 46 and PTS Pāli Dict. s. v.

There is in Sanskrit literature at least one passage known to me which might make us feel uncertain concerning such an explanation. In the Suparṇādhyāya 8, 5 we read the following verse:

rajasvalo jaṭilaḥ paṅkadanta unnīta*śikho vadati satyam
eva |
amitramadhye na bibheti mṛtyoḥ sa brāhmaṇas taṃ sma
mā han garutman||

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(1) This eta the commentary explains as –etaṃ. As far as I understand it is rather = etta "here" which is again = ætra in Shāhbāzgaṛhi VI, 15 and is derived from *itra = av. iora, cf. Lassen, Institutiones, p. 129; Brugmann, Zeitschr. f. vgl. sprf. XXVII, 198 sq; Johansson, Shāhbāzgaṛhi I, 19 sq. Here also belongs ettha "here, now" (with the same aspiration as in tattha etc.). On other explanations of this word cf. Kaccāyana II, 4, 23; Hemacandra, I. 57; III, 83; Fausbœll, Dhammapada p. 350; Childers s. v.; Kuhn, Beitrage p. 21; S. Goldschmidt, Prâkritica pp. 6. 21 ff.; ZDMG. XXXVII, 457 sq.; Pischel, Ved. Stud. I, p. XXXI n. 2; II, p. 88; Pkt. Gr. p. 89 sq.

"Covered with dust, with braided hair, with dirty teeth, with raised top-knot[1] he speaks the truth only; even in the middle of his foemen he fears not death—he is a Brahmin, kill him not, O Garutmant".

The word **rajasvala-**, which we meet with here, is found in other passages too in the sense of "covered with dust"; thus in the passages MBh VII, 1454 and 8896 (of warriors vanquished in battle) and IX, 1370 (of elephants fleeing before the onslaught of Bhīma). It is further found in the sense of "filled with **rajas**, with passion, sinful", a sense which tallies completely with that of **rajassira-** in Jātaka IV, 393, 14 (**kammāni rajassirāni**). As is well-known **rajasvala-** (in its feminine form) also means "a woman having her menses"[2] with which sense we are not concerned here. The formation of the word is prescribed by Pāṇini V, 2, 112 where the suffix -**vala-** (-**valac**) is applied to the words **rajas-**, **kṛṣi-**, **āsuti-** and **pariṣad-**; to these examples Patañjali adds some other ones, viz. **bhrātṛvala-**, **puttravala-** and **utsaṅgavala-**. In the next sūtra (V, 2, 113) Pāṇini himself mentions two more -**vala-** formations, viz. **dantāvala-** and **śikhāvala-**, but with the addition that they are only used **samjñāyām**[3]; in sūtra VI, 3, 118 he mentions the allongation of the vowel preceding -**vala-** which takes place (e.g. in **dantāvala-**) when the syllable is not by nature a long one[4].

It cannot escape our attention that the Pāli word **rajassira-** in both its senses tallies very well with those of **rajasvala-**. And according to my humble opinion there can be no doubt that the

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(1) On this word cf. my work Die Suparṇasage, p. 243 with n. 2.

(2) **rajas-** "dirt, impurity" has the sense of "menses" already in the Nirukta, 4, 19 where it is derived from the root ra(ñ)j-.

(3) Still other examples are found in Renou, Grammaire Sanscrite, I, 261 where I miss **nadvala-** and **sādvala-** mentioned by Pāṇini IV, 2, 88.

(4) This allongation, however, does not seem to be de rigueur with Patañjali (cf. **puttravala-** etc.)

two words are in reality identical. That the suffix -vala- is only
a variation, and generally a younger one, of -vara- is too well
known to need any discussion here. It is therefore perhaps
scarcely needed to derive a formation *rajasvara- from rajasvala-;
they could both have existed by side of each other, nay, rajasvala-
could even have arisen out of *rajasvara- through dissimilation.
It has also been observed – e.g. by J. Schmidt, Vocalismus II,
211 sq.—that before an r the a does sometimes in Sanskrit
(and Prākrit) show a tendency of developing into an
ī[1]; thus *rajasvara- could very well at a certain time and
within a certain area have developed into *rajasvira. And such
a form would of course, within Pāli develop into the existing
rajassira-[2]. Thus we should find the following line of development:
*rajasvara- (=rajasvala-) > *rajasvira > rajassira-.

7. Skt. nistriṃśa-.

The Sanskrit word nistriṃśa- according to Pāṇini V, 4, 73
and the commentaries must originally mean "more than, exceeding
thirty". It further means 'a sword' and also – chiefly according
to lexicographers—'cruel, merciless'.

That the word nistriṃśa meaning "a sword" does really
mean "exceeding thirty (aṅgula's)" is clear from Siddh.
Kaumudī on Pāṇini V, 4, 73, from Kṣīrasvāmin on Amarakośa, II,
8, 90, and from the commentary on Kauṭilya I, p. 61, 3 ed. Jolly,
and should not be doubted as is sometimes done in modern works.[3]

(1) Of this development I have collected several examples with
which I hope to deal later on as I cannot, for want of space, do it
here. I should only like to point out that in cases like giri- = Avest.
gari- or śiras- = Avest. sarah- the Sanskrit vocalism is no doubt a
secondary one.

(2) Cf. examples like assa-<aśva-; parissajati<parisvajate or
bhassara-<bhāsvara-.

(3) Cf. e.g. PTS Pali Dict. s.v. nettiṃsa; to the passages
quoted there might be added the following from the Jātaka: III,
338. VI, 153. 449.

What is wanted here is only to point to one or two passages from the **Jātaka**- book which definitely prove that this "etymology" is not any learned construction like so many modern ones. Thus in the well known tale of Prince Pañcāvudha and the ogre (Jātaka No. 55) we read in I, 273, 28: **tettiṃsaṃgulāyato khaggo lomesu yeva alliyi**; and in III, 338, 16 f., in the tale of a juggler, we find the following passage **eko pana puriso tettiṃsaṃgulaṃ tikhiṇadhāraṃ asiratanaṃ gilati**. These passages seem to prove that there existed a distinct sort of swords or rapiers the length of which exceeded thirty finger breadths⁴.

Why the length of this special sort of sword — no doubt even the **nistriṃśa** — should be given as thirty-three inches is not clear. It may rest on a tangible fact, it may also simply be due to the phonetic similarity between the Pali forms **nettiṃsa** and **tettiṃsa.**². In any case it seems established even through popular texts that the grammatical explanation of the word **nistriṃśa**- is the correct one

8. P. Khajjopanaka-.

The   word   **khajjopanaka**-³ (sometimes   also   written **khajjūpanaka**)⁴ means " a fire-fly " and occurs in several pass-

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(1) Whether **nistriṃśa**- "cruel, merciless" (a meaning known also in Pāli, cf. Jātaka IV, 118, 24: nettiṃso ti nikkaruṇo) is really the same word as **nistriṃśa**- "a sword" is beyond my power of judgment.

(2) The origin and development of a form like **tettiṃsa=pkt**. tettisa is, unfortunately. not clear. That they should be derived from **trayastriṃśat** (cf. Pischel, Pkt. Gr. p. 312.) seems to me possible but not very probable. Anyhow, how would it be possible that the same explanation should hold good also for p. **tāvatiṃsa** and AMg. tāvattisā, tāyattisa as seems to be generally suggested? In general the development of the numeral for three in certain compounds seems to be open to doubt and objections (cf. my remarks in JRAS. 1926, p. 139 which I fully uphold in spite of the objections of Professor Turner, BSOS. IV. p. 363 sq.)

(3) The PTS Pāli Dict. s. v. wrongly gives **khajjopakāṇa** ; also the quotations from JPTS. 1908, are formally wrong.

(4) Cf. Trenckner, JPTS. 1908, p. 133 n. 1. with an explanation which, according to my opinion, can scarcely be correct.

ages of the Pāli canon. Keeping only to some passages in the Jātakas we find in II 415, 14 sq. how the heretic teachers (aññati-thiyā) lost their glory by the entrance on the stage of the Buddha like fire-flies by the rise of the sun. In VI, 330, 6 sq. the king of Mithilā has the following dream in connection with the conception of the Bodhisattva:

rājaṅgaṇe catūsu kaṇṇesu cattāro aggikhhandhā mahāpākā-rappamāṇen' uṭṭhāya jalanti tesaṃ majjhe khajjopanakappamāṇo aggi' uṭṭhahitvā taṃkhaṇe yeva cattāro aggikkhandhe atikkam-itvā Brahmalokappamāṇen' uṭṭhāya sakalacakkavālaṃ obhāsetvā ṭhito etc. And in VI, 441, 27 sq. the minister Devinda says of the foolish king: ayaṃ rājā kiṃ karoti, aggimhi sante khajjopanakaṃ dhamati " what then is this king doing—in the presence of fire he blows at a fire-fly". Of the meaning of the word there can, consequently, be no doubt.

Nor is there any doubt that we have to start our explanation from a form *khajjopana of which °ka- is only one of the usual -ka- formations. Now, in Sanskrit the name of the fire-fly is kha-dyota-; and it was only natural that Trenckner, in his extremely valuable Notes to the Milindapañha p. 59 [2] should have tried to identify the Pāli and the Sanskrit word, ascribing to the neighbourhood of p (or) (u) the transition of t into p. However, such an explanation is scarcely possible as no clear case of a development t>p seems to be known.[3] And I thus venture to think that we must give up the direct identification of khadyota- with *khajjopana-.[4]

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(1) With this expression cf. the aṅgāraḥ khadyotamātraḥ of the Chānd. Up. VI, 7,3.

(2) JPTS. 1908, p. 109.

(3) It would perhaps be possible to suggest that kha-dyota (na)- had developed into *kha-dyo(y)a(na)- and this further into *kha-dyova(na)-. By a sharpening of the -v- this might finally have resulted in khajjopa-(na)-. But such a development seems to me too improbable to be taken into serious consideration.

(4) *khajjopana-, in such a case, should be = khadyotana- which is said to mean " sun " in Sanskrit.

It seems to me that * **khajjopana**- could only be safely derived from a form * **kha-dyopana**-. Now * **dyopana**- would, of course, be intimately connected with a causative formation * **dyopayati** of which Sanskrit, as far as my knowledge goes, does show no trace. It is, however, scarcely doubtful that such a formation might have originated in sheer mechanical imitation of really existing forms such as **knopayati**, **gopayati**, **ropayati** etc. And I should venture to find a real trace of a * **dyopayati** in the AMg. forms **ujjovemāṇa**-, **ujjoventa**-, **ujjoviya**- which can scarcely be explained except from a causative stem * **ud-dyopaya**-[1]. Also the modern Indian languages seem to have preserved traces of such a formation [2]. If then traces of a form * **dyopayati** be found in the AMg. as well as in the modern vernaculars there can be no hesitation about deriving p. * **khajjopana** from an original from *kha-dyopona**.

9. P. dussa.

In the Sasajātaka, in the story of the four wise and pious creatures we read the following verse spoken by the jackal (Jātaka III, 54, 1 sq):

> **dussa me khettapālassa rattibhattaṃ apābhataṃ,**
>
> **maṃsasūlā ca dve godhā ekañ ca dadhivārakaṃ,**
>
> **idaṃ brāhmaṇa me atthi etaṃ bhutvā vane vasā 'ti.**

"From yonder fieldwatchman I have taken away his supper: two spits of roast meat[3], a lizard, and a pot of curds. This, o Brahmin, is what I have—eat it, and live in the forest".

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(1) The explanation of these forms given by Leumann, Aupapātikasūtra p. 105 is undoubtedly wrong. Pischel on Hc. IV, 332; Pkt. Gr. § 246, although he does not mention any form *ud-dyopayati, must apparently have been thinking of the same explanation that is given above.

(2) Such, at any rate, was the opinion of Pischel. I am at a loss to find out to what really amounts the explanation given by M. Bloch, La formation de la langue Marathe p. 337 (s.v. **jopāvṇeṃ**) Could all the forms quoted there possibly be derived from **dyotana**-?

(3) Cf. Morris, JPTS. 1834, p. 91 whose translation of the word is, however, not necessary.

Here **dussa** is admittedly a crux interpretatorum and has at one time been fully discussed by Professor Andersen[1]. His own idea seems to be that we should read, with the Singhalese manuscripts, not **dussa** but **dussaṃ** which should again be Skt. **dūṣya-** "corruptible, easily to be spoiled". However, of the two alternatives **dussa** is undoubtedly the **lectio difficilior** which ought if possible to be exp'ained, not to be simp'y neglected. Besides it seems curious that he jackal should design the profferred supper as "corrupt'b'e"—which, by the way, scarcely applies to roast meat and curds[2].

The commentary has preserved a trad'tion according to which **dussa** does realy mean **amussa**, and that trad'tion has been endorsed by such a great authority as Trenckner[3]. Henry[4] even goes to the length of putting **amussa** into the text which cannot well be right.

Personally I venture to think that **dussa**, although it seems not to be met with elsewhere, is the correct form. Of the pronoun **adah** we find in Pāli mainly a stem **amu-** (besides which **asu** in nom. sg. (m. f.),[5] besides which there is the nom. acc. sg. n. **aduṃ**.[6] Now just as besides **amuṃ** we have **amussa** it would be well possible that besides **aduṃ** there once existed a rather fortuitous formation ***adussa** which in Sandhi could, of

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(1)   Cf. Pāli Reader II, p. 124.

(2)   The translation "wrongfully" given by Francis and Neil Jātaka III, p. 16 is, as far as I understand, rather out of the question.

(3)   Unfortunately, I am at a loss to find out where Trenckner has referred to the word —perhaps in his unpublished collections at Copenhagen.

(4)   Precis de grammaire Pāli p. 94.

(5)   Mainly the same conditions obtain in the Prākrits, cf. Pischel, Pkt. Gr. §432.

(6)   Whether this form is really indentical with the particle **Adu** I do not venture to decide.

course, easily develop into **dussa**. This I venture to think is the form of which we find a single trace in the Jātaka passage quoted above. 10. P. **reruka-**.

In Jātaka II, 230, 15 sq. a lady is represented as addressing her unfaithful husband with the following verse:—

tvam eva dānim akara yam kāmo vyapagamā tayi |
se 'yam appaṭisandhiko kharā chinnam va rerukan ti||

Here everything seems clear except the last **pāda which is** thus explained in the commentary: **kharo vuccati kakaco rerukam vuccati hatthidanto, yathā kakacehi chinno va hatthidanto appa-ṭisandhiko hoti na puna purimanayena allīyati** etc. The translation of the verse would consequently run something like this: "thou hast now so arranged it that my love to thee has vanished; no more can it be patched up, just as little as an elephant's tusk cut in twain by a saw."[1]

The word **reruka-** = **hatthidanta-**, "elephant's tusk, ivory" is, as far as my very limited knowledge goes, only met with in this passage and seems to be of an entirely obscure origin.[2] An original form *reru-, of which this would be a derivation, is nowhere to be found, and even its formation seems rather obscure.

No doubt words exist, though few and far between, that would seem to betray the same morphological construction as the somewhat problematic *reru-. Of the two Ṛigvedic forms pérú- and péru-, the meanings of which are not entirely clear, one is said to belong to **par-**, the other one to **pi-**;[3] and to one or the

(1). Some offence might be taken at the use of the ablative **kharā** instead of the instrumental; but such cases, I believe, are not altogether strange to Pāli.

(2) The suggestion of the PTS. Pāli Dictionary "probably dialectical" does not help us much further.

(3) On the meaning and etymology of the words péru- and péru-(which are often considered to be identical) one may consult e.g. Pischel, Ved. Stud. I, p. 81. sq.; Ludwig. Ueber Methode etc. p. 24; Hopkins, Amer. J. Phil. XIV, 31. 38; Baunack, Zeitschr f. vgl. Sprf. XXXV, 529 sq. 552. 557; Oldenberg, RV.-Noten I, 44 sq. II, 127.

other may belong the derivation **peruka-**, the name of a man
in RV. VI, 63, 9. In III, 2, 159 Pāṇini mentions a **seru-**
which should mean "binding, fettering" and be a derivation from
the root **si-**. There is further the famous mountain-name **Meru-**
which, as to its origin, is completely obscure[1]. Other derivations
in **-eru,** of which there seem to exist a few[2], are in the main
wholly unclear to me and can throw no light on the history of
reru-, reruka-.

There is, however, perhaps a way for shedding at least some
light, faint as it may be, on the problematic **reru(ka)-**. There
exists in Sanskrit the word **kareṇu-**, well-known since the time of
the Great Epics—but probably not earlier—which means "an
elephant" but in the overwhelming number of passages is of
feminine gender and means "elephant-cow". This form also
exists in Pāli (chiefly in the derivation **kareṇukā**) and in the
Prākrits where the AMg. and the Śaurasenī have preserved a
form **kareṇu-** while **kareṇuyā** exists in the Jaina Mahārāṣṭrī.[3]

(1) I cannot find with Professor Kirfel, Kosmographie der
Inder pp. 16*. 182 that the suggestion of S. Goldschmidt
Zeitschr. f. vgl. Sprf. XXV, 610 sq. according to which **Meru**
should belong to **smi-** is very plausible. On the contrary the
existence of all the other forms of the name, viz. **Sumeru-, Neru-
Sineru-, Suneru-** etc., seem to me obviously to point in the direc-
tion of a foreign origin.

(2) Completely obscure are **maderu-** and **saneru-** in the
puzzling hymn RV. X, 106, 6. 8(cf. Bezzenberger, Beiträge II, 269
sq.; Henry, Mem. Soc. de Linguistique XIV, 172. 174; Oldenberg,
RV.-Noten II, 329), also **a-tameru-** in **VS.** I, 23. **mitreru-**, accord-
ing to Oldenberg. RV.-Noten I, 174, seems to be a compound. For
himelu- in Vārtt. 7 on Pāṇini V, 2, 122 one might suggest an
original form *****himaryu-** (such is also the idea of Bezzenberger l. c.)
if there were sufficient reason for assuming such a formation.
Whether **seruma (dīpa)** which, according to Jātaka III, 187, 20
(cf. 189, 23), was the former name of **Nāgadīpa** suggests the
existence of a *****seru-** is probably wholly irrelevant as the word
would in no case be of an Aryan origin.

(3) Cf. Pischel, Pkt. Gr. § 354.

Generally, however, the Pāli form is kaṇeru-, and this form
is prescribed by the grammarians as being the one denoting the
she-elephant also in the Prākrits.[1] From the passages I have
looked up, viz. Jātaka II, 342, 3. 7. 20. 25; 343, 16; IV, 49, 20
(where B^d have kareṇu); V, 39, 12; 50, 9; 416, 22; VI, 497, 1 it is
quite obvious that kaṇeru- means "elephant-cow" and nothing
else.[2] To me it seems fairly clear that the word kareṇu-, kaṇeru-
originally meant nothing but "elephant-cow", and that its extension
into the masculine gender is an innovation which is of no real
importance for the original sense of the word.

Would it be too adventurous to suggest the kareṇu-, kaṇeru-
is 'n reality a compound made up by the deteriorative particle ka'+
a word *reṇu- or *ṇeru- meaning "an elephant's tusk". The
compound would thus mean "having bad tusks" and would form a
good epithet of a derisive nature applied to the elephant-cow. If
so were the case I should venture to go a step further and suggest
that this word *reṇu- or ṇeru- were in reality identical with that
reruka- "elephant's tusk" of which the Jātaka passage quoted
above has preserved a scanty remembrance. The assimilation of
*reṇu- or *ṇeru>*reru would present no insurmountable difficul-
ties; and on the whole I shou'd deem it probable that *ṇeru-
(perhaps across forms like *ḷeru-, *leru-) would be the preferable
form. This also tallies with my opinion that of the two forms
kaṇeru- and kareṇu- the former is the more original one. For,
it is easier to believe that kaṇeru by the influence of kariṇī,
should have developed into kareṇu- than to think of another way
of development.

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(1) Cf. Pischel ad Hc. II, 116.

(2) It baffles me why the PTS Pāli Dict. should give it the
meaning "a young elephant".

(3) On this and related particles cf. Wackernagel, Altind
Gramm. II: 1. 82 sq.; Charpentier, Monde Oriental XVIII, 12 sq.
etc.

If there really existed a word *ṇeru->reru(ka)- meaning
"elephant's tusk" it goes without saying that it is not of Aryan
origin but belongs to one of the aboriginal languages of India[1].
It may at some period or other have been superseded by the
Aryan denominations of elephant's tusk which are, like **danta**,-
radā- etc., of a rather pale and uninteresting nature.

11. P. Vyamha-.

A Pāli word **vyamha**- (v. l. **byamha**-) is known to me from
the following passages:

Vimānavatthu 35, 1:

phalikarajatahemajālacchannaṃ
vividhavicitraphalam addasaṃ sūrammaṃ
vyamhaṃ sunimmitaṃ toraṇūpapassaṃ
rājakūpakiṇṇam idaṃ subhaṃ vimānaṃ.

The commentary[2] explains the word and also tries an etymo-
logy which is, of course, impossible: **viharitukāmā vasanti etthā**
ti vyamhaṃ bhavanaṃ. The word consequently means something
like "a mansion, a palace.".

The other four passages are all from the **Jātaka.**[3]

In IV, 464, 26 the king of Benares visits the palace of the
Nāga Campeyya:

sa rājā pāvisi vyamhaṃ Campeyyassa nivesanaṃ
ādiccavaṇṇupanibhaṃ kaṃsavijjupabhassaraṃ.

The commentary explains **vyamhan ti alaṃkatānāgabhavanaṃ**
which does not bring us much further.[4] Further in V, 454, 1 sqq.
we read the following verse:

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(1) If such be the case even the **ka** in **kaṇeru**-, **kareṇu**- may
not be the Aryan deteriorative **ka**- but something quite different.
A scholar like M. Przyluski might suggest a solution ; per-
sonally I am, unfortunately, wholly out of my waters here.
(2) Paramatthadīpanī, pt. IV (PTS Publ. 36), p. 160.
(3) Cf. Kern, Toevoegselen II. 134. The passage V, 454,
3(cf. below) is misquoted both by Kern (as IV, 454) and by the
PTS Pāli Dict. (as III, 454).
(4) The corresponding passage in the Mahāvastu (II, 186, 5
sq.) differs very much (cf. Charpentier, Monde Oriental III, 42)
and gives no word that would correspond to **vyamha.**

*dibbakhiddaratiyo na dullabhā
cakkavatticaritañ ca mānuse
sovaṇṇavyamhanilayā va acchara
ye caranti pamadāh' anatthikā

"Divine pleasures are not difficult to obtain, nor the state of Universal Emperor in a human existence,^{1} nor the heavenly-nymphs sojourning in golden palaces to those who live away from the lewd womanfolk." The commentary explains: **sovaṇṇavy-amhanilayā suvaṇṇamayavimānavāsinyo.**

In VI, 119, 9 sq. King Nimi occompanied by Mātali arrives at a crystal palace inhabited by fair Apsarases which is thus described:

pabhāsati idaṃ vyamhaṃ phalikāhi sunimmitaṃ
nārivaragaṇākiṇṇaṃ kūṭāgāravarocitaṃ
upetaṃ annapānehi naccagītehi c'ūbhayaṃ.

The commentary simply gives: **vyamhan ti vimānam pāsādo ti vuttaṃ hoti.** Finally in VI, 251, 20 sq. the wise Nārada speaks thus to a king:

annahatthā ca te vyamhe ghosayantu pure tava:
ko chāto ko ca tasito etc.

Where the commentary runs thus: **vyamhe ca pure ca rājanivesane ca nagara ca.** Of the sense which the commentators attributed to **vyamha-** there can be no doubt: it means "palace, royal or heavenly abode".

I am far from sure that I can offer any explanation of this apparently old word which does not seem to occur in the later prose texts. If, however, a word **vyamhita-** does in some Jātaka passages stand for **vimhita-** = **vismita-** ^{2} which undoubtedly seems to be the case, could not **vyamha-** be = Skt. **veśman-?** This would undoubtedly develop into *vĕmha-' or even *vimha-;

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(1) This I suppose must be the sense here cf. VI, 175, 13: na hi etādisā kāmā sulabhā honti mānuse.
(2) Cf. Kern, Toevoegselen II, 134.
(3) Cf. sĕmha = śleṣman- etc.

and the later form may perhaps, under circumstances unfortunately obscure to me, have further developed into **vyamha-**.

12. Skt. Potra-.

According to Pāṇini III, 2, 183 and to later lexicographers a word **potra-** (which according to them is a derivative from **pū-**) means "a plough-share" and "a hog's snout". This word cannot, of course, be identical with another **potra₁**, which occurs in the Rigveda in the sense of "Soma-vessel used by the **potar**" or once (II, 1, 2) "the priestly function of the **potar**."[1]

The etymological connections of a word **potra-** "a plough-share"—the sense of "a hog's snout" is probably originally identical with this one—do not seem to be quite clear. Leaving aside the derivation from the root **pū-** we might suggest a relation with the word **pavi-** which according to Nigh. 2, 20 means **vajra-** and in the Nir. 12, 30 is a synonym of **śalya** "an arrow"; its other senses also seem to tally well with that of "plough-share".[2] And this leads further to **pavīra-** (Nir. 12, 30) "a pointed weapon, a lance, a spear", **pavīrava-** "a thunderbolt", RV. I. 174, 4, and "provided with a metal edge (of a ploughshare)", TS. IV, 2, 5, 3, **pavīravant-** (with about the same sense), and **pavīru-**, which probably means "a thunderbolt".[3] It further seems to me that

(1) There seems to be still another word **potra-** which is partly explained by **vastra** and partly by **vajra**. Supposing the latter explanation to be the correct one, it is, no doubt, identical with **potra-** "a plough-share". If, on the other hand, there exists a **potra-** = **vastra** this, I suppose, would be identical with p. **potthaka-** "cloth" (of various descriptions) and ultimately also with **pottha** in Jātaka II, 432, 16.

(2) Cf. also **kṣura-pavi-** in ŚBr. III, 2, 6, 9 (cf. Charpentier Die Suparṇasage p. 161.)

(3) On possible Persian relations of these words cf. Korš, Nǎkotoryja persidskija etimologii (known to me only through Indogerm. Jahrbuch I, 74); the suggestion does not seem very convincing to me.

we must in some way or other connect these words with the Latin **putāre** the original sense of which seems to be "to cut";[1] the idea that the above-mentioned Indian words should in some way belong to Latin **pavire**, which has again been connected with **putāre**, is by the way a time-honoured one,[2] though **potra-** has so far not been mentioned in this connection.[3]

Upsala, October 1930.

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(1) Cf. Bugge, Zeitschr. f. vgl. Sprf. XIX, 416; Walde, Latein. etymol. Wb². 627.

(2) Cf. *e. g.* Fick, Vergl Wb². 1, 677; Curtius, Grundzüge der griech Etym⁵. p. 268.

(3) There seem to exist in Pāli two words **potthanī** 'a butcher's knife' and **potthanikā** 'a dagger'; but I dare not allow myself any judgement upon these somewhat doubtful words. No suggestion concerning them is made by Kern, Toevoegselen, II. 43.

UVAṬA AND MAHIDHARA.

By Lakshman Sarup M. A. (Panj.), D. Phil. (Oxon.),
Professor of Sanskrit Literature at the Panjab University.

Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara have both written commentaries on the Śukla Yajurveda ι. e., the Vājasaneyisaṃhitā in the Mādhyandina recension.

There are several discrepancies in their commentaries. Their mutual relationship and chronology are not clear. In the introductory stanza, Mahīdhara acknowledges his indebtedness to the commentaries of Uvaṭa and Mādhava.* From this, one would conclude that Uvaṭa was earlier than Mahīdhara. But in commenting on YV. XXIV. 3. Uvaṭa remarks: महीधरोक्तमर्थं विलिखामि । शुद्धवाल: शुभ्रबाल: etc. And the commentary of Uvaṭa on this stanza as well as on stanzas XXIV. 3—19; 21—40; XXV. 1—13 is identical with that of Mahīdhara. This tends to show that Uvaṭa is later than Mahīdhara and has borrowed the latter's commentary on several stanzas.

The express statements of the two commentators go to show that each is indebted to the other, that each has utilised the other's commentary. And the only conclusion which can possibly be drawn from this evidence is that the two writers were contemporaries. But such a conclusion is wrong as would be shown later on.

Further Uvaṭa is described as a son of Jaiyaṭa[1] in the

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* प्रणम्य वाग्मी नृहरिं गणेशं भार्ष्यं विलोक्यौवटमाधवीयम् ।
बहूर्ननूनां विलिखामि भार्थं परोपकाराय निजेक्षराय ॥

१. आनन्दपुरवास्तव्यजैय्यटाख्यस्य सूनुना ।
उवटेन कृतं भार्ष्यं पदवाक्यै: सुनिश्चितै: ॥

colophon at the end of Chapter XX but as a son of Vajraṭa[2] in the colophon at the end of Chapter XL.

The object of this paper is to examine these discrepancies and to remove them if possible.

There are several editions. It would be well to compare them in order to obviate the errors of a particular edition.

(a) The commentary of Uvaṭa ed. by Prabhudatta, son of Śrighana´yāma, resident of Sirsakhedi. On p. 524, the following remark is found on XXIV. 3:—महीधरोक्तमर्थं विलिखामि । सुम्वबाल: सुम्वबाल: etc. On p. 472ʳ. Jaiyaṭa is mentioned as the father of Uvaṭa but on p. 698.ʳ Vajrata is stated to be the father of Uvaṭa.

(b) Śuklayajurvedasaṃhitā with the commentaries of Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara ed. by Panaśīkara, Bombay 1912. On p. 1 Mahīdhara expresses his obligation to Uvaṭa but on p. 447 Uvaṭa says:—महो ध्वरोक्तमर्थं विलिखामि etc. On p. 404 Jaiyaṭa is stated to be the father of Uvaṭa but on p. 610, it is Vajraṭa.

(c) Śuklayajurvedasaṃhitā with the commentaries of Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara ed. by Śrī Rāmasakalamiśra, 4 Vols. Benares 1912-15. On p. 10. Mahīdhara mentions Uvaṭa as his predecessor. On p. 1212 the following note is added by the editor :—

अथ महीधरोक्तमर्थ विलिखामीति पाठ औठ्वट्टभाष्ये कस्मिंश्चिद्वादर्शे केनचिद्टिप्पणयां समुद्भूत इत्यनुमीयते परं तु सुम्बर्मुद्रितपुस्तके शोधकेन मूलभाष्य- एव टूठात् सन्निवेशित इति कारात्लोहप्रड़ांशोय संस्कृतपाठशालीयौठ्वट्टभाष्य- पुस्तकद्वयांगात् सुस्पर्ष्ट भवति ! स च पाठो मया त्यक्त: । महीधरभाष्यस्वाम्य सत्त्वेन पुनस्तत्सन्निवेशश्चप्रयोज कत्वादिति सुधीभिर्निर्मात्सरीयमिति । एत: परं वहुषु स्थलेषु औठ्वट आर्ष्यं भाष्यकृता कृतमेव नास्तीति पूर्वौठ्वटभाष्यपुस्तक- दर्शांगात् सुस्पष्ट भवतीति बोध्यम् ।

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२. आनन्दपुरवास्तव्यवज्रटाख्यस्य सूनुना ।
उवटेन कृतं भाष्यं पदवाक्ये: सुविश्चितौ: ॥

The editor does not seem to be aware of Prabhudatta's edition described in *a*, as he merely refers to the Bombay edition. Here also on p. 1094 Jaiyata is stated to be the father of Uvata but on p. 1795 Vajrata is given as the name of Uvata's father.

All the three editions agree in mentioning Jaiyata as the father of Uvata at the end of Chapter XX and Vajrata at the end of Chapter XL.

Two editions agree in making Uvata indebted to Mahidhara but the third denies the indebtedness and states that Uvata did not write any commentary on certain stanzas. But the third edition also has no claim to be regarded as critical for it perpetrates the discrepancy with regard to the name of Uvata's father. Its evidence therefore cannot be accepted with reliability. In any case its statement that Uvata left a few stanzas without any explanation is incorrect as will be shown later on.

It is therefore necessary to examine the commentaries critically.

Internal evidence shows that Mahidhara's commentary is not an independent exegesis but a mere amplification of the work of Uvata.

That the commentary of Mahidhara is a mere amplification of Uvata is shown by the following example. Mahidhara lacks originality. He merely expands the remarks of Uvata.

XXV. 16. Uvata's commentary.

तान् पूर्वेषां ब्रह्मपुरुषयाब्धिमया स्वयंभुवा निविदा निविक्लृप्तो वाग्वचन: । हुम्हे आह्वयामो धयम् । तान् कालिस्थत आह । भर्ग मित्रमिहिति वृक्षमिच्घिपमच्युतवर्ड्ढ्-भषाम् । वृक्स्तेनविद्रिप्ठेयम् । क्येर्म्मर्यं धर्व्वं सोममश्चिवनी च । ये: संहिता सरस्वती हुम्मा न: अस्माकं मय: हुक्वरं करोति व्विति ॥ २५ ॥ १६ ॥

XXV. 16. Mahidhara's commentary.

पूर्वेषा प्राचीनया ब्रह्मिनया स्वयंभुवा निविदा वाचा वेदरूपेण वयं तान्प्रसिद्धान्तेवान् हुम्हे आह्वयाम: । निवि-क्लृप्तो वाग्वाचक: । तान् कान् तत्राह । भर्ग मित्रमिहिति देवमातरं वयं प्रजापतिमर्घं वयं सोममश्चिवना अश्विनौ । अश्विनावमिति भगानदिनां विशेष्यम् । न च्येहते अ्योतते सोऽश्चित् तमध्युतस्त्रद्रवम् । किं च भर्ग आभ्य यस्मा: सा हुम्मा भजनीया सरस्वती मघादिसहिता नोऽस्माकं मय: करतु हुक्वं करोतु व्याप॥१६॥

Words underlined in Uvatas' commentary are repeated by Mahidhara.

Words underlined constitute the additional explanation of the words of Uvata by Mahidhara.

Mahīdhara goes to the extent of borrowing the quotations
cited by Uvaṭa. A few examples are given here:—

I. 1. (a) यो वृष्टादूर्ध्वसो आयवे तस्मै तदाह एति श्रुति: ।

   (b) ऊर्जं बलमाणनयो: ।

   (c) यज्ञो वै श्रेष्ठतमं कर्म एति श्रुति: ।

   (d) छिनद्मीति चोमयो: साकांचत्त्वात्सञमयामीति चोत्तर एति ।

All these quotations cited by Uvaṭa are borrowed by
Mahīdhara in writing the explanation of the self same
stanza.

   I. 2. धामानि त्रीणि भवन्ति स्थामानि नामानि अम्मानीति च quoted
by Uvaṭa is borrowed by Mahīdhara on III. 8.

   Examples are numerous and need not be multiplied.

   On many stanzas, Mahīdhara merely reiterates the
remarks of Uvaṭa, e.g., XXII 24—33 Paṇaśikara's ed. pp.
429—430:

उ० प्राच्यै । दिग्देवता: ॥२४॥

म० प्राच्यै । दिग्देवता: ।२४॥

उ० अन्द्रय: । जलदेवता ॥२५॥

म० अन्द्रय: । जलदेवता ॥२५॥

उ० वाताय । मेघोपयोगदेवता: ॥२६॥

म० वाताय । मेघोपयोगदेवता: ॥२६॥

उ० अग्मये । अग्म्याद्वय: प्रसिद्धा: ॥२७॥

म० अग्मये । अग्म्याद्वय: प्रसिद्धा: ॥२७॥

उ० नक्षत्रेभ्य: ? नक्षत्राद्वय: काळाधिष्ठाव्य: ।२८॥

म० नक्षत्रेभ्य: । नक्षत्राद्वय: काळाधिष्ठाव्य: ॥२८॥

P. 430:—उ० पृथिव्यै । पृथिव्याद्यो लोकाधिष्ठाव्य: ॥२९॥

म० पृथिव्यै । पृथिव्याद्यो लोकाधिष्ठाव्य: ॥२९॥

P. 430. XXII. 30—33.

उ० असवे । अस्वाद्यश्च ॥३०॥

म० असवे । अस्वाद्यश्च ॥३०॥

उ० मघवे । मघ्वाद्यो मासाधिष्ठातार: ।३१॥

*See my Indices and Appendices to the Nirukta, pp. 355—360,

ऋ० मघवे । मघवावृषो मान्विविद्यालाक ॥२॥॥
उ० वाजाय । वाजादवोऽत्राधीया : ॥२२॥
म० वाजाय । वाजादवयेऽत्रआधीया : ॥२२॥
उ० आयु: । यज्ञेनाश्वमेधेनायु: कल्पताम् । एवमग्रऽपि प्रार्थनामन्त्र : ॥२२॥
म० आयु: । यज्ञेनाश्वमेधेनायु: कल्पताम् । एवमग्रऽपि प्रार्थनामन्त्र: ॥२२॥

The evidence of the Benares Ms. shows that the sentence महीधरोक्तमथ विलिखामि is not an authentic part of Uvaṭa's commentary. It also shows that Uvaṭa did not borrow Mahidhara's commentary as the same is not given in that Ms.

Mahidhara has himself clearly expressed his obligation to Uvaṭa, so it is clear that Uvaṭa is the earlier commentator and the former has utilised the work of the latter.

To attribute the sentence महीधरोक्तमथं विलिखामि to Uvaṭa and to print the former's commentary as the commentary of the latter is very misleading. It has actually misled at least one scholar. P. Bhagavaddatta B. A., Superintendent of the Research Department of the D. A. V. College, Lahore, consulted Paṇaśikara's edition. In the commentary attributed to Uvaṭa on XXV. 8. p. 460, Karka, the author of the commentary on Kātyāyana's *Srauta Sūtra* is quoted. Bhagvaddatta accepted this commentary as genuine and assigned Karka to a period anterior to Uvaṭa on the authority of this quotation. As Karka himself quotes Harisvāmin, the latter was assigned to a still earlier period. This chronological chain, constructed by P. Bhagavaddatta is very weak indeed for the commentary ascribed to Uvaṭa is really that of Mahīdhara. Karka is therefore not earlier than Uvaṭa but only earlier than Mahīdhara. The dates assigned to Harisvāmin and Karka by P. Bhagavaddatta on the authority of this passage are wrong. It is surprising that P. Bhagavaddatta failed to notice the identity of the commentaries attributed to Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara on this and several other stanzas,

although both of them are printed close to each other in the
particular edition used by him.

The next point to be considered is Miśra's assertion that
Uvaṭa did not write any commentary on the stanzas, men-
tioned above. It is true that Uvaṭa sometimes does not give
a detailed explanation of easy stanzas and contents himself
by stating that the stanza does not stand in need of any
comment, e.g. on XI. 65 p. 204 he remarks: निगदव्याख्यातम्.

On XXII. 6. p. 423, he says:—प्रमये स्वाहेति ऋजवो मन्त्रा:

On XXII. 8. p. 424, he remarks:—यते स्वाहा एतीति यम
तस्मै यते । स्पष्टमन्यत् ॥८॥

But Uvaṭa does not ignore any stanza—except two—and
leave it without any comment. Whenever he does not explain
any stanza he makes some such remark as निगदव्याख्यातम् ।
ऋजवो मन्त्रा:, स्पष्टम् etc. Miśra's assertion therefore cannot be
accepted.

Chapter XXIV gives a list of animals sacred to
different deities with reference to the aśvamedha sacrifice. It
is unnecessary to explain the stanzas in detail. But a general
explanation is given by Uvaṭa. While commenting on
XXIV. 2 he remarks:—

रोहित (YV. XXIV. 2)
इत्यादय: श्वेता प्रायव्या: श्वेता: शौर्या: (XXIV. 19) इत्येवमन्त:
इतरेषु यूपेषु रोहित दिषु ये गुणश्रवणा: शब्दास्ते गुणिनं पशुं तदयन्ति ।

Hence there was no further comment on stanzas XXIV.
3—XXIV. 19.

He remarks on XXIV. 20:—

बृहस्ताय कपिञ्जलान्निमाश्वते (XXIV. 20) इत्यादयो विश्वेषां देवानां
पृषत: (XXIV. 40) इत्येवमन्ता यूपान्तरेषु नयादश्च अन्येष्वाह्या:
पशव आज्ञम्यन्ते । Hence there could be no further comment
on stanzas XXIV. 21—XXIV. 40 both inclusive.

He remarks on XXV. 1.

एवं द्रव्यदेवतमप्रसिद्धं यत्रपाश्वादिभ्यो ऽवगन्तव्यमिति पृथिव्यां त्वचेति यावत् । (पृथिव्यां त्वचा XXV. 9) There was no further comment on the stanza XXV. 2—XXV. 9, both inclusive.

The question now remains of the stanzas XXV. 10—13.

XXV. 10. occurs as XIII. 4, where Uvaṭa has fully explained it.

XXV. 11. occurs as XXIII. 3, where it has been commented upon.

XXV. 12. occurs once only in YV. and has not been previously explained.

XXV. 13. occurs only once in YV. and has not been previously explained.

The Benares Ms. of Uvaṭa's commentary ed. by Mi ra gives the so-called explanation of Uvaṭa on these two stanzas. But a comparison with the commentary of Mahīdhara shows that it is not genuine but merely an adaptation from Mahīdhara. Evidently some later reader has tried to fill up the lacuna in Uvaṭa's Ms. But it is clear Uvaṭa's commentary on these two stanzas is not available.

FATHER OF UVAṬA.

The only support in favour of the colophon at the end of Chapter XX is furnished by Bhīmasena, a commentator of Mammaṭa's Kāvya Prakāśa. Uvaṭa is described as a younger brother of Mammaṭa and Kaiyaṭa and all three as sons of Jaiyaṭa. But the commentator does not mention the source of his information. His view however has not been accepted.

Uvaṭa has also written a commentary on the Ṛgvedaprātiśākhya. There are several Mss. of this commentary at the

University Sanskrit Library[1], Lahore. They all describe Uvaṭa as a son of Vajraṭa. The evidence of these **Mss.** supports the colophon at the end of Chapter XL.

Further, there is an old Ms. of the commentary of Uvaṭa on the Yajurveda at the Oriental Institute, Baroda. The Ms. is dated sam. 1464 = 1407 A. D. The date is genuine and is confirmed by the old method of writing. The colophon at the end of Chapter XX clearly mentions Vajraṭa as the father of Uvaṭa. The colophon at the end of Chapter XL in this Ms. also gives out Vajraṭa as the name of Uvaṭa's father[2]. This is further supported by colophons of the Benares Ms. of Uvaṭa's Commentary on the White Yajur-veda The colophon at the end of Chapter XX is the following: —(sic.) इति श्री उवटकृतौ मंत्रभाष्ये विंशति(त)मोध्याय: ।२०। संवत् १६३४। मिति श्रावणशुदि ४ गुरौ ।

The name of father of Uvaṭa is not mentioned yet Miṣra has printed it wrongly in his edition.

The colophon at the end of Chapter X is the following :— sic. उवटकृतौ मंत्रभाष्ये दशमोध्याय: ।

श्रानंदपुरवास्तव्यवज्राटस्य च सूनुना ।
मंत्रभाष्यमिदं कॢप्तं भोजे पृथ्वीं प्रशासति ॥

At the end of Chapter XIII, the colophon is the follow-ing :—sic. इति उवटकृतौ मंत्रभाष्ये त्रयोदशोध्याय: । १३ ।

श्रानंदपुरवास्तव्यवज्राटस्य च सूनुना ।
उवटेन कृतं भाष्यमुज्जयिन्यां स्थितेन तु ॥

From these colophons of the Benares and the Baroda Mss., it is clear that the name of Uvaṭa's father was Vajraṭa and not Jaiyaṭa. The occurrence of Jaiyaṭa in the colophon,

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1. See Mss. Nos. 563, 3033, 2187.
2. See Indices and Appendices to the Nirukta p. 72, where both the colophons of this Ms. are copied.

at the end of Chapter XX in the extant editions of Uvaṭa's commentary is an error and should be corrected.

As Uvaṭa wrote at Avanti under the famous King Bhoja (1018—1060 A. D.), his time is the first half of the eleventh century A. D.

MAHIDHARA.

There are at least three Mahīdharas:—

1. One is mentioned as a Mahāpaṇḍita-Śrī Mahīdhara. His grandson Mahāpaṇḍita Hṛṣīkeśaśarman figures as the recipient of two villages in a copper plate grant of Mahārājādhirāja Jayacandra Deva of Kanauj. The grant is dated Sam. 1232 = 1175 A. D.[1] This Mahīdhara can be safely assigned to the first half of the twelfth century A. D. *i. e.* about a hundred years later than Uvaṭa.

2. Another Mahidhara is the commentator of the Śuklayajurveda. From the introductory stanza, it is clear that he is later than Uvaṭa and Mādhava. If Mādhava stands for Sāyaṇa, then he is later than the 14th cen. A.D.

There is another Mahīdhara, the author of Mantramahodadhi[2]. I am inclined to identify the author of Mantramahodadhi with the commentator of the Yajurveda. The first verse of the introductory stanzas in both the works is almost identical.

Commentary of Mahidhara has the verse:—

प्रणम्य लक्ष्मीं नृहरिं गणेशं

The Mantramahodadhi gives the first two verses in the following way:—

प्रणम्य लक्ष्मीं नृहरिं महागणपतिं गुरुम् ।

In both cases, salutations are addressed in almost identical words to Lakshmī, Nṛhari, and the Lord of *gaṇas*

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1. Indices and Appendices to the Nirukta, pp. 73—74.
2. Ed. Calcutta 1892.

and in the same order. This shows the author of both stanzas to be one and the same person. The commentator is therefore to be identified with the author of Mantramaho-dadhi. A short description of the family is given by the author in the 25th Wave of the Mantra. Mahīdhara was the son of Phanūbhaṭṭa, grandson of Ratnākara, belonged to the Vatsa gotra. He left his own native place, migrated to Benares, was devoted to the God Narahari. He had a son named Kalyāṇa.*

3. The third Mahīdhara is a scholar-scribe. He has composed and copied several Mss. His literary activity covers the period from Sam. 1630—1670 *i. e.* 1573—1617 A. D. Fortunately several Mss. copied in the hand of Mahīdhara were acquired in 1928 by the Queen's Sanskrit College Library, Benares, from the descendants of Mahī-dhara himself.

I had an opportunity of examining them at Benares in January 1931. I give below a list of the Mss. acquired by the Benares Library and written by Mahīdhara himself.

(१) स्वरप्रक्रिया

(२) नृसिंहपरिचर्यानुक्रमणी

(३) षट्स्वरसामप्रकार:

(४) नृसिंहपूर्वतापनीयोपनिषत्

(४क) ०तापनीयोपनिषद्भाष्यम्

अहिच्छत्रद्विजच्छत्रं वत्सगोत्रसमुद्भव: ।
आसीद् रत्नाकरो नाम विद्वान् ख्यातो धरातले ॥१२१॥
तत्तनूजो रामभक्त: फनूभट्टाभिधोऽभवत् ।
महीधरस्तदुत्पन्न: संसारासारतां विदन् ॥१२२॥
निजदेशं परित्यज्य गतो वाराणसीं पुरीम् ।
सेवमानो नरहरिस्तत्र ग्रन्थमिमं व्यधात् ॥१२३॥
कल्याणाभिधपुत्रेण तथान्यैर्द्विजसत्तमै: ।

(४ख)०तापनीयोपनिषद्दीपिका

(५) वाजसनेयिप्रातिशाख्यमूलम्

(६) हेमचन्द्रविरचित-अनेकार्थसंग्रह :

(७) गरुडपुराणमृतखराडम्

(८) सांख्यकारिका with तत्त्वकौमुदी

(९) मन्त्रराज—स्य दीपिका

(१०) प्रक्रियाकौमुदीटीका by महिधरः

(११) काव्यादर्शस्य टिप्पणी by भूमिदासः

(१२) वैदिकीप्रक्रिया

(१३) अशोकविराजव्रतम्

(१४) कात्यायनप्रातिशाख्यम्

(१५) नीलोत्सर्गविधि :

Out of these, nos. 2, 10, and 11 are clearly stated to have been composed and the rest seem to have been copied by Mahīdhara.

A few passages from these Mss. are given here. Colophons in other Mss. are similar. It is not necessary to give all the colophons of all the Mss. A few samples should suffice. The following will give some indication of the general manner :—

१ नारसिंहपूर्वतापनीयम्
इत्याथर्वणे तापनीये पंचमोपनिषत् ॥ इति नारसिंहपूर्वतापनीयं ॥ महीदासोलिखत्काश्यां सं १६३४ चैत्रव १३ रवौ ॥ .

२ तापनीयोपनिषद्राष्यम्
इति श्री गोविंदभगवत्पूज्यपादशिष्यस्य परमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्यस्य श्रीशंकरभगवतः कृतावाथर्वणतापनीयोपनिषद्भाष्ये पंचमोपनिषत्समाप्ता ॥ महीदासेन कीर्तं काश्यां संवत् १६४० वर्षे स्वपाठाय तेन नरकेसरी प्रीयतां ॥

३ तापनीयोपनिषद्दीपिका
॥ इति नवमखंडः समाप्तः । इत्युत्तरतापनीयोपनिषद्दीपिका समाप्ता ॥ श्री संवत् १९२७ वर्षे वैशाखशुदि ५ भौमे शुभमस्तु ॥ लेश्वेन लेखितं ॥ श्रीः ॥ श्रीनृसिंहाय नमः ॥

महोदासेन कीतं काश्यां संवत् १६५० वर्ष स्वपाठाय तेन नरकेसरी प्रोक्तां
श्रीनृसिंह

४ स्वरप्रक्रिया

॥ इति प्रसाद: संपूर्णं: ॥-श्रीनृसिंहो जयतितमां भक्तावकः)

श्रीमन्नागातपञ्छिजकुलतिलकविचरल्लाकस्य सूनुभूं मितलेऽस्मिन् जयति
फनुबुधो रामचंद्रैकचेता: तत्सूनुभूं मिद्सोऽधिगिरिश्नगरं स्तनमझले आम्बुवीये
स्वारीमेतां ठयलेखोस्वपठनकृतये प्रक्रियां विष्णुतुष्ट्यै ॥१॥ खगुणषष्टिमिते वर्षे पो-
षांत्याजदिने स्वौ महोदासोऽलिखतकाश्यां प्रक्रियास्वरपूर्वि ·········

५ वदिकी प्रक्रिया

स्वस्ति श्रीमति रघाग्नि षोडशमिते सहस्ये सिते वह्मेरन्हिमितस्य वासरदिनी
श्रीवैदिकीं प्रक्रियां । श्रीषत्सर्षिसुगोत्रज: फनुसुतो नाम्ना महीकिंकर: श्री
विश्वेश्वरपत्तने समलिखल्लक्ष्मीपतेस्तुष्टये ॥ दुंढिराजाय नम: ।

६ गरुडपुराणम्

इति गरुडपुराणे अष्टादशैकसहस्त्यां संहितायां उत्तरखंडे विष्णुताक्ष्येसंवादे
प्रतकल्पो नाम षट्त्रिंशोऽध्याय: ॥३६॥२०॥ श्रीमन्नृकेसरिणे नमः गुणनिगमरक्ष्मा-
संमिते ह्याने शेध्यक्षमदनघस्य फाल्गुने मासि काश्यां । इह गरुडपुराणप्रेतखंडं
ठयलेखीम्मही......माधवस्तेन तुष्यात् ।१॥ महोदास: पूर्णंम

७ पुराण

इति-पुराणे हकिमाये नारदप्रोक्तं अशोकचरिताभ्नतं संपूर्णं ॥१५५६
आश्विनशुक्लचतुर्दश्यां महीदासेनालेखि ।

No. ५७६ अशोकचरिताभ्नतम् ।

Fr. २ स: नृं१५५६ आश्विनशुक्लचतुर्दश्यां महीदासेनालेखि।

No. १५२३ काव्यादर्शटीका

Beginning F. 1 :—गणेशं नृहरिं शेषं वाणीं गिरिशमद्रिजाम्
प्रणम्य चिन्निजाम्येतत्काव्यादर्शं सुटिप्पणम् ॥
तं वन्दे यस्य नखरेन्दुपलादपि कोमलैः ।
शिक्षितं तत्सदैत्येन्द्रवक्ष:पाटनपाटवम् ॥

इति काव्यादर्शटीकायां दु:करविभावो नाम तृतीय: परिच्छेद: समास: ॥

अर्ग्वेमन्येश्चन्व ऊर्जं शिवाहे क्सो (१) काश्यां भूमिदासो व्यलेखीत् ।
काव्यादर्शे भाष्यमेतद्बुधोक्तं स्वीयाल्लोकायोपकाराय यत्नात् ।
१० No. ६२८ प्रक्रियाकौमुदीटीका
इति प्रक्रियाकौमुदीटीकायां समासप्रकरणम् । श्रीनरकेसरिमहागणपतिभ्यां
नमः । पङ्क्तिषूषड्वसुभामित्वत्सरे सह्स्तिमार्गसिते वसुवत्सरे ।
विवरणं तु समासभगं मुदा निजकृते व्यलिखन्महिकिङ्कुरः ।
११ कात्यायनप्रातिशाख्यम्
ॐ नमःश्रीमहिल्ल्यलल्लीनृसिंहाय । भवानीशंकराभ्यां च ।
इति कात्यायनकृते प्रातिशाख्यसूत्रेऽष्टमोऽध्यायः । समाप्तमिदं प्रातिशाख्यम् ।
स्वस्ति संवत् । भूगुणांगधरणीमितवर्षस्योर्जेमासि धवले फणिघस्रे । सौख-
पाठक्रतये शिष्यपुर्यां प्रातिशाख्यमलिखन्महिदासः ।
संवत् १६२१ वर्षे कार्तिकशुक्लपञ्चम्यां महीदासः काश्यां प्रातिशाख्यमलेखीत् ।

One thing remarkable in these Mss. is the manner in which the name Mahīdhara is written.

Synonyms are used, e. g. Mahidāsa, Mahikinkara, Bhūmidāsa. The real and the original name Mahīdhara found in the commentary on the Yajurveda is never used.

Salutations are everywhere to gods Nṛhari, Gaṇeśa, Narakesarī, Mahāgaṇapati, Lakshmi. Salutations of these Mss. bear a very close resemblance to the salutations of the commentary and the Mantramahodadhi.

Further in the Ms. of स्वरप्रक्रिया transcribed by himself, Mahīdhara gives the information that he was the son of Phanu, grandson of Ratnākara.

He describes his grandfather as श्रीमन्नागातपञ्जटङ्कुलतिलकः। It is identical with the remark of the Mantra:—

अहिच्छत्रजत्तिजट्कुलं etc. नागातपञ्ज is a synonym of अहिच्छत्र. From this identity of salutations and names of the family, it is clear that the scholar-scribe of these Mss. is

*See the colophon of Svaraprakriyā, above, p. 20.

to be identified with the author of the Mantramahodadhi and the commentator of the Śukla Yajurveda. His date can now be definitely settled as shown by these Mss. *i. e.* he is to be assigned to the later half of the 16th Cen. A. D. as the colophons of the Mss. cover the period Sam. 1630—1670, this being the period of his literary activity. All these Mss. were transcribed at Benares and we know from the Mantra that Mahīdhara left his own native place and migrated to Benares. This date is corroborated by the date of the Mantramahodadhi, composed in Sam. 1645=1588 A. D.[*]

*अब्दे विक्रमतो जाते वेदबाणनृपैर्मिते ।
ज्येष्ठाष्टम्यां शिवस्याग्रे पूर्णो मन्त्रमहोदधि: ।
पञ्चचत्वारिंशदुत्तरषोडशशततमे विक्रमनृपादूगते वर्षे।

TATSAMA GY
by A. C. Woolner

(1) There are a few words in Hindi written with **jñ** but regularly pronounced with **gy**: for example gyāu 'knowledge' and derivatives from the same root such as **gyānī. gyāpak, āgyā**; **yagya** 'sacrifice' etc.   •

Similar forms are found in Panjabi and Bengali Pb. **giāṇ** 'knowledge', **giānī** or **gayānī** 'learned', āgiā 'command'. For Bengali see S. K. Chatterji, The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language. p. 462. He records **gy, -ggy** and **gey-**.

Pb. **jagg**, B. O. jāg, Sindhi **jagu** (quoted. by Beames I. 302.) evidently come from a similar treatment of **yajña**.

The substitution of a vowel for **y** and the nasalisation of **y** may be ignored for the moment. It seems clear that these forms are based upon the pronunciation of Sanskrit **jñ** as **gy**, which is common to pandits in the North and East of India.

The **tadbhava** treatment of **jñ** is indicated by H. nātā 'kinship' (jñātitva) Pb. ṇāttā. **janeu** (yajñopavīta). Pb. **janeü**.

Rāṇī 'queen' may have been associated with rāṇā from rājānaka, but cf. Romani rāni.

(2) In Gujrat there is a pronunciation **gn** as in gnān 'knowledge' (Clair Tisdall records a *svarabhakti* variety of this; ganān.) **Tadbhava** forms are **janoi** (yajñopavita) and **jāṇ** 'knowledge. In the Marathi country there is the pronunciation of **jñ** as **dny**, as in the name Dnyānoba, while **tadbhava** treatment is seen in nātẽ 'kinship' (J. Bloch, Langue marathe, p. 357.) jānavẽ (yajñopavīta) and perhaps in rāṇī 'queen'.

(There is also **j** in **paij** from pratijñā. J. Bloch. p. 139. Cf. Old H. **jaj** for **yajña**.)

(3) These varieties **gy, gn** and **dny** do not seem to be Prakritic. Pischel, Grammatik der Prakrit Sprachen, §276. gives the following treatments of **jñ**.

(*i*) Regularly jñ becomes ṇṇ (or ṇ) *e. g* āṇā from ājñā,

(*ii*) It becomes nn (n). AMg. nāṇa 'knowledge'. cf. H. ñātā. janeu, M. nātē, jānavē.

(*iii*) In Māgadhī and Paiśācī jñ becomes ññ (ñ). according to Hemacandra. yañña from yajñā.

(*iv*) According to Hemacandra jñ also becomes jj in some words: ajjā from ājñā, jāṇa from jñāna.

cf. Mar. paij from pratijñā. Old H. jaj from yajña.

There was also the **svarabhakti** method: Pāli rājinī. Old H. rāginī.

Three of these survive in Marathi and J. Bloch remarks (p. 139.) "ni dans l'histoire ancienne ni dans la répartition des dialectes modernes on ne trouve d'indication permettant de rendre compte de cette diversité."

It is clear that once the process of prakritic assimilation is complete as in the four treatments given above, there can be no phonetic reason for going on to gy, gn or dny.

In other words this variation in the pronunciation of Sanskrit is not due to the influence of the Prakrits or of modern Indian languages. Whence then can it come?

(4) If we are to form any idea as to how the diversity arose, we must determine a more ancient pronunciation of jñ.

If we assume this to have been j+ñ *i. e.* something like ʤ+ñ, we may be satisfied about the origin of dny.

If again ʤ is not a true palatal but comes forward nearer to an alveolar or dental ʤ or dz, then (ʤ)n or (dz)n would become by assimilation nn (n).

The survival of j in paij and jaj would show the other method of assimilation.

But we are no nearer to gy and gn.

(5) Now Sanskrit j is ultimately derived from a palatal stop ɟ or we may conveniently write g'.

S. K. Chatterji [1] tells us that the affricate pronunciation of the palatal stops seems to have been only dialectal in the Early M. I. A. period and that for some time the stop value and affricate value went on, side by side.

The present writer had long suspected that Old Indo-Aryan possessed true palatal stops not affricates.

Macdonell however thought the affricate pronunciation indicated by the Greek reproductions of Indian names made it likely that they were so pronounced in Vedic times. (Vedic Grammar, § 35. cf. Wackernagel, I. 119.) It is true that an affricate pronunciation of j in Iranian is required to account for the variation z in Avestan and d in Persian corresponding to Sanskrit j. (Cf. also Old Persian xšnāsātiy 'Let him recognise' and adānā 'he knew'. Meillet, Grammaire du Vieux Perse, pp. 60 and 99.)

But in either case to whatever date the palatal stop g′ survived in pandits' speech it is quite possible that it survived still longer in the complex g′ñ.

(6) Supposing we start with g′ñ, this might change in two or three different ways.

(i) where and when the palatal ñ was no longer correctly pronounced g′ñ could be replaced by gn.

(ii) Before that the assimilation of the nasal to the stop but leaving an offglide y would result in gy. Cf. the assimilation of gn to gg.

(iii) When g′ had been replaced by palatal d′ and then made affricate ʤ or dz, the complex g′ñ could become d′ñ and then dny.

Or we may state the matter thus :—

Pandit speech.

g′ñ - g′nʸ - (g)ǵ̌y-gy.
gn.
d′ñ - dny.

(1) Bengali Language. p. 245 ff.

Prakrit.

    d′n - ñ̃ñ̃

      ṇṇ

Later $\left.\begin{array}{l}\text{(dʒ) n} \\ \text{(dz) n}\end{array}\right\}$**j** or **n.**

If that is so, the variation **gy, gn, dny** goes back to a variation in pandits' speech caused by replacing **g′** by **d′**, to which standing by itself a sibilant was added instead of an off-glide resembling **y.**

(7) It may be asked whether there are any other instances ·vhere variations in the pronunciation of Sanskrit seem to be independent of ordinary prakritic changes.

One such instance may be the rendering of the cerebral **ṣ** by **kh.** Some pandits say **upanikhad** for **upaniṣad.** (Cf. the form Oupnekhat of Anquetil Duperron from a Persian transcription) Hindi and Panjabi represent Sanskrit cerebral **ṣ** as **kh.** **bhākhā** for **bhāṣā.** On this see S. K. Chatterji, Bengali Language, p. 243. where he says " in certain forms of OIA. the [X] sound was actually the one employed for [Ṣ], as we can infer from a mediaeval pronunciation of [Ṣ] as [kh] which still obtains, -[kh] being the nearest Middle Indian approximation to a traditional [X]". He then mentions Slavonic **snŭxa , synŭxŭ=** Skt. **snuṣā, sūnuṣu** and the wellknown variation Pashto and Pakhto.

(8) If **ṣ** is a sibilant variant of **x** which survived dialectically in OIA. of Northern India and is still represented by Middle Indian and modern **kh,** we might expect to see the effect of this variation in the complex **kṣ.**

In an **x**-dialect this would be **kx.** Such may be the source of the **tatsama** pronunciation **khy** and the prakritic **kkh.**

In a sibilant dialect it would be **kʃ,** now the orthodox Sanskrit pronunciation. In this complex Prakrit has replaced **k** with a **t** sound.

    kʃ·tʃ-tʃ^ʰ-ttʃ^ʰ i.e. **cch.**

Efforts to account for the variation kṣ becomes kkh or cch on the basis of a distinction in Indo-Iranian have not been successful. (See Pischel, Prakrit Grammar, §§318-321. Geiger, Pali Grammar, §56. J. Bloch, Langue marathe, §104.)

According to the view suggested above the variation depends on more or less of sibilation in OIA. and is parallel to the variation of kh and ṣ and at a little distance to that of gy and dṇy.

All three non-sibilant pronunciations are found in Northern India, though gy has extended into Bengal, and in the Prakrits forms with kkh and cch are considerably intermingled.

(9) It has to be realised however that these are not so much variations in local speech as variations in the habits of learned speech, which is much more conservative on one hand, while it has on the other hand a tendency to make a conscious effort to avoid vernacular errors, especially in periods when Sanskrit schools are flourishing. Consequently the exact form of a semi-tatsama will depend not merely on local phonetics, but also on the pandits and the degree of their influence at a particular period. This is illustrated by some of the modern forms of proper names e.g. Krishaṇ, Kishan Kisan as opposed to Kistna and tadbhava Kaṇha.

From this point of view it would be of interest to reconstruct as far as possible the history of the pronunciation of Sanskrit in different parts of India.

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YASNA XXXI

By Irach Jehangir Sorabji Taraporewala

The thirty-first chapter of the Yasna has been translated and annotated by Jackson under the title *A Hymn of Zoroaster*. Another translation of it is by Andreas and Wackernagel in the Nachrichten der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, 1911. A third one is that by Bartholomae. There have been others also much earlier, but these three mentioned here may be taken as the "latest". I have consulted all three and have here attempted to give my own version of this chapter basing my translation mainly upon what I concieve to be the main purpose of the Message of Zarathushtra. I give here merely the rendering, each verse followed by the translation *pāda* by *pāda*. In this place, however, it is not possible to indicate all my reasons for differing from these great predecessors of mine. My only object herein is to give a consistent and, as far as possible, as literal a rendering as I can. I have explained some points in the very short notes that follow each verse.

1. tā[1] və[2] urvātā[3] marəntō[4]
   aguštā[5] **vacā**[6] səṇghāmahī[7] ;
   aəibyō[8] yōi[9] urvātāiš[10] drujō[11]
   Ašahyā[12] gaēθǡ[13] vīmərəncaitē[14] ;
   aṯ[15] -ciṯ[11] aəibyō[17] vahištā[18]
   yōi[19] zarazdǡ[20] aṇhən[21] Mazdāi[22].

Translation ◆
   Heeding[4] these[1] two-Laws,[3] unto ye[2] (O men)
   . do-we-proclaim[7] the Message[6] (so long) unheeded[5] ;
   for those[8] who[9] because-of-the-lures[10] of Untruth[11]
   destroy[14] the creation[13] of Aša[12] ;
   and[15] for them,[16] indeed,[17] most of-all[19],
   who[19] are[20] heartily-devoted[21] unto Mazdā[22].

   (4. Lit., "remembering". 6. Lit., "words". 10. Lit., "through the teaching (or laws)", originally ins. plu. 18. Lit., "best of all".)

The two Laws referred to here are the laws which ordain "long punishment for the follower of the False, and happiness for the follower of the Truth" mentioned in the last verse of the previous chapter of the Yasna (xxx. 11).

> 2. yezī[1] āiš[2] nōiṭ[3] urvānē[4]
>   advā̊[5] aibī[6] -dərəštā[7] vaχyā̊[9] ,
>   aṭ[9] vā̊[10] vīspāṇg[11] ayōi[12] ;
>   yaθā[13] ratūm[14] Ahurō[15] vaēdā
>   Mazdā̊[17] ayā̊[18] ā̊syā̊[19] ,
>   yā[20] Ašāt[21] hacā[22] jvāmahī[23] .

Translation :

Since,[1] because-of-these[2] (lures, there is) not,[3] while-choosing[4] the better[5] path[6] clear[6] -in-sight[7],
therefore,[9] to ye[10] all[11] am-I-come[12]:

as[13] Teacher[14] appointed[16] by Ahura[15],
the Creator[17] (has sent me to stand) between these[18]
parties-twain,[19]
that[20] we-may-live[21] in-harmony[22] with Aša[21].

(4. Originally dat. inf. 13—16. Lit., "as Teacher Ahura knows". 21—22. Lit ," "though Aša", i. e. devoted to Aša.)

I would like to point out that the arrangement of this verse is in two *Gāyatrīs*.

> 3. yā̆m[1] dā̊[2] Mainyū[3] Āθrā[4] -cā,[5]
>   Ašā[6] -cā[7] cōiš[8] rānōibyā[9] χšⁿtəm[10],
>   hyaṭ[11] urvatəm[12] cazdōṇnhvadəbyō[13];
>   taṭ[14] nə̄,[15] Mazdā,[16] vīdvanōi[17] vaocā[18]
>   hizvā[19] θwahyā[20] ā̆nhō[21],
>   yā[22] jvaṇtō[23] vīpāṇg[24] vauraya[25].

Translation:

What[1] Thou bestowest[2] through-(Thy)-Spirit[3] and[4]
through-(Thy)-Fire[4],

' and' the Bliss[10]   (attainable) through Aṣa[9] .

         has-thou-promised[8] to-both-parties[9],

  (and) what[11] the Law[12] (is) for the discerning[13],

that[14] unto us[15], O Mazdā[16], declare[18] for-(our)-enlightenment[17],

with words[19] from-Thine-own[20] mouth [1]

 , that[2] I-may-convert[25] all[24] the living[23].

(8. Lit., "Thou hast taught". 19. Lit., "tongue.")

    4. yadā[1] Ašem[2] zəvīm[3] anhen,[4]

        Mazdås[5] -cā[6] Ahurånhō,[7]

        ašī[8] -cā[9] Armaitī[10],

    Vahištā[11] išasā[12] Mananhā[13]

        maibyō[14] Xšaθrəm[15] aojonghvaṯ,[16]

        yehyā[17] vərədā[18] vanaēmā[19] drujem.[20]

(8. I read the final vowel of this word long on the strength of the restored Ur-text as given by Andreas. No other text, nor any ms. supports this reading.)

Translation:

When[1] Aša[2] is[4] to-(our)-prayer-inclined[3],

    (and Ye) Lords-of-Creation[5] and[6] Lords-of-Life,[7]

    together-with[8] the Holy[10] Armaiti[9],

(then) through-the-Best[11] Mind[12] shall-I-seek[13]

    for ourselves[14] the strengthening[16] Power,[15]

    through-whose[17] increase[18] we-may overcome[19] the Enemy[20]

(4. Originally plu. 14. Originally sing.)

    5. taṯ[1] mōi[2] vīcidyāi[3] vaocā[4],

        hyaṯ[5] mōi,[6] Ašā[7], datā[8] vahyō[9];

        vīduyē,[10] Vohū[11] Mananhā,[12] [13]

        mēn -cā[14] daidyāi,[15] yehyā[16] -mā[17] ərəšiš;[18]

        tā[19] -ciṯ[20] Mazdā[21] Ahurā[22], [23]

        yā nōiṯ[24] vā[25] anhat[26] anhaitī[27] vā[28].

Translation:

That-I-may-decide,[2] declare[4] unto me[3] this[1],

    what[5] better[6] (reward) on me[8], O Aša[7],

        shalt-Thou

(declare), O Vohu[14] Manō,[13] that-I-may-know[16],

and[44] grant[46] to me[44] (that), whereby[36] Blessings[36] to me[37]

(may-accrue);

all[36] -these,[19] O Mazdā[30] Ahura,[32] (do Thou declare),

whatever[33] there shall-be[37] or[30] shall-not[34] be[35].

(3 and 15 are both originally dative infinitives. 18. Originally sing. The last word of the verse, *nā*[36], has been omitted in the translation.)

6. ahmāi[1] anhat[3] vahištəm[2],

yē[4] mōi[5] vidvā[6] vaocat[7] haiθīm[8]

mąθrəm[9] yim[10] Haurvatātō,[11]

Ašahyā[12] Amərətātas[13] -cā[14];

Mazdāi[15] avat[16] Xsaθrəm[17]

hyat[18] hōi[19] Vohū[30] vaxšat[31] Mananhā[32].

Translation:

Unto him[1] may the Best[2] befall[3],

who[4], the Wise-One[6], shall spread[7] my[8] Truth[9]

the Word, which[9] (giveth[10] promise) of Perfection[11],

(the Word) of Aša,[12] (giving promise) of Immortality[14]

as well[13];

(unto him may) that[16] Power[17] of the Lord[15] (accrue)

which[18] for him[19] shall Good[30] Mind[32] increase[31].

(7. Lit., "shall tell". 15. Dat. used for gen.)

7. yas[1] -tā[2] mantā[3] pouruyō[4]

raocəbiš[5] rōiθwən[6] x̌āθrā[7]

hvō[8] Xraθwā[9] dąmis[10] Ašəm[11]:

yā[12] drāvayat[13] Vahištəm[14] Manō[15]

tā[16], Mazdā[17], Mainyū[18] uxšyō[19],

yə̄[30] ā[31] nūrəm[33] -cit[33], Ahurā[34], hāmō[35].

Translation:

He,[1] (our) first[4] Father[2], planned-out[3]

the Realms of-Light[7] refulgent[6] with-(His)-Glory[9],

Himself[8] in-(His)-Wisdom[9] the Creator[10] of Aša;

(that) by which[12] the Best[14] Mind[15] is upheld[16],

through that[14], O Mazdā[17], increase[19] (Thy) Spirit[18]

(amongst us);

O Ahura[14], even[23] uptil[21] now[22] Thou[20] (art) the same[23].

(1. Lit., "who". 3. Lit., "thought". 6. Lit., "mixed with", "clothed in". 13. Lit., "He upholds" (active verb). 20. Lit., "who".)

8. yat[1] θwā[2] maŋghī[3] pourvīm[4],
   Mazdā[5], yazūm[6] stōi[7] mananhā[8],
   Vaŋhəuš[9] patarəm[20] Mananhō[21];
   hyat[22] θwā[13] (həm)[14] cašmainē[15] həngrabəm[16],
   haiθīm[17] Ašahyā[18] dąmīm[19],
   aŋhəuš[20] ahurəm[21] šyaoθanaēšū[22].

(1. Geld. and others read at: Geld. notes that only one ms reads yat. 6. Geld., Kan., Jack. and Mills read yezim. I have accepted the reading of Wester. and Barth. Andreas has yozūm. Geld. mentions the reading adopted here on p. 111 of the Yasna as also in his Prolegomena (xxvii). He also mentions the readings yazəm and yūzəm)

Translation:

That[1] I-may-recognise[3] Thee[2] (as) the Oldest[4]
   in-(my)-mind[5], O Mazdā[6], (as also) being[7] the Youngest[8],
   (and as) the Father[10] of Vohu[9] Manō[11];
that[12] I-may-apprehend[14,16] Thee[13] in-(mine)-eye[15]
   (as) the true[17] Creator[19] of Aša[18],
   (and) Lord-Supreme[21] over-actions in-(this)-world[20].

(4. Lit., "First". 8. Originally ins. sing. 16. The hən- is clearly tautological. 20. Originally gen. sing.)

9. θwōi[1] as[2] Armaitiš[3],
   θwōi[4] ā[5] gāuš[6] -tašā[7] as[8] xratuš[9],
   Manyəuš[10], Mazdā[11] Ahurā[12];
   hyat[13] axyāi[14] dadą[16] paθąm[16],
   vāstryāt[17] vā[18] āitē[19],
   yə[20] vā[21] nōit[22] aŋhat[23] vāstryō[24].

(6—7. I have ventured to join these two words as a compound.)

Translation:

Thine[1], has-been[2] Ārmaiti[3],

Thine,[4] too[5], has-been[6] the Wisdom[9] World[8]-creating[7],

(the Wisdom) of the Spirit[10], O Mazdā[11] Ahurā[12];

then[13] Thou-hast-granted[16] unto her[14] the choice[15]

either[18] to come-away[19] from-(her)-Protector[17],

or[21] (from him) who[20] never[22] was[23] (her) Protector[24].

(14. Namely, Mother-Earth, implied in the word gə̄uš. 16. Lit., "path".)

10. aṱ[1] hī[2] ayā̊[3] fravaratā[4]

vāstrīm[5] axyāi[6] fšuyaṇtəm[7],

ahurəm[8] ašavanəm[9],

Vaṇhə̄uš[10] fsə̄nghīm[11] Manaṇhō[12];

nōiṱ[13], Mazdā[14], avāstryō[15]

davā̊s[16] -cinā[17] humərətōiš[18] baxštā[19].

(2. V. l. hə̄. 16. V. l. daē̆vās-, daē̆vās-.)

Translation:

So[1] she[2] chose[4] out-of-these-two[3]

(as) Protector[5] (and as) Shepherd[7] for herself[8]

a Lord[8] possessing-Aša[9],

a promoter[11] of Good[10] Thought[11];

never[13], O Mazdā[14] (can) the Destroyer[15]

even-though[17] -he-strive[16], partake[19] of-the-blessed-Message[18].

(For the ideas of the first two pādas compare Yas. xxix 6. 10, 12. These words almost mean "Goodwill to mankind". 15. Lit., "non-protector" 16. Originally present participle. 18. The εὐ'αγγέλιον.

Verses 11 and 12 are closely connected together in thought, hence they are to be taken together.

11. hyaṱ[1] nē̆,[2] Mazdā[3], paourvīm[4]

gaēθā̊s[5] -cā[6] tašō[7] daēnā̊s[8] cā[9],

θwā[10] Mananhā[11] χratuš[12] cā[12] :

hyaṯ[14] astvantəm[15] dadā̊[16] uštanəm[17],

hyaṯ[18] šyaoθanā[19] -cā[20] sə̄nhgā̊s[21] -cā[22], ·

yaθrā[23] varənə̄ng[24] vasā̊[25] dāyetē[26].

12. aθrā[1] vācim[2] baraitī[3]

miθah[4] -vacā̊[5] vā[6] ərəš[7] -vacā̊[8] vā[9],

vīdvā̊[10] vā[11] əvīdvā̊[12] vā[13] :

ahyā[14] zərədā[15] -cā[16] mananhā[17] -cā[18]

ānuš[19] -haχš[20] Ārmaitiš[21] Mainyū·[2]

pərəsāitē[23] yaθrā[24] maēθā.[25]

Translation:

(11) Since[1] for[2] us, O Mazdā[3], in-the-beginning[4]
Thou-didst-create[7] both[6] Body[5] as-well-as[9] Spirit[8]
and[13] Mental-Power[12], (too,) through Thine own[10]
                                               Thought[11];
since[14] Thou-hast created[16] Life[17] in-flesh-enmeshed,[18]
    since[18] power-to act[19] and[20] Words-to guide[21]
                               (Thou hast bestowed)
    whereby[22] one-may-hold[26] (what) Faith[24] he-will;[25]
(12) (so) here[1] (each) doth-lift-up[3] (his) voice[2].
    whether[4] false[4] speaker[5] or[9] true[7] -speaker[8],
    whether[11] enlightened[10] or[13] unenlightened:[12]
(but) both[16] to the Heart[15] and [18]to the Head[17] of each,[14]
    to the spirit[22], Armaiti[21] standing-by[19]-[20]
    appealš[23] whenever[24] (there is) doubt[25].

(Verse 11: 6. Lit., "(material) worlds", plu. 6. Lit., "and"
8. Lit., "spiritual Egos", plu. 15. Lit., "made up of bones".
19. Lit., "works", plu. 22. This -cā is omitted. 23 –26. The
literal rendering of the last pāda of verse 11 is: "whereby[22]
wishing[25] (they) may hold[26] (their) Faiths[24]".

Verse 12: 1. I. e., in this world, 14. Lit., "of him". 15 and
17. Both originally ins. sing. 22. Originally ins. sing. 23. Lit.,
"confer with".)

13. yā[1] frasā[2] āvišyā[3],

    yā[4] vā[5], Mazdā[6], pərəsāitē[7] tāyā[8];

    vā[9] vā[10] kasənč[11] aɛnanhā[12]

ā[13] mazištām[14] yamaite[15] būjəm[16];
tā[17] cašməng[18] θwisrā[19] harō[20]
aibī[21] Aša[22] vaēnahi[23] vīspā[24].

(8. So Andreas, others read tayā. 15. So Andreas, others read ayamaitē. 22. After this word all mss. and all scholars read another aibī. Geld. and others have clearly indicated that this second aibī is redundant. Andreas, therefore, omits it from his Urtext, and I have accepted his emendation.)

Translation:

When[1] (there is) an open[2] appeal[3],
    or[5] when[4], O Mazdā[6], (she) appeals[7] in secret[8];
and[10] thus[9] for a small[11] fault[12]
    (one) undertakes[13,15] a great[14] atonement;[16]
this[17], watching[20] through-(Thy) radiant[19] Eye[18],
    with Aša[22], all[24]-(this) Thou close[21] observest[23].

7. (Refers to Ārmaiti mentioned in the previous verse. 9-10. Lit., "or[9] when[10]". 11—12. Both originally gen. sing. 14. Lit., "greatest").

14. tā[1] θwā[2] pəresā[3], Ahurā[4],
    yā[5] -zī[6] āitī[7] jəŋghatī[8] -cā[9],
    yā[10] išudō[11] dadəntə[12]
    dāθərəṇãm[13] hacā[14] asāunō[15],
    yāṣ[16] -cā[17], Mazdā[18], drəgvōdəbyō[19],
    yaθā[20] tā[21] anhən[22] haṇkərətā[23] hyat[24].

Translation:

I ask[5] Thee[2], O Ahura[4], of-those-(things)[1]
    which[6] have, indeed[6], come[7] and[8]are-(yet)-to-come[9];
what[10] accounts[11] are-to-be-adjusted[12]
    according-to (Thy)-record[13] with[14] the Righteous[15],
and[17] what[18], O Mazdā[19], with the Unrighteous[19];
    how[20] these[21] do stand[22] when[24] the-account is closed[23].

(10-12. Lit., "what[10] dues[11] are fixed[12]". 13. Originally gen. sing. 15. Originally abl. sing. 19. Originally abl. plu. 22. Lit., "are".)

15. peresā[1] avat[2] yā[3] maēniš[4],
    yā[5] drəgvaitē[6] Xšaθrəm[7] hunāitī[8],
    duš[9] šyaoθanāi[10], Ahurā[11];

    yə[12] nōit[13] jyōtūm[14] hunar[15] vīnastī[16]
    vāstryehyā[17] aēnaŋhō[18]
    pasēuš[19] vīrāat[20] cā[21] adrujyantō[22].

(4. Geld. reads mainis. 15. All read hunarə except And-
reas, whose reading I have adopted.)

Translation:

I ask[1] this[2]:— what[3] punishment[4] (there is)
(for him) who[5] seeks-to-achieve[6] power[7] for the False-One[8],
    for the Evil-Doer[9] [10], O Ahura[11];
who[12] finds[16] no[13] fulfilment[15] of-(his)-life[14]
    but-in-separating[18] the Shepherd[17],
    the Loving-One[22] from (his) flock[19] and[21] from the men[20].

(12. I.e the False One. 14. Originally acc. inf., "in order
to live". 15. Lit., "gain". 18. Lit., "driving away", originally
abl. sing. 22. Lit., "not-inimical", this word (as well as 17) is
is originally gen. sing.)

16. peresā[1] avat[2] yaθā[3] hvō[4],
    yə[5] hudānuš[6] dəmānahyā[7] xšaθrəm[8]

    šōiθrahyā[9] vā[10] daxyəus[11] vā[12],
    Ašā[13] fradaθāi[14] aspərəzatā[15],
    θwāvąs[16], Mazdā[17] Ahurā[18],
    yadā[19] hvō[20] aŋhat[21] yā[22] -syaoθanas[23] -cā[24].

Translation:
I ask[1] this[2] : how[3] one[4].
    who[5] (being) of-good-understanding[6], (Thy) Power[8]
in-the-house[7], or[10] in the province[9], or[11] in-the-land[12],
    striveth[15], through Ašā[13], to-advance[14],
at-what-time[19] and[24] acting[23] -how[22] shall such[20] become[21],
    O Mazdā[17] Ahura[18] , merged-in-Thee[16]?

(7, 9 and 11. All three originally gen. sing. 16-24. Owing
to the exigencies of English style, I have had to transpose *padas*
5 and 6.)

    17. katārəm[1] ašavā[2] vā[3]

        drəgvą[4] vā[5] vərənvaitē[6] mazyō[7],

        vīdvą[8] vīdušə[9] mraotū[10];

    mā[11] əvīdvą[12] aipī[13] -dəbāvayat[14]:

        zdī[15]-nə[16], Mazdā[17] Ahurā[18],

    Vaŋhəuš[19] fradaχštā[20] Mananhō[21].

Translation:
  Which-of-the-two[1]—   whether[2] the Righteous[3]

      or[5] the Unrighteous[4]—   chooseth[6] the better[7],

    (that) let the Enlightened[8] declare[10] unto the wise;[9]

let not[11] the Ignorant[12] lead-(us)-astray[13],[14]:

    be[15] unto us[16] , O Mazda[17] Ahura[18],

    the Revealer[20] of Good[19] Mind[21].

  (7. Lit., "greater".)

    18. mā[1] ciš[2] at[3] və[4] dregvatō[5]

        mąθrās[6] -cā[7] gūštā[8] sāsnąs[9] -cā[10];

    ā[11] zī[12] dəmānəm[13] vīsəm[14] vā[15]

        šōiθrəm[16] vā[17] daχyūm[18] vā[19] ādāt[20]

    dušitā[21] -cā[22] marakaē[23] -cā;[24]

        aθā[25] īš[26] sāzdūm[27] snaiθišā.[28]

  (11-12. Barth. and Andreas read the words separate, Geld.
puts together as one.)

  Translation:

And[3] let not[1] any[2] of you[4] unto the False-One[5]

  and[7] unto (his)-words[6] and[10] unto (his)-teachings[9] give-ear;[8]

for[13] the house[13] and[15] the village[14]

  and[17] the province[16] and[19] the country[18] doth-he-hurl[11],[20]

into the place of torment[21] , even[24] into annihilation[23];

    so[25] resist[27] these[26] with (your)-(holy) weapons[28].

  (5. Originally gen. sing 15, 17 and 19. Lit., "or". 20.
Lit., "unite with. 22. The *cā* is omitted. 24. Lit., "and".)

19. gŭštā¹ yə̃' mantā³ Ašəm⁴,
 ahŭm⁵ -biš⁶ vĭdvā̆�⁷, Ahurā⁸,
 ərəzuχδāi⁹ vacaṇhām¹⁰
 χš̌ayamnō¹¹ hizvō¹² -vasō¹³;
ⴲwā¹⁴ Āθrā¹⁵ suχrā¹⁶, Mazdā¹⁷,
 vaṇhāu¹⁸ vĭdātā¹⁹ rā̆nayā̆°.

Translation:

Who² giveth-ear-unto¹ (and) realises³ Aša,⁴
 the⁵ soul-healing⁶ Lord-of-Wisdom,⁷ O Ahura,⁸
(he,) tongue¹² -well-controlled,¹³ (is) capable¹¹
 of-proving-the-truth⁹ of-(his)-words:¹⁰
through Thy¹⁴ radiant¹⁶ Fire,¹⁵ O Mazdā¹⁷
 the rewards¹⁸ of-both-parties²⁰ do-(Ye)-assign.¹⁹

(3. Lit., "thought over" (and grasped). 9. Originally dat.,
"for the truthful word". 19. The "Ye" refers to Ahura Mazdā
and the "Holy Immortals". In order to avoid an awkward sen-
tence I have transposed pādas 3 and 4.)

20. yə¹ āyat² asavanəm,³
 divamnəm⁴ hōi⁵ aparəm⁶ χšayō,⁷
 darəgəm⁸ āyu⁹ təmaṇhō¹⁰
 dus¹¹ -χᵛāθrem¹² avaētās¹³ vacō;¹⁴
 təm¹⁵ vā¹⁶ ahum¹⁷ drəgvaṇtō¹⁸
 syaoθanāis¹⁹ χᵛāiš²⁰ daēnā²¹ maēsat.²²

(7. Geld., Jack. and Barth. read χsyō; I have accepted the
reading of Kanga, Mills and Andreas. 16. Thus Geld., all
others read vā̆.) •

Translation:

 . (He) who¹ goeth-over² to the Righteous,³
 from him⁵ henceforth⁶ misery⁷ keeps-afar⁴
 (and) long⁸ ages⁹ of darkness¹⁰,
 (as also) bad¹¹ -nourishment¹² (and) woeful¹³ -speech¹⁴;
to such¹⁵ life¹⁷, indeed¹⁶, the followers of-the-False¹⁸
 by their-own²⁰ actions¹⁹ (their own) self²¹ doth-lead.²²

(4. Originally pres. part. ātm. 9. Originally sing. 13-14.
Lit., "woefulness of speech". 15. Lit., "this".)

21. Mazdå[1] dadāţ[2] Ahurō[3]
    Haurvatō[4] Amərətātas[5] cā[6],

  bùrōis[7] ā[8] Ašaχyā[9] -cā[10]
    χvāpaiθyāţ[21] χšaθrahyā[12] sarō[13],
    Vanhāus[14] vazdvarā[15] Mananhō[16],
    yā[17] Hōi[18] Mainyú[19] šyaoθanāiš[20] -cā[21] ·curvaθ[22]

Translation:

Mazdā[1] Ahura[2] doth bestow[3]
Wholeness[4] and[5] Immortality[6],
out-of[8] (His) fulness[7] (He bestows) Aša[9] also[10],
  (and) through-His-Lordship[11] union[13] with-Power-Divine,[14]
(and) full-vigour[15] of Good[14] Mind[16]
(on him) who[17] in Spirit[19] ands[21] in act[20] (is) His[18] friend[22].

(4, 5, 9, 13 and 15. All are genetives "governed by dadāţ
19. Originally gen. sing. 20. Originally ins. plu)

22. ciθrā[1] ī[2] hudåŋhē[3]
    yaθanā[4] vaēdəmnāi[5] Mananhā,[6]

  Vohu[7] hvō[8] Xšaθrā[9] Asəm[10]
    vacaŋhā[11] syaoθanā[12] -cā[13] haptī,[14]

  hvō[15] Tōi,[16] Mazdā[17] Ahurā,[18]
    vāzistō[19] aŋhaitī[20] astis.[21]

(2. V. l. ē.)

Translation:

Clear[1] (are) these[2] (teachings) to the Lord-of-Wisdom,[3]
  likewise[4] (to him) realising[5] with (Good[7])[*] Mind,[6]
such,[8] with-(the-help-of)-Divine[7] Power,[9] Aša[10]
  doth-promote[14] with word[11] and[13] deed;[12]
he indeed,[15] O Mazdā[17] Ahura,[18] for Thee[16]
  the most-helpful[19] servant[21] doth-decome.[22]

(*This word has to be supplied from the 3rd pāda. 6. The
implication is also "with his mind", hence also the word "mind" is
not used again in pāda 4. 7. Lit., "good".)

THE PRAKRIT IN KUNDAMĀLĀ.

Paravastu Venkata Rāmānujaswāmin, M. A.,
Vizianagaram.

INTRODUCTION

The **Kundamālā** was first published in 1923 by Messrs. Rāmakrishna Kavi and Rāmanātha Śāstri in the Dakshiṇabhārati Series. The edition was based on four incomplete Mss., two from Mysore and the other two from Tanjore. The latter are wanting in the beginning and the former in the Prologue mention Diṅnāga as the author of the work. The Tanjore Mss. however ascribe the work to Dhiranāga in the colophon. I do not propose to discuss directly the question of authorship and decide between them, but I am now concerned with the exhibition of the nature of the Prakrit contained in the drama and the determination of the period to which the language can be assigned. I shall thus try to throw side light on the question of authorship.

I know some scholars urge that the character of the Prakrit found in a drama cannot be accepted as a criterion for the determination of the age of composition of the work, for it depends more upon the place of origin of the Mss. rather than the age of the language. The Prākrit in the dramas is also subject to a good deal of corruption at the hands of ignorant copyists. It is further greatly influenced by Sanskrit in which, rather than in Prākrit, the writers were well versed. They depend more on the conventional rules of grammar rather than on tradition and thus the language of the dramas, to whichever age they may belong, assumes a uniformity of character and frustrates any attempt to use it as a test of age. These remarks, however true they may be, need not drive us into despair. The last applies equally well to every dead language, and particularly to Sanskrit which had been stereotyped long before Prākrit was; and yet the linguistic test as applied to Sanskrit is generally accepted as a criterion for

determining the age of a work. There is an inner life in language behind the outer form of words which presents a new appearance from age to age; and the Prākrit language is no exception to this rule. We can by discrimination eliminate local peculiarities and scribal mistakes to a high degree of certainty.

The **Kundamālā** is a drama in six Acts recounting the story of Sītā subsequent to her second exile from Ayodhyā. Sītā succumbs to a second ordeal and is reunited with Rāma to spend many a year of further happiness in his company. It is conventional to close a drama with a happy ending and hence the deviation from the **Rāmāyaṇa**. A distinguishing feature of this drama is that it includes the character of the Vidūṣaka, which does not generally appear in the Rāma Plays[1]. The characters in the drama are few and those that speak Prākrit are fewer still in number. The female characters, Sītā and Yajñavedi and Vedavatī, and the male characters, the Vidūṣaka and a tāpasa, are the only ones that employ Prākrit; but the amount of Prākrit in the drama is considerable. The whole of Act. II with a major part of Acts I, III and IV besides considerable portions of Acts V and VI are in Prākrit. Unfortunately there are lacunae in the Prākrit passages wherever they happen to be considerably long and the readings of many an other passage are corrupt[2]. But the passages that are free from doubt are considerable enough to enable us to form an idea of the nature of the language. The uniformity of dialect is also a favourable circumstance; all the characters employ only one dialect, the Śauraseni.

The chief peculiarities of the Prākrit dialect in the drama are the following: -mātra is represented by -matta although -metta occurs in a single phrase (§1). pūrva always appears as puvva (§2) but in puruṣa the u remains unchanged. t is as frequently lost as it is voiced (§6) and punar always appears as uṇa (even

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1. The **Adbhutadarpaṇa** which presents the same feature is also from South India.

2. The other edition printed at Lahore is little better.

after **anusvāra**) and only once as **puṇa** (after **anusvāra**) (§6).
l is frequently changed into cerebral ḷ (§11). jñ is always repre-
sented by **ṇṇ**, never by **ññ** (§16). kṣ always assumes the form
kkh (§18). **ny** is always turned into **ṇṇ** (§20). **ry** is always
changed into **yy** (§22). This last is not a sign of antiquity but
only a local peculiarity. The Acc. pl. n. of stems in -a ends in
-āiṃ (§24) and the Loc. Sg. of stems in -ā in -āe and not -āaṃ
(§25). The Gen. Sg. of **ātman** is either **attāṇaassa** or **appāṇaassa**
beside **attaṇo** (§30). The Nom. pl. and Gen. Pl. of **aham** are
amhe and **ahmāṇam** (§32). **tava** appears beside **tuha** (§33).
The fem. of bhavaṃ is always **hodi** (§29). **dīsa** appears regularly
instead of **dissa** (§46) and **kīsa** instead of **kissa** (§2); **kocci** never
occurs (§36). **dṛś** appears as **daṃs** always except once (§10),
but **grah** appears as **gahṇa** (§44). The Inf. of **kṛ** is **kāduṃ** (§53)
and indecl. part. of **kṛ** and **gam** are **kadua** and **gadua**, although
gacchia is once found (§52). **khu** (**khalu**) never appears as **hu**
(earlier) or **kkhu** (later) (§55). **dāṇiṃ** always appears with
final anusvāra and **api** as **vi** (§55). **haddhī** (with long final
vowel) is more frequent than **haddhi** (§55). The particle **āma**,
which is frequent in Bhāsa and Kālidāsa, is strangely missing in
the present drama. The above peculiarites show that the
Kundamālā presents the normal Prakrit of the later dramas. The
following detailed exposition points to the conclusion that the
Prākrit in the present drama has passed the stage of transition
and presents the settled form of the 6th or 7th century, stereotyped
by the grammarians. As is to be expected of a drama discovered
in South India, its language shows some of the peculiarities of
South Indian orthography, the chief of which are the representa-
tion of **ry** by **yy** (§22) and of the doubling of a consonant by a
small circle placed before it (§10) which is usually represented by
the sign for **anusvāra**. I have drawn attention to these in their
proper places in the following exposition.

PHONOLOGY—Vowels.

§ 1. **Changes of quality**:—Medially Skt. ṛ is never represented
by **a** except in the forms of the rt. **grah**. It is usually repre-

sented by i, but in the neighbourhood of labials, it appears as u. Thus hiaa (hṛdaya) i. 18; ii. 13, 25, 26; diṭṭī (dṛṣṭi) i. 82, diṭhī, diṭhṭhiṃ iii. 30 diṭhṭho ii. 12 diṭhṭhā v. 21 (probably all to be corrected into ṭṭh); ākidi (ākṛti) iv. 75, paḍikidi (pratikṛti) i. 82, kide (kṛte) ii. 19; also kidaṃ (kṛtam) i. 82, kido (kṛtaḥ) ii. 13; ṇisaṃsattaṇa (nṛśamsatva) ii. 43; didha (dṛḍha) vi. 59, ii. 39; païdi (prakṛti) ii. 12; jaicchā (yadṛcchā) ii. 55.—utta (vṛtta) i. 6, 86, 108. iv. 79 vi. 129 and uttanta (vṛttānta) i. 48, ii. 6, 7, iv. 7 beside -vutta ii. 12, 42, iii. 1, iv. 2, 42, 68 v. 7 and vuttanta ii. 17, iv. 70, v. 25; ṇihuda (nibhṛta) iv. 75; pahudi (prabhṛti) i. 96, iv. 77 beside paüdi iv. 5 (probably to be corrected).—asadisa (asadṛśa) iii. 39, īdisa (īdṛśa) iv. 40, kīdisa (kīdṛśa) ii. 17, iii. 30, 47, tādisa (tādṛśa) i. 80, ii. 42 tāïsī (tādṛśī) i. 96 beside amhārisa (asmādṛśa) v. 13, īrisa ii. 43, v. 19, 123, edārisa (etādṛśa) iv. 40, mārisī (mādṛśī) ii. 12, sāricca (sādṛśya); vāvuda (vyāpṛta) iv. 36.—Initial ṛ is very rare: mahesi (maharṣi) i. 82, iv. 38, v. 25, vi. 90 and rāesi (rājarṣi) v. 25.

The change of a into i is found in diṇṇa (datta) iii. 27, v. 86 and baliaṃ (balavat) iv. 16. It is not changed into i in sampakka (sampakva) iii. 1. It is changed into e in bharuvvehaṇa (bhārodvahana) beside bharuvvahaṇa i. 12 (probably to be corrected) metta (mātra) i. 40, beside matta ii. 19, iii. 55, mahesi (maharṣi) i. 82 etc., and to o in sonti (santi) i. 64 (probably to be corrected.) adimuttu (atimuktā) iv. 79 beside muttākalāva (muktākalāpa) v. 7 may be due to Dravidian influence.

On the other hand i is changed into a in puḍavī (pṛthivī) ii. 12, puḍhavī v. 7, pahādae (prābhātike) iv. 79 and into u in dudia (dvitīya) ii. 3, iv. 74.—u is changed into a in pāṇḍara (pāṇḍura) ii. 13 beside paṇḍura iv. 13. It never appears as i in purusa i. 88 ii. 12, iii. 30, v. 25, iv. 5, 38.

i for e is met with in ṇarinda (narendra) v. 5 and pavisida (praveśita) iii. 30; ettiā i. 64 for itthiā (strī) may be a mistake.—u for o is found in Tiluttamā (Tilottamā) iv. 1, 3, 87 and in the analogous Siluttamā iv. 87. Also in maṇuhara.

(manohara) iv. 13 beside maṇohara iv. 75, vandaṇuvvaāra (vandanopacāra) ii. 13, pucciadi (procyate) iv. 15 and bharuvvahaṇa cited above.

The usual representation of ai and au are e and o; thus Kekaī (Kaikeyī) i. 22, ṇemisa (naimiṣa) ii. 7, iii. 1 and Kosio (Kauśikaḥ) iv. 74 Somittī (Saumitriḥ); but the following are noteworthy: mumde (maugdhye) ii. 42; Vaidehī ii. 13, iii. 50, v. 13 without change. kūdūhala i. 14 is from kutūhala and not from kautūhala as in the chāyā.

§ 2. Changes of quantity:—ĕ and ŏ are frequently met with: bhuvaṇĕkka (bhuvanaika) vi. 93, Umāmahĕssarā (Umāmaheśvarau) ii. 12, ĕttha (no chāyā) i 6 and many times, but ĕttā, once (probably to be corrected), ĕvva and ŏvvaṃ (17 and 28 times) beside eva and evaṃ (twice each) ŏkkaṃ v. 77 and ŏkkeṇa i. 64, jĕṭṭha i. 76, ii. 3, v. 86; Ayŏjjā (Ayodhyā) i. 66, jŏgga (yogya) iii. 27, iv. 52.

The other long vowels are also regularly shortened before conjunct consonants: āsaṇṇitthamaya (āsannāstamaya) i. 68, pūvva (pūrva) iv. 70 beside apŭvva iv. 11 and pŭvva may be due to mistake in copying or printing. rūpa- v. 21 for rŭpa beside rūva iv. 1 and rūpa vi. 93 and ṇivvāsidum (nirvāsayituṃ) i. 60 beside ṇivvāsidā (nirvāsitā) i. 96, iii. 39 are to be similarly estimated. In ācchāia (ācchādita) ii. 13 and āṇa- (ājña-) i. 66, 84, 98, iv. 52, v. 21, 31, 119, vi. 115, the ā remains long. paḍihāra v. 21 is perhaps to be referred to pratihāra and not to pratīhāra as in the chāyā.

Shortening of unaccented voᵥels: dakkhiṇapaha (dakṣiṇā-patha) iv. 14, taha (tathā) always, jaha (yathā) i. 14 etc., (9 times) beside jahā ii. 42, jahāhippāaṃ (yathābhiprāyam v. 43, alia (alīka) ii. 12, iv. 85, v. 13, aḍavi- (aṭavī-) iii. 1, aṇuggahida (anugṛhīta) iv. 38, ṇigahida (nigṛhīta) i. 40 and gahida ii. 50, iv. 3 beside gahīda v. 49, tapassini- (tapasvinī-) ii. 5 (in verse), dudia (dvitīya) ii. 3, iv. 74, patthaṇia (prārthanīyā) ii. 12, haddhi (hā dhik) vi. 80 beside haddhī i. 82, iv. 36, 40, always repeated except

once (iv. 36). aṇṇahā (anyathā) iv. 91, savvahā (sarvathā) iv. 40, 68, v. 58 and ahavā (athavā) iii. 30, 55. iv. 40 are never shortened.

Compensatory lengthening: kāduṃ (kartum) iii. 1, tā (tat) i. 12 etc., kīsa- (kiyat-) i. 12, ṇīsāsa (nihśvāsa) ii. 34, iv. 16 beside ṇissāsa ii. 12, -sīhāṇaṃ (simhānām) ii, 5 (in verse) beside simhāsaṇa v. 5, 62, 64, dīsa- i. 82, iv. 38, 89, vi. 93; never dissa. gaiṃ (gatim) ii. 12 beside gaiṃ iii. 1, v. 15 may be a mistake. bāhū-jualeṇa v. 7 bāhujualeṇa may be due to accent. As to -ādo, Abl. suffix, see below §24.

§ 3. **Loss of vowels**:—api regularly appears as avi at the beginning of the sentence and as vi elsewhere (6: 40). idānīm always appears without i: 11 times as dāṇiṃ and once as dāni, i. 82 (perhaps to be corrected), and once even at the beginning of the sentence (iii. 27). iti regularly loses its initial, appearing as ti after a consonant and as tti after a vowel, only once (iv. 14) after a consonant (probably to be corrected). ṇaṃ (nanu) ii. 37, 47; ṇu is once (i. 48) rendered as naṇu in the chāyā, perhaps wrongly (cf. §55)

§ 4. **Changes of syllables**:—sotthiṇā (chāyā: sukhena) i. 108 is perhaps connected with svasti; ḍoṇṇaṃ (dvayoḥ) v. 77.

aya into e: The affix aya alone is changed into e but not the product of i and ana: adivāhemi (ativāhayāmi) ii. 11 etc. nāsā-demi (nāsādayāmi) iii. 1, daṃsedu (darśayatu) iv. 1 etc. But Rāmāaṇa (Rāmāyaṇa) ii. 5, ṇaaṇa (nayana) ii. 13 etc. saaṇa (śayana) i. 18 etc.

apa and ava into o: apa always appears as ava except in osarissaṃ (chāyā wrongly apasarāmi) iv. 36, 38, 74. But apacaya iv. 5 apasara- iv. 19 apakkama- iv. 74 are peculiar. They are perhaps mistakes. ava frequently appears as o, thus odara (avatara) i. 14, 6, v. 62, ociṇomi (avacinomi) iii. 27, oaria (ava-tīrya) iv. 1 but ogāha iii. 27. iv. 5 beside avagāha i. 14; also avaṇāhayadi iii. 30, avaloaantī iv. 17, avamāṇidā v. 104 and avaṭṭhidā v. 21.

§ 5. **Intrusion of vowels**:—a: sakkaṇomi (śaknomi) iv. 40 saa-? (sva-) i. 64, 108, parihariasi (parihriyase) iv. 72.

i: itthiā (strī) i. 52, 88, ii. 12. iv. 5, 38: ettiā i. 64 is doubtful; parisa (sparśa) i. 14, ii. 12, iv 68; silāhā (ślāghā) i. 78, ii. 29, siṇeha (sneha) iv. 14 siṇiddha (snigdha) v. 5, 21.

u: tuvara- (tvara-) ii. 50, v. 1, duve (dvau) ii. 1, v. 21, paduma (padma) v. 5, sumara- (smara-) i 62, 66, iii. 33, iv. 14, v. 11, 15, 27, 58.

Simple consonants.

§ 6. **Breathed consonants**: —Medially k and c are, as a rule, dropped but in compounds initial consonants of the latter member are sometimes retained; thus Rāhava-ula i. 66. vi. 90 beside Rāhavakula i. 82. Other exceptions are Kekaïe (Kaikeyyā) i. 22, Sākeda (Sāketa) v. 64 and parakeraa ii. 26, iv. 64 beside paraëraa ii. 26, kiṃ, often beside iṃ, thrice. ca v. 27 (only once) after anusvāra beside a (fifteen times) after a vowel, (six times) after anusvāra. ṭ as is a rule voiced; exceptions are: Cittaūṭa (Chitrakūṭa) iv. 14 and piaa (piṭaka) iii. 1. t is as frequently lost as it is voiced. Exceptions are: tatappaüdi (tataḥ-) iv. 5, vaṇadevatā i. 82 beside vaṇadevadā iv. 14, sampāta v. 1 beside sampāda i. 68, probably all to be corrected. prati- is always changed into paḍi-. p is either retained or changed into v. It is lost only in two words, palāa (pralāpa) ii. 12 and ṇiuṇa (nipuṇa) iv. 18. All the above consonants are never lost initially. Only p in punar is regularly lost. ..

§ 7. **Voiced consonants**:—Medially g and j are as a rule lost; exceptions are found only in compounds: gūḍhagabbha iv, 79, piajāṇa iv. 68 beside pariaṇa iv. 56. Other exceptions are bhagavaī iii. 27 beside bhaavadī i. 66, 103, pavvajami (pravrajāmi) i. 82 perhaps to be corrected into pavvajāmi. bāhadhea (bhāgadheya) i. 80 is perhaps by transfer of aspiration like bahiṇiā (bhaginī) (Śakuntalā iv. 80). ḍ and b undergo no change. d is rarely lost. tālsīṇaṃ (tādṛśānāṃ) i. 96 beside tādiso (tādṛśaḥ) i. 80, pāava ii. 11 beside pādapa ii. 13, sāara iv. 14 beside sādara ii. 12,

jaï (yadi) i. 62, paaṃ (padam) i. 108, roïssaṃ (rodiṣyāmi) iv. 16, vaaṇa (vadana) v. 27, hiaa (hṛdaya) i. 18, 60, ii. 5, 13, iv. 18, v. 5 etc. d is changed to r through the influence of a following ṛ which passes into i (cf §1 above).

§ 8. **Breathed aspirates:**—Medial kh and th are regularly represented by h. Exceptions: mukhaa (mukhaka) iv. 19 and saṃgadhita (saṅgrathita) v. 25 are apparently corruptions. th is changed into ḍh in puḍhavī (pṛthivī) v. 7; puḍavī ii. 12 is to be corrected accordingly or is due to Dravidian influence. ch remains unchanged. ph does not occur medially. ṭh occurs only in paḍanti (rt paṭh-) ii. 5 which is to be corrected into paḍhanti.

§ 9. **Voiced aspirates:**—Medial gh is, without exception, turned into h. jh does not occur medially. ḍh remains unchanged. dh and bh are often changed into h. The following forms are peculiar: paüdi (prabhṛti) iv. 5, bādu- (bhrātṛ-) i. 64, bāaṇa (bhājana) iii. 30 and sovagga (saubhāgya) v. 21 all due, perhaps, to Dravidian influence; Bhāïraī (Bhāgīrathī) i. 12, 14, 108 beside Bhāïrahī iii. 27 may be a mistake.

§ 10. **Nasals:**—ṅ and ñ are regularly represented by anusvāra. Besides in a number of cases doubling is indicated by the anusvāra sign, which is due to Dravidian influence; thus aṃa- (ārya), several times, beside ayya i. 34 (only once), uṃdisia (uddiśya) ii. 28, uvaṃṇāsa (upanyāsa) v. 23, daṃsaṇa (darśana) ii. 5, 39, 46, 47. iii. 55, iv. 1, 36, 38, v. 21 beside dassaṇa iii. 30, niṃmāṇusa (nirmānuṣa) i. 82 and niṃmideṇa (nirmitena) iv. 1, maṃṇa (manya) iii. 30, mahantha (mahārtha) v. 25 probably a misprint for mahaṃdha, Vaṃmīi (Vālmīki) i. 82, ii. 2, 9, 10, 12, iv. 1, 5, v. 25 beside Vammīi i. 108, v. 25, vi. 90, viṃbhama (vibhrama) iv. 17 beside vibbhama v. 5. sahadhaṃmaāriṇī (sahadharmacāriṇī) ii. 37, samuṃbhiṇṇa (samudbhinna) ii. 42 beside samubbhiṇṇa iv. 68, saṃvahā (sarvathā) iv. 40 beside savvahā iv. 68, v. 58. In viṃmaya (vismaya) iv. 19 and aṃmi (asmi) i. 33 anusvāra stands for h.

The origin of this practice is due to Dravidian influence and the forms in Prakrit which show a double consonant or anusvāra followed by a single consonant optionally, as gimṭhī or giṭṭhī (gṛṣṭi), mamjāra or majjāra (mārjāra), vaaṃsa or vaassa (vayasya) etc, might have lent support to it. ṇ suffers no change but n is systematically changed into ṇ. Where it is preserved, e.g. in niravasesa (airavaśeṣa) i. 52, Nemiśa (Naimiśa) iii. 1, na iii. 55 beside ṇiravasesa v. 15, ṇemisa iii. 1 etc. ṇa iii. 55 etc., it is evidently through a mistake. m undergoes no change.

§ 11. **Liquids :—**r is represented by l only in a single word; calaṇa (caraṇa) i. 12. paḍiāra ii. 40 does not represent parihāra (as in the chāyā) but only pratikāra. l is frequently changed into ḷ even in the beginning of words. ḷadā iii. 27, ḷajjā iii. 30, Lava vi. 65, haḷā iv. 1, 2, saaḷaḷoa vi, 90, Rāhavauḷa vi. 90 and so on beside ladā iv. 2, lajjā ii. 12, Lava ii. 3, halā ii. 1, saalaloa vi. 93, Rāhavaula i. 66. This is evidently due to Dravidian influence.

§ 12. **Semivowels :—**Initial y is without exception turned into j. Medially it is frequently dropped but is preserved in a few words which, however, show forms without y elsewhere : chāyā i. 16, piyasahī iv. 1 sahāya iv. 14, parihīyasi v. 49, vayassa iv. 2, Rāmāyaṇa iv. 1 beside chāā ii. 11, piasahī ii. 1, sahāa iii. 1, parihiasi v. 15, vaassa iv. 83, Rāmāaṇa ii. 5. Only Māyāvai iv. 14, vimmaya iv. 19 and patthāvayanti iv. 18 do not show forms without y. Medial v. is generally retained but is dropped in the following words : diasa iii. 52, diaha iv. 74, besides divahe iv. 5; pasaa i. 48; paḍiniutta i. 86; pautta iv. 79 beside pavutta iv. 2; bhaadā i. 96 beside bhavanto iv. 40; mahākai- v. 25.

§ 13. **Spirants :—**ś is retained in a few words which should be considered as a scribal mistake or as a case of pedantic spelling. cittaśuddhi vi. 93, Nemiśa iii. 1, sandeśa i. 56 (i. 52), śoaṇiā ii. 12 beside cārittasuddhi vi. 90, Nemisa iii. 1, sandisiadi i. 58, soaṇiā iii. 50. s is changed into h in diaha (divasa) iv. 74, 77 and divaha iv. 5. divaa iv. 5 is probably a mistake.

Aspirate:—As to paḍiāra ii. 40 see above § 11. ṇeāṇaṃ (snehānām) ii. 12, and acchāida (atyāhita) iv. 4 are exceptional, probably due to Dravidian influence. Visarga. duḥkha iii. 30, 36, iv. 14 beside dukka i. 52, ii. 12 and dukkha i. 64 is due to the influence of Sanskrit.

Conjunct Consonants.

§ 14. **Gĕmination**:—ekka i. 64, v. 77, bhuvanekka vi. 93 beside ea iii. 19; evva i. 48 etc. and evvaṃ i. 62 etc. beside eva i. 82 and evaṃ iv. 18, 5, 6, 7; vandaṇuvvaāro (vandanopacāra) ii. 13, sakkaṇomɪ (śaknomi) iv. 40.

§ 15. **Combinations of mutes with mutes**:—Assimilation of the former to the latter is the rule. Peculiarities will be noticed. muṃde (maugdhye) ii. 42 is probably 'to be corrected into muṃdhe, where anusvāra indicates gemination.

§ 16. **Mutes with nasals**:—If the nasal is the first member it remains unchanged, but if it is the second, it is assimilated to the mute. anni (agni) i. 48. jñ is always represented by ṇṇ (and never by ññ), but when it follows ā, it appears as ṇ. tm in ātman appears 16 times as tt and 4 times as pp. nt never appears as nd, but in a single instance it is turned into ṇṭ: sīmaṇṭaa (simanta) i. 62.

§ 17. **Mutes with semivowels**:—It is always the semivowel that is assimilated to the mute, except in the case of dv in which the reverse is the case. mandabhāa (mandbhāgya) is found five times. ty, dy and dhy are palatalized: cc, jj and jjh. atyanta ii. 12 and acanta v. 21. beside accanta ii. 43 etc. are perhaps mistakes. acchāida (atyāhita) iv. 3, pacchāgada (pratyāgata) vi. 115 are exceptional. dy never=yy. In ṇiṃdiadi (mindyate) vi. 112 the dental is protected by the nasal. vijjhādhara (vidyā-dhara) is probably a mistake. dv is=vv, except in diuṇa (dviguṇa) iv. 16, dudia (dvitīya) iv. 74 and other forms of dvi-. Ayojjā (Ayodhyā) i. 66 is probably a printer's mistake. py=vv in duvviṇṇavva (durvijñapya) v. 17. dīrgha is always dīha—rt is represented by tt: muhutta (muhūrta) i. 16, iv. 5, saṃkittaṇa

(saṅkīrtana) i. 48, ii. 19; but in the forms of the rt. vṛt- (vart-)
ṭṭ is also frequently found: abhi-ṇiuttomi (nirvartayāmi) i. 108
ṇivvattidavva (ṇirvartayitavya) ii. 37 ṇivvattida (nirvartita)
iii. 27 but ṇioavaṭṭi (niyoagavartī) vi. 11², passaparivaṭṭiṇī
(-parivartiṇī) iv. 10, vaṭṭadi (vartete) i. 12, vi. 63, vaṭṭāmi (varte,
chāyā wrong) iii. 52, vaṭṭamāṇo (vartamānaḥ) iv. 5, aṇuvaṭṭissadi
(anuvartiṣyate) iv. 3—rth appears as tth: edāvattham
etadartham?) ii. 6, patthaṇia (prārthaṇīya) ii. 12 paramattha
(paramārtha) iii. 30, vi. 57, mahattha (mahārtʿa) v. 21, vi. 93,
samattha (samartha) ii. 5, iv. 18. As to mahantha v. 25 see
above §10. samatta (samartha) is probably to be corrected into
samattha.—rdh is represented by ddh: saddha (sārtha) iii. 1,
muddhā (mūrdhan) v. 64 dhaṇuddhara (dhanurdhara) vi. 93;
but in the forms of the rt. vṛdh- (vardh-), the combination is
represented by ḍḍh: vaḍḍhasi (varddnase) ii. 1, vaḍḍhiadi
vṛddhyate; (chāyā wrong), samvaḍḍhia (samvarddhita)
ii. 12.

§ 18. **Mutes with spirants:** –The spirant is as a rule assimi-
lated to the mute. kṣ is always represented by kkh, except in
vacchatthala (vakṣaḥsthala) ii. 34, iv. 68; thus lakkhī (lakṣmī)
v. 5. and Lakkhaṇa (Lakṣmaṇi) i. 6, 58, 82 etc. Cf. however,
vikkevaṇikkeva (vikṣepanikṣepa) iii. 1 beside ṇikkhitta
(nikṣipta) iv 74, takkaṇa (tatkṣaṇa) iv. 19 beside khaṇa (kṣaṇa)
iv. 85 viḷakkha (vilakṣa) iv. 89. vijjai i. 84 is=vijayati and not
vīkṣate as in the chāyā. ts is variously represented; vaccha
(vatsa) i. 6. etc. beside vacca (once i. 58), ṇibhacchati (nirbhart-
sayati) v. 104 samivaccara (samvatsara) v. 58, vaccalattaṇa
(vatsalatva) v. 27 and samussāhedi (samutsāhayati) i. 14. ps:
accarāṇam (apsarasām) iv. 79. śc: accariam (āścaryam) v. 67
and ṇiccaḷa (niścala) iv. 5, ṣk: dukkhara (duṣkara) v. 25. ṣṭ and
ṣth are both represented by ṭṭh which is also written ṭṭ or ṭhṭh, but
ṇiṣṭura i. 58 beside ṇiṭhṭhura ii. 12, Vasiṣṭha i. 82 beside Vasiṭhṭha
vi. 90, suṣṭhu i. 108 beside suṭṭhu i. 16 iii. 1 are evidently mistakes.
ṣp: bappha (bāṣpa) v. 27 'tear'. st and sth are changed into
tth. ṇaddhi (nāsti) iv. 18 beside atthi i. 40, jalahara-ddhaṇida

(-staṇita) iii. 30, pattaṇa (prasthāna) ii. 50 beside paṭṭhāṇa in the very next line, hatta (hasta) ii. 38 beside hattha iv. 14 are all to be corrected accordingly. In the forms of the rt. sthā, ṭṭh frequently appears instead of tth: ṭṭhida (sthita) iv. 2, 79, v. 5, avaṭhṭhida (avasthita) v. 21, saṃṭhāduṃ (saṃsthātum) i. 6, ṭṭhāṇa (sthāna) iii. 36 v. 25, 27, beside tthāṇa iv. 1, v. 3. Further kkambha (stambha) v. 5, beside tambha ii. 12 v. 60 and tthambha v. 21, timida (stimita) iii 55. sp is turned into pp: parisa (sparśa) i. 14 ii. 12, pappauda (praspanda) v. 21, while sph is both pp. and pph: sampodaa (saṃsphoṭaka) iii. 1 and paripphuḍa (parisphuṭa) i. 32.

§ 19. **Nasals with nasals**:—nm:jamma ii. 46 and ummullia (unmūlita) vi. 93.

§ 20. **Nasals with semivowels**: —The semivowel is assimilated to the nasal. ny (and nv) always changed into ṇṇ: as to mamṇū iii. 30 see §10 above; similarly nimmāṇuṣa i. 82, ṇiṃmida iv. 1, sahadhammaāriṇī ii. 37; also Vaṃmīi i. 82 etc. beside Vammīi i. 108 etc.

§ 21. **Nasals with spirants**:—śm:—sahassarassiṃ (sahasra-śmiḥ) vi. 90 ṣm: gimma (grīṣma) iii. 1. sm is representc by mh, which is also written hm: ahmāṇaṃ (asmākam) v. 25; ahlāṇaṃ (chāyā: asmākam) is a misprint; mhi (asmi) i. 82, ii. 82 iii. 1 etc. beside mmi i. 48 and ṃmi i. 16, iv. 42, 44, 50 etc. As to aṃmi i. 38 and viṃmaya iv. 19 see obove, §10. hṇ and hm are retained as they are: anugahṇīdi (anugrhṇāti) i. 84 bahmaṇajādi (brāhmaṇajātiḥ) v. 112.

§ 22. **Semivowels with semivowels**:—ry is changed into yy: ayya (ārya) i. 34, ayyāhiṃ (āryābhiḥ) i. 56. Elsewhere aṇa is uniformly written, due to Dravidian influence. See above §10. sūra i. 68, iii. 1, iv. 77 should be connected with Skr. sūra and not with sūrya. rv, vy and vr are regularly represented by vv. saṃvahā iv. 40 beside savvahā (sarvathā) i. 48, etc.

§ 23. **Semivowels with spirants**:—The semivowel is without exception assimilated to the spirant and the result is always ss medially and s initially; dassaṇia (darśanīya) iii. 30 but every-

where else dains-. (12 times); passa (pārśva) iv. 10; mahesi (maharṣi) i. 82, iv. 33, v. 25, vi 90. Rāmaccāma (Ramaśyāma) ii. 1 beside ssāmala (śyāmala) v. 5 is peculiar, perhaps due to Dravidian influence. saya (sva) i. 103 beside saa i. 64 (i. 84 chāyā wrong).

ACCIDENCE.
Nouns.

§ 24. a-stems. Nom. sg. m. muṇijaṇo (munijanaḥ) iv. 19 n. kudūhalaṃ (kutūhalam) i 14, sappaṃ v. 62; sarpa is masc. in Sanskrit. Voc. sg. m. Kosalāhipa (Kosalādhipa) i. 34. Acc. sg. m. n. assamaṃ (āśramam) iii. 55. pāṇaṃ ii. 12 is sg. not pl. as in chāyā. Instr. sg. m. dāvāṇaḷeṇa (dāvānalena) v. 15. n. uttarieṇa (uttariyena) iv. 64. Abl. sg. m. candādo (candrat)i. 90. n. muhādo (mukhāt); here as well as in the case of several other Abl. forms the chāyā is wrongly given as mukhataḥ etc.) iv. 79. Gen. sg. m. assassa (aśvasya) ii. 37. n pāvassa (papasya) i. 14 Loc. sg. m. sagge (svarge) ii. 12. n. simhāsaṇe (simhāsane) v. 5. —Nom. pl. m. pāṇā (prāṇāḥ) vi. 115. jualā (yugalau) ii. 5; this word is neuter in Sanskrit; perhaps jamalā (yamalau) is the correct reading. pāṇaṃ ii. 12 is sg. not pl. as in chāyā. n. silāhaṇijjāïṃ akkharāïṃ (ślāghanīyāny akṣarāṇi) i. 78. ālakkhaṇiāï edāṇi kadaṇāṇi (ālakṣaṇīyānyetāni kadanāni) iv. 17 is evidently through Sanskrit influence. Acc. pl. n. kusumāïṃ (kusumāni) iii. 27, caridāïṃ (caritāni) iv. 3. Instr. pl. m. sevaehiṃ (sevakaiḥ) v. 17 n. vaaṇehiṃ (vacanaiḥ) iv. 85 v. 13. araṇṇāhiṃ i. 82 is probably from an ā-stem or is to be corrected into araṇṇehiṃ. Gen. pl. m. sihāṇaṃ (siṃhānām) ii. 5 (in verse) n. ṇaaṇāṇaṃ (nayanayoḥ and not nayanānām as in the chāyā). Loc. pl. m. upabhoësu (upabhogeṣu) iv. 5.

§ 25. ā-stems. Nom. sg. kundamālā iii. 27. patthaṇiaṃ (prārthanīyā) ii. 12 is perhaps to be corrected into patthaṇiā. Voc. sg. apaṇḍide (apaṇḍite) ii. 19. Acc. sg. dhāraṃ (dhārām) v. 7. Instr. sg. vaṇadevadāe (vanadevatayā) iv. 14; taraṅgāe! (taraṅgaiḥ) i. 84; this word is masc. in Sanskrit. Gen. sg. Sīdāe

(Sitāyāḥ) i. 48. cirajividāe (cirajivitāyāḥ) iv. 68 jīvita is neut.
in Sanskrit. Loc. sg. dīhiāe (dīrghikāyāṃ) iv. 5.—Nom. pl.
piaṃvadā (priyaṃvadāḥ) i. 66. Instr. pl. itthiāhiṃ (strībhiḥ)
ii. 12 as well as sampādidāhi (sampāditābhiḥ) iv. 5. Gen. pl.
muṇikaṇṇaāṇaṃ (munikanakānām) iv. 79.

§ 26. i- and u-stems. Nom. sg. m. Somitti (Saumitriḥ) i. 72.
In sahassarassiṃ (sahasraraśmiḥ) vi. 90 the final nasal is to be
omitted and corrected accordingly. maṃṇū (manyuḥ) iii. 30
beside tusārabindu (tuṣārabinduḥ) v. 15 f. bahmaṇajādī
(brāhmaṇajātiḥ) v. 112 beside āṇatti (ājñaptiḥ) i. 66. Voc. sg. f.
Jaṇṇavedi (Yajñavedi) iv. 1. Acc. sg. f. paḍikidiṃ (pratikṛtim)
iv. 38. gaïṃ (gatim) ii. 12 beside gaïṃ iii. 1 Instr. sg. m.
Vammiiṇā (Vālmīkinā) iv. 5. As to sotthiṇā i. 108 see above § 4.
f. ākidīe (ākṛtyā) iv. 75. viṇṇattiā i. 84 is perhaps through
Sanskrit influence. Gen. sg. m. païṇo (patyuḥ) i. 52 f. padiki-
die (pratikṛteḥ) iv. 38 as viṇṇattiā above. Nom. pl. m. mahesiṇo
(maharṣayaḥ) i. 82 beside adihī (atithī) v. 71. Gen. pl. m.
pahudīṇaṃ (prabhṛtīnām) i. 96. Loc. pl. m. padumāpacayādisu
(padmāpacayādiṣu) iv. 5.

§ 27. ī- and ū-stems. Nom. sg. Vedavadī (Vedavatī)
ii. 12. Voc. sg. bhaavaï Bhāïraï (bhagavati Bhāgīrathi) i 108.
Acc. sg. Vaidehiṃ (Vaidehīn, chāyā wrong) beside bhagavaïṃ
Bhāïrahīṃ (bhagavatīm Bhāgīrathīm) iii. 27, puḍhaviṃ
(pṛthivim) v. 7 and mandabhāiṇiṃ (mandabhāginīm) i. 58.
Instr. sg. ajjūe Kekaïe (śvaśrvā Kaikeyyā, chaya not correct) i.
22. Gen. sg. piasahīe (priyasakhyāḥ) ii. 1, 14 Loc. sg. puḍavīe
(pṛthivyām) ii. 12 —Nom. pl. sīmantiṇīo (sīmantinyaḥ) v. 11.
Instr. pl. mārisīhiṃ (mādṛśibhiḥ) ii. 12 beside vaṇavāsiṇihi
(vanavāsinibhiḥ) iv. 5 Gen. pl. dampadiṇaṃ (dampatīnām) ii.
12. ajjūṇaṃ (śvaśrūṇām) i. 56.

§ 28 ṛ-stems. Acc. sg madaraṃ (mātaram) iv. 7. Gen. sg.
piduṇo (pituḥ) v. 104.

§ 29. t-stems. Nom. sg. m. aṇusoanto (anuśocan) i. 58. f.
pariharanti iv. 3. Instr. sg. sandiśanteṇa (sandiśatā) i. 52. Nom.

pl. āloantā (ālokayantau) ii. 42, alaṃkarantā (alaṃkurvatau) v. 27.—Nom. sg. (t)attabhavaṃ ((t)attrabhavān) v. 43 (iv. 75), bhaavaṃ (bhagavān) i. 98. Voc. sg. bhaavaṃ (bhagavan) i. 102, vi. 61. Instr. ag. bhaadā (bhavatā) i 96. bhaavadā (bhagavatā) ii. 3. Gen. sg. bhaavado (bhagavataḥ) v. 5.—Nom. pl. bhavanto (bhavantaḥ) iv. 40. The feminine of bhavaṃ is always hodi iv. 81, 83, 87.

§ 30. n-stems. Nom sg. rāā (rājā) iv. 75. Voc. sg. rāaṃ v. 7, rāa v. 19 (rājan). Gen. sg. rāṇo (rājñaḥ) v. 21. mahārāo i. 66 (Nom. sg.), mahārāaṃ i. 58 (Acc. sg.), mahārāassa ii 8 (Gen. sg.) like an a- stem. —Nom sg. appā (ātmā) vi. 112. Acc. sg. attāṇaṃ (ātmānam) i. 48. Instr. sg attāiṃ (ātmanā) iv. 14. Gen. sg. attaṇo (ātmanaḥ) iii. 30 also attāṇaassa iii. 30 and appāṇaassa iii 55—Nom. sg. muddhā (mūrddhā) v. 64. jammaṃ (janma) ii. 46, sakkhi (sākṣi) vi. 90, ṇioavaṭṭi (niyogavarti) vi. 112. Acc sg. vaṇavāsiṇaṃ (vanavāsinam) iii. 33. Loc, sg pahi (pathi) ii. 4.—Nom. pl. kesariṇo (kesariṇaḥ) v. 7, phalāsiṇo (phalāsinaḥ) v. 19 Gen pl. nivāsiṇaṃ (nivāsinām) v. 64, vaṇavāsiṇaṃ (vanavāsināṃ) ii. 16.

§ 31. s-stem. Gen. pl. accarāṇaṃ (apsarasām) iv. 79.

Pronouns.

§ 32. **1st Person.** Nom sg. ahaṃ, several times, haṃ i. 86, only once. Acc. sg. maṃ, several times, māṃ i. 84. only once, perhaps to be corrected into mam. Instr. sg. mae. Gen sg. mama and me. Loc. sg. mayi i. 52, only once.—Nom. pl. amhe v. 25, only once. Gen. pl. ahmāṇaṃ v. 25, twice.

§ 33. **2nd Person.** Nom. sg. tumaṃ, several times, tuvaṃ v. 49, only once. sumaṃ v. 12 is to be corrected into tumaṃ. Acc sg. tumaṃ. In i. 64 the reading is wrong. Instr. sg. tue, tae (once). Gen. sg. tava (thrice), tuha (twice), de (twice), te (once). Instr. pl. tuhmehiṃ. Gen. pl. tuhm(mh)āṇaṃ.

§ 34. **Demonstratives.** tad-: Nom. sg. m. so; f. sā; n taṃ. Acc. sg. m. taṃ. Instr. sg. m. teṇa (four times), deṇa (once). Abl. sg. m. tado. Gen. sg. m. tassa; f. tāe. Loc. sg. tahiṃ—

Nom. pl. m. **te, de** (ii. 42 chāyā wrong). Gen. pl. **m. dāṇam.** –tā, several times.

etad-: Nom. sg. m. **eso,** s. t. **esa** (3 times). f. **esā.** n. **edaṃ.** Acc. sg. m. f. n. **edaṃ** Instr. sg. m. n. **ediṇā.** f. **edāe.** Gen. sg. n. **edassa.** Loc. sg. f. n. **etassiṃ, edassiṃ.**–Nom. pl. m **ede.** n. **edāṇi** (Sanskrit influence?) Instr. pl. m **edehiṃ.** Gen. pl. m. **edāṇam.**–**ettha** several times.

idam-: Nom. sg. m. **aaṃ.** Acc. sg. m. n. **imaṃ.** Abl. sg. m. **imādo.** Gen. sg. m. f. **se** –**ido,** several times. **kidiso so:** (ii. 18) the reading is doubtful.

§ 35. **Relative.** Nom. sg. m. **jo.** n. **jaṃ.** Acc. sg. n. **jaṃ.** Instr. sg. m. **jeṇa.** Gen. sg. **jassa.** Loc. sg. **jahiṃ.**

§ 36. **Interrogative.** Nom. sg. m. **ko.** f. **kā.** n. **kiṃ** Acc. sg. n. **kiṃ.** Instr. sg. **keṇa** Abl. sg. **kisa** (never **kissa**). Gen. sg. **kassa.**–**kahaṃ, kahiṃ** and **kudo.** As to the combinations of **ko** and **kim,** the following occur: **kovi** i. 84, iii. 55, vi. 93; **koṇu** i. 104; **koṇukhu** iii. 30; **kiṃvi** iv. 74, 79; **kiṃdu** iv. 40; **kiṃti** ii. 43; **kiṃṇukhu** i. 82. (**kocci** and **kiṃci** do not occur).

§ 37. **Pronominal Adjectives. antareṇa** v. 13, vi. 90. **aṇṇo** i. 88, vi. 93; **aṇṇā** i. 74. **avaraṃ** ii. 30, iii. 30. **ubhayaṃ** v. 11. **kadamaṃ** v. 117. **saa** i. 64, **saaṃ** i. 82, **sayaṃ** i. 108 (**sva?**). **savvo** iv. 18.—**parakeraaṃ** (**parakiyaṃ**) i. 25, **paraeraaṃ** i. 25, **parakeraeṇa** iv. 64.

Numerals.

§ 38. **One. ea** iv. 19, **ekkaṃ** v. 77, **ekkeṇa** i. 64, **eassa?** ii. 12. —**aṇea** ii. 12, **bhuvaṇekka** vi. 93, **eāïṇi** i. 82, 88, iv. 16, **eāïṇiṃ** i. 82, **eāïṇie** ii. 12.

§ 39. **Two. duve** ii. 1, v. 21. **doṇṇaṃ** (**dvayoḥ**) v. 77.— **dudio** (**dvitīyaḥ**) ii. 3, -**dudiaṃ** (-**dvitīyam**) iv. 74.—**diuṇa-** (**dviguṇa**) iv. 16.— **ubhayaṃ** v. 11; As to **jualā** ii. 5 see above § 24. **mihuṇa** iv. 36.

§ 40. **Seven. sattame** iv. 5.

§ 41. **Ten.. Dasaraha** i. 96, **Dasarahe** v. 27.—dasamo v. 58.

§ 42. **Hundred.** sadahā sadahā (śatadhā) v. 64.

§ 43. **Thousand.** sahassa (sahasra) vi. 93. sahassarassiṃ (sahasraraśmiḥ) vi. 90.

The Verb.

§ 44. **The Present.**—Indicative. The 3rd sg. ending is, as a rule, -di, only exceptionally -i: āacchaï iv. 74 beside **gacchadi** iii. 45, **iccaï** (icchati) iv. 87, **bāheï** iv. 79 beside bïhedi (bādhate) ii. 12, **santavaï** ii 19 beside **santavadi** (santapīti) iii. 55, alaṃkareï iv. 75 beside alaṃkaredi (alaṃkaroti) ii. 13, dịsaï iv. 38, dịsaï i. 82 (dṛśyate) are the only examples quotable. The ending -de appears in an isolated form, pekkhade iv. 38 by the side of pekkhadi (prekṣate). The 2nd sg. ending is always -si, never -se, and the 1st sg. ending is -mi. In the pl. the 3rd pers. is very frequent. It always ends in -nti, never in -ndi. The 2nd pl. does not occur but one example of the 1st pl. is met with; **gāamhma** v. 25.

The change of the stem final to **e** is frequent, especially in the Imperative: aṇusaremi iii. 1, tuvaremi ii. 50, bāhedi ii. 12, iv. 79, bādhesi iii. 36, karemi i. 82 etc., alaṃkaredi ii. 13, iv. 75.

Imperative:—The 3rd sg. in-**du** is very common. 2nd sg:-a in **gaccha** iv. 10, bhaṇa iii. 50, muñca v. 62 and samassasa vi. 65; -āhi in bhaṇāhi ii. 45 bhayāhi iv. 83 suṇāhi iv. 5, v. 23; -ehi in ādēsehi i. 14, āṇavehi v. 15, kahehi i. 32, 42, ṇiivehi i. 12, parittāehi v. 15, bādhehi i. 58, viṇṇavehi i. 56, viṇodehi iv. 17. aṇṇesahi iv. 1 is perhaps to be corrected into -sehi. hohi is exceptional. suṇṇaṃtu iv. 40, vi. 90 is the only quotable form for the 3rd pl. upasappadu v. 43 is to be corrected into upassappantu. The other forms of the plural and 1st sg. do not occur.

Optative:—Very rare. bhave iv. 3, 38 bhaveditti ! ii. 46.

Roots of the 1st class:—bhū: hodi iv. 18, 91, homi iii. 30 iv. 10, hohi i. 58, 64, v. 5 hodu iv. 38 aṇuhodi iv. 18, aṇubhavadi ii. 43, aṇubhavāmi iii. 30, pahavadi iv. 46, 56 vi. 90 pahavāmi

ii. 38 iii. 55, iii. 1, 30 **bhavanti** v. 27 (chaya abhūtām wrongly)
pahavanti i. 12.—sthā: ciṭṭhanti v. 27, 67, aṇuciṭṭhāmi iv. 17,
40.—gam: gacchadi iii. 45, āacchaï iv. 74. gaccha i. 68, 108, iv. 10.
—tvar-: tuvaremi ii. 50, tuvaredu v. 1.—prekṣ: pekkhadi iv. 38,
pekkhade iv. 38, pekkhasi ii. 30, pekkhāmi ii. 45 iii. 55.—smṛ:
sumarasi iii. 33. sumarāmi v. 58.—sṛ: aṇusaremi iii. 1.—tṛ:
odarāmi i. 14.—mṛj-: pamajjāmi iii. 55.—ruh: adirohadi v. 64.—
vṛdh: vaḍḍhasi ii. 1.—kram: adikkamāmi iv. 40.—hṛ; haranti
ii. 5.—ram: ahiramadi i. 18.—labh; uvālambhāmi i. 58.—bādh:
bādhesi iii. 36, bāhedi ii. 12, bāheï iv. 79, bādheyadi (?) ii. 42.—
vṛt: vaṭṭadi i. 12, vaṭṭhadi vi. 63 (to be corrected), vattāmi
(chāyā wrong) iii. 52.—vṛdh, vaḍḍhasi ii. 1.—tap. saṃtavai ii. 19,
saṃtavadi iii. 55, saṃtapasi iv. 60. pavvajami i. 82 and paḍanti
ii. 5. are in need of correction.

2nd class:—as: atthi i. 40: aṃmi i. 38, (ṃ)mi i. 64, iv. 44
(with assimilation) beside mhi ii. 12, 34. iii. 30, v. 60 and hmi
vi. 59 i. 4, vi. 63 with printer's devil; sonti (santi) i. 64.—yā:
āanti i. 82.

4th class:—kup; kuppadu iv. 40.

5th class:—ci: ociṇomi iii. 27.—śak: sakkaṇomi iv. 40.—śru:
suṇāhi iv. 5, v. 23 suṇṇantu iv. 40, vi. 90.

6th class:—iṣ: icchāmi iv. 1, iccaï iv. 87.—viś: upavisadi
ii. 11, pavisadi iv. 8.—majj; ṇimajjāmi ii. 42. dhṛ: dharanti
(dhriyante) vi. 57.

8th clase:—kṛ-; alaṃkaredi ii. 13, alaṃkareï. iv. 75, karemi
i. 82, iii. 30, 55, iv. 46, karidu (karotu) v. 71 beside karodu
vi. 93.

9th class:—grah: aṇugahṇādi i. 84.—jñā, jāṇāsi ii. 25 iv. 8
(with a misprint) etc., jāṇāmi ii. 42, iii. 30 etc. jāṇanti iv. 6, 7,
ṇa āṇāmi iv. 87.

10th class:—rūp; ṇirūvemi iii. 30.—bharts: ṇib- bhacchadi
(-chedi) v. 104.—tark: takkemi ii. 6, v. 7.—dhṛ, dhārinti v. 25.—
mṛj: pamajjami (-jje-?) iii. 55.—pṛ: pāremi i. 6.—vīj-; vijjaï i. 84
(vījayati, chāyā wrong).

Imperfect:—āsi iv. 79. mā rodi iv. 15. āsa iv. 16 looks like Perfect, but it is doubtful; the passage is corrupt.

§ 45. **Future**:—The ending of the 1st sg. is, as a rule, -ṃ. -mi occurs only in a single form, parisussāmi vi. 15. The 3rd sg. ending is -di and the pl. ending, -nti, appear in a single instance, saṃbhāvissanti iv. 40. Forms with the thematic -i- are very frequent. bhu: bhavissadi i. 50. gam: gamissaṃ iv. 40, iv. 40. sthā: aṇucitthissadi v. 25, aṇucitthissaṃ ii. 50. prekṣ: pekkhissadi iii. 55, pekkhissaṃ iii. 30. sṛ: osarissaṃ iv. 36 (chāyā incorrect). vṛt: aṇuvattissadi iv. 3. sṛp. uvas: ppaissaṃ ii. 13 upasappissaṃ iv. 40 (chāyā in both places incorrect).

cakṣ: ācakkissadi iii. 1. rud: roissaṃ iv. 16.

kup:—kuppissadi iv. 40. śram: vissamissaṃ, i. 16.

prach: pucchissaṃ v. 100, 112.

kṛ:—karaissaṃ i. 108 (chāyā wrong), iv. 74.

bandh:—ṇibbandhaissaṃ v. 5.

varṇ; ṇivvaṇṇaissaṃ iii. 30. lakṣ: lakkhaissaṃ v. 7.

§ 46. **Passive**:—In addition to—ia-, -ia- is frequently found. They are both equally common. adikkhiadi vi. 80, āvaṃjiadi iii. 30, niṃdiadi vi. 112, pucciadi (procyate) iv. 15, parihariasi iv. 72, bhaṇiadi ii. 5, vaḍḍhiadi ii. 40 (chāyā incorrect). -ia- is perhaps due to the contamination of the form -ia- and -ijja-. dīsai iv. 82, dissai iv. 38, disasi iv. 89 are special forms.

§ 47. **Causative**:—p-causative: āṇavedi i. 98, āṇavedu v. 119, āṇavehi iv. 52, viṇṇvedi i. 62, viṇṇavemi i. 94, iv 48, viṇṇavidavvo i. 62, patthāvayanti iv. 48, saddāveanti ii. 42, saddāvaissam ii. 13. The other forms are of the type adivāhedi iv. 5 and adivāhemi ii. 11, iv. 16.

§ 48. **Denominative**:—romañcedi iii. 30. saccāvaṇadi vi. 90. saddāveanti and saddāvaissaṃ quoted above.

Verbal Nouns.

§ 49. **Present Participle**:— -anta: bhavanto iv. 40, saṃdisantena i. 52 and the like. aṇiccaritti is corrupt. It is = anuca-

rantī acc. to chāyā. Feminine form ends in -antī: akkhipantī ii. 13, pahavantī iv. 40 and so on.

-māṇa: aṇṇesamāṇassa iv. 77, dīsamāṇa vi. 93 (passive), dharamāṇe v. 27 vaṭṭamāṇo iv. 5.

§ 50. Past Passive Participle:—da The d is dropped in a few forms: kampia i. 6, lalia iv, 18 beside laḷidā v. 21, viṇiggaa v. 7, samvaddhiā ii. 12. The vowel preceding the suffix is generally i short; but paḍigahīda v. 49 beside gahida ii. 50 and nigahida i. 40. jāṇida v. 86 beside aṇṇāda v. 60 and aṇaṇuṇṇāda vi. 61, viṇṇāda iv. 38 and ahiṇṇāda iv. 66. Of the forms without i the following may be quoted: adikkanta iv. 68 etc. adimuttu iv. 79, kida i. 82 etc., gada i. 36 etc. gaddha (grathita) iii. 27, jāa i. 14, iii. 1 beside jāda ii. 12, vi. 15, ṭṭhida iv 2 etc., pariṇaddha v. 5, samārūḍha v. 5.

-na: ahiṇṇa (bhid-) vi. 88, āsaṇṇa (sad) iv. 2 etc., pacchaṇṇa (chad) iii. 55 and paccaṇṇa iv. 79 (to be corrected), pasaṇṇa iv. 58 etc., and visaṇṇa v. 49 (sad), vicchiṇṇa (chid) iv. 7 and vitthiṇṇa (str-) v. 117. puṇṇa (pṛ. or pūr) i. 90 etc.—diṇṇa (datta) v. 86; and mahapadiṇṇī iii. 27 is corrupt, perhaps the correct reading is maha padiṇṇīda and mae padiṇṇāda.

§ 51. Gerundives. -davva: aṇugahidavvā i. 56 and aṇuggahidavvā i. 62, aṇuciṭṭhidavvaṃ iv. 64, jāṇidavvaṃ iii. 30, hodavvaṃ iv. 19, and so on.

-aṇīa: aṇukampanīā i. 96, dassaṇīo iii. 30, paḍipālaṇīā i. 96, vajjaṇīa iii. 41, soaṇīā ii. 12, iii. 50, with soaṇijja (iii. 50) in the very next line, also silāhaṇijjāṃ i. 78, sambharaṇiaṃ ii. 7. Note patthaṇiaṃ ii. 12 with short vowel. -a does not occur.

§ 52. Gerund. -ia is common: ajāṇia iii. 30, aṇuciṭṭhia iv. 42, uddisia iii. 27 beside umdisia ii. 28, gacchia v. 21, bhavia i. 12, bhamia (bhūtvā) ii. 12, uvālambhia i. 38, suṇia ii. 6, sumaria v. 15, 27, and so on. kadua and gadua are exceptional.

§ 53. Infinitives. -iduṃ: apakkamiduṃ iv. 74, uvekkhiduṃ iv. 40, upahasiduṃ iv. 87, odariduṃ i. 6, ogāhiduṃ iv. 5, jāṇiduṃ iv. 1 and so on. kāduṃ iii. 1 and samṭhāduṃ i. 6 are the

only forms without union vowel. Note **nivvasiduṃ (nirvāsayitum)**
i. 60, **visajjaïduṃ (visarjayituṃ)** iii. 30 and **adivāhiduṃ**
(ativāhayituṃ) ii. 12.

§ 54. **Formative suffixes.** **a (-ka)**: **kumāraā** v. 21, **puttaā**
ii. 1, **bhīrua** iv. 60, **mukhao** iv. 19, **sīmaṇtaa** i. 62, **saṅgītaa** iv. 1.

-ttaṇa (-tva): **adhaṇṇattaṇaṃ** i. 40, **avikaḷattaṇeṇa** vi. 101,
ṇisaṃsattaṇaṃ ii. 43, **dhaṇṇattaṇaṃ** i. 58, **mahiḷattaṇeṇa** i. 48,
mahattaṇeṇa v. 15, 112.

-dā (tā): **avissasaṇiadā** ii. 12, **aṇurāgadā** ii. 27, 39, **agoaradā**
iv. 38, **aviṇīdadā** iv. 40, **parāhīṇadā** iii. 30, **lahudā** v. 15.

-do (-tas): **aggado** i. 12 etc. **ido** i. 68 etc. **guṇado** v. 9,
dosado v. 9. In the chāyā the Abl. **-ādo** is several times con-
founded with this suffix: cf. **dukkādo** ii. 12, **muhādo** iv. 79, v. 64,
visaādo i. 60, **simhāsaṇādo** v. 62, **hiaādo** i. 60.

-hā (-thā): **aṇṇahā** iv. 91, **jaha, jahā** iv. 19, **taha** i. 14, etc.
savvahā i. 82 etc. **saṃvahā** iv. 40.——**(-dhā)**: **sadahā (śatadhā)**
v. 64.

-metta (-mātra): **adimattaṃ** ii. 19, iii. 55; but **uvālambhamet-**
taëṇa i. 40, **sumaraṇamettaëṇa** i. 62, **suamettaëṇa**, in a corrupt
passage, ii. 12. It appears that **-metta** is the form accepted by
our author and the first word is to be corrected accordingly.

-dara, -tama (-tara, -tama): **ahiadara** ii. 12 etc. **uccadara**
v. 21, **gurudara** v. 7 also **guruara** v. 7, **loladara** v. 21. **-aṇṇatama**
v. 5—— **-ṭṭha**: **jeṭṭha** i. 76, etc.

§ 55. **Indeclinables.**

aï occurs three times, once (iii. 36) in this form and twice
(ii. 19, iv. 60) in its Skt. form, **ayi**. Bhāsa uses this word only
once in all his dramas and Kālidāsa twice, once in his śakuntalā
and another time in his **Urvaśī**.

aṃho iii. 30. Not used by other dramatists: Bhāsa has
aṃgho and Kālidāsa, **haṃho**.

aho i. 40 and in five other places.

aviha v. 62. Bhāsa and Kālidāsa have avida.

ādu (uta) v. 9, 102.

evva, sixteen times, and eva, only twice. jeva is found once, iv. 19, in a doubtful passage.

evvaṃ, 28 times, and evaṃ, only twice.

kila iv. 87, v. 25 and kiḷa v. 25 (twice), 64.

kisa, seven times.

khu, always, never kkhu. This word occurs 8 times after a long vowel, 7 times after a short vowel (always either ṇa or ṇu) and 6 times after anusvāra. The use of kkhu predominates over this form from the 7th or 8th century. hu which is common in Bhāsa and Kālidāsa, does not occur.

jeva, see above; not after anusvara.

ca v. 27 after anusvara and once again in the combination aṇṇacca iii. 1; elsewhere always a even after anusvāra.

tti (iti) after a vowel, several times, ti after anusvāra, four times (ii. 43, iv. 5, v. 117). ciraduḥkhasahāyaṃ tti is, therefore, to be amended. cf. § 3.

dāṇiṃ, eleven times. dāṇi appears once (i. 82) in a passage which is corrupt. dāṇi appears only in Bhāsa. dāṇi in i. 82 is to be amended into daṇiṃ, cf. § 3.

ṇaṃ (nanu) ii. 37, 47. Once ṇu (i. 48) is said in the chāyā to represent (incorrectly) nanu; elsewhere ṇu always represents nu. cf. § 3.

bho is used several times in addressing persons.

vi (api): cf. § 3, but pi does not occur although it is frequent in the earlier dramas.

via (iva), but vva which appears in some of the later dramas does not occur.

haddhī. This form occurs in four places, repeated twice in three of the places. haddhi occurs in a single passage where it is also repeated. Bhāsa always uses the shorter form and among

the later dramatists the longer form is decidedly more common. For our drama **haddhi** appears to be the proper form.

halā, thrice, once with cerebral **ḷ**.

hi hi occurs once (v. 21) in combination with **bho**. Bhāsa has always **hi hi** without **bho**. Kālidāsa uses both forms while Harṣa has always **hi hi bho**.

hā and **he**: each once (i. 34 and iv. 85).

ÜBER DIE ÄLTESTEN INDISCHEN METRIKER UND IHR WERK

Von

Hermann Jacobi

1

Die Metrik (**chandas**) ist eins der sechs Vedāngas, das vorletzte in der ersten Aufzählung derselben in der Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad I, 1,5; als solches galt von je das Chandaḥsūtra des Pingala. Es liegt uns in zwei fast identischen Rezensionen vor, die Weber[1] als die des Ṛg und Yajus bezeichnet hat. Sagenhaft ist, was die Tradition von Pingala berichtet. Er soll nämlich, wie Patanjali, ein Nāga gewesen und von einem Makara vershlungen worden sein[2].

über das Alter des Chandaḥsūtra lässt sich nichts mit Bestimmtheit ausmachen. Gārgya[3], der Verfasser des Sāmapariśiṣṭa über vedische Metrik, nennt unter den Quellen für dies sein Werkchen den Pingala; dessen Chandaḥsūtra galt also in den Ausläufern der vedischen Wissenschaft als Autorität, wie es bei einem Vedānga auch nicht anders zu erwarten ist. Die erste chronologisch einigermassen datierbare Erwähnung Pingala's findet sich im Bhāṣya zum Mīmāṃsāsūtra I, 1, 5 (S. 16) in dem langen Zitat aus dem Vṛttikāra (Upavarṣa 2., 3. oder 4. Jahrhundert n. Chr.). Dort heisst es: "Niemand ausser Pingala oder einem, der dessen Werk anerkennt, würde unter m (**makāra**) einen dreisilbigen Versfusz (**trika**) aus lauter Längen (**sarvaguru**) verstehn." Die Beschreibung der Metra durch die Buchstaben: **m, y, r, s, t, j, bh, n, (l, g)** galt also schon früh als charakteristisch für Pingala's System.

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1. Indische Studien VIII, S. 162. Dies für unsere Kenntnis der indischen Metrik grundlegende Werk ist hier überall gemeint, wo bei dem Namen 'Weber' nur die Seitenzahl angegeben wird.
2. Pancatantra, Pūrṇabhadra's Rezension, II, 29.
3. Weber, S. 158.

Weniger künstlich und vielleicht älter ist die Methode, die Stellen der Zeile anzugeben, wo lange Silben Stehn, wie es noch im Śrutabodha geschieht. Bharata kennt beide Methoden, woraus sich ergibt, dasz das Nātyaśāstra jünger als Pingala's Werk ist. Seine Autorität stand also schon in den ersten Jahrhunderten unserer Zeitrechnung fest ; wieviel höher sie hinaufreicht, lässt sich nicht bestimmen; doch kann man ein beträchtliches Alter für dieselbe wahrscheinlich machen, obschon zunächst der Anschein dagegen zu sprechen scheint.

So könnte man betonen, dasz Pingala in dem Vedānga über Metrik die **weltliche** Metrik viel eingehender behandelt als die vedische. Jedoch bietet das Vedānga Grammatik ein Analogon, insofern Pāṇini zur Grundlage derselben die bhāṣā macht, die vedischen Sprach-erscheinungen aber nur als Ausnahmen zu seinen Regeln behandelt. Man könnte sich vielleicht als ein Argument für ein verhältnismässig junges Alter Pingala's darauf berufen, dasz er eine so grosze Zahl, weit über hundert, von 'künsltichen' Sanskrit Metra, d. h. solchen lehrt, in denen nicht nur die Zahl der Silben, sondern auch deren Quantität unveränderlich festgesetzt ist. Es musz also zu seiner Zeit eine hochentwickelte eigenartige Poesie (nach dem Namen der Versmasze zu schlieszen, lyrisch-erotischen Charakters) bei den Sanskrit Redenden bestanden haben. Es ist jedoch nicht abzusehn, weshalb nicht schon frühe selbst die śiṣṭas zarteren Empfindungen Ausdruck verliehen haben sollten, wozu ihnen die **vedischen** Metra schwerlich als das geeignete Vehikel erscheinen mochten. Für den frühen Gebrauch ' künstlicher ' Metra zeugt übrigens Patanjali. Wie nämlich Kielhorn[1] gezeigt hat, sind unter jenes Zitaten im Mahābhāṣya eine Anzahl Strophen in 'künstlichen' Metren, und zwar auszer Upajāti une Śālinī, namentlich solche von einfachem Rhythmus, nämlich die jambischen, trochäischen und spondeischen Dimeter: Pramāṇī, Samānī und Vidyunmālā, ferner die anapästischen und daktyli-

1. Ind. Ant. 1884, S. 228ff.

schen Tetrameter Toṭaka un dDodhaka. In diesen 'künstlichen' Versen waren grammatische Lehrsätze abgefasst und discutiert, ebenso wie später gerade d'e abstraktesten Disziplinen sich ähnlich gebauter Strophen (Bhujaṅgaprayāta, Sragviṇi) mit Vorliebe bedienen. Eine besonders künstliche Strophe der Art zitiert Patanjali zu VIII, 2, 55, sie hat das Schema ⌣ —⌣ — ⌣ | ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪∪—‖ Es setzt eine lange literarishe Übung voraus um die Sprache so geschmeidig zu machen, dasz selbst abstrakte T emata in diesem künstlichen Versmasz behandelt werden konnten, oder gar in der Vidyunmālā, einer Strophe von 32 langen Silben. Zu demselben Schlusz führt die sehr häufige Verwendung der Āryā zu Kārikās im Mahābhāṣya. Die Āryā (Gāthā) war das leitende Metrum im Prakrit, von dort drang sie in das Saṃskrit ein und erwarb sich solche Gunst, dasz sie in wissenschaftlichen Werken mit dem Śloka erfolgreich concurrieren konnte. Die Grammatiker deren Verse Patanjali zitiert, dürften zumeist im 3 ten Jahrhundert vor Chr. gelebt haben. Ihnen ging die Entwicklung der Kunstpoesie voraus, was wohl einen beträchtlichen Zeitraum in Anspruch nahm. araus haben sich nur dürftige Spuren erhalten, wozu zwei Praharṣiṇī Strophen, eine Pramāṇi- und eine Upajātizeile gehören, die Patanjali zu II, 2, 34, VIII, 3, 87 zitiert.

Vorstehende Erörterung über das Alter der künstlichen Metra war hier nötig, um zu zeigen, das Pingala wohl dem 3. oder 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr. angehört haben kann.

Pingala nennt mehrere Vorganger in der weltlichen Metrik: Kāśyape, Saitava, Rāta und Māṇḍavya; aber siene Angaben über deren Lehren sind nicht derart, dasz man aus ihnen einen Einblick in den damaligen Stand der weltlichen Metrik gewinnen könnte. Aber wir können aus seiner Behandlung des Themas den Fort·schritt erkennen, den die Disziplin ihm verdankt. Wir gedachten bereits oben des seiner Erfindung zugeschriebenen Kunstgriffes, die Versfüsze **(trika)** durch Buchstaben zu bezeichnen, wodurch sich die metrischen Schemata auf algebraische Formeln bringen lassen. Die Erklärung dieses Kunstgriffes bildet die Einleitung

zu seinem Lehrbuch wie zu Pāṇini's Grammatik die Śivasūtras, mit denen sie sich auch hinsichtlich ihrer praktischen Bedeutung für die Disziplin vergleichen lassen. Auch darin erscheint Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī vorbildlich für Pingala, dasz sein Chandaḥsūtra ebenfalls aus acht Adhyāyas besteht. Deshalb hat die Bemerkung Ṣaḍguruśiṣya's in seinem 1184 n. Chr. verfassten Kommentar zur Ṛganukramaṇī, dasz er Pāṇinīyānuja sei', einen guten Sinn, wenn sie auch nicht wörtlich zu nehmen sein wird.

Auch sonst greift Pingala zu künstlichen Mitteln, um verwickelte Erscheinungen übersichtlicher darzustellen. Deutlich zeigt sich dies bei der Lehre vom Śloka. Darin geht er nämlich (5, 9) vom Vaktra aus, einer seltenen Strophe,[2] in der auch die geraden Pādas wie die ungraden des Śloka gebildet sind.

Dasz er diese Darstellungsweise, die sich auch bei den übrigen Metrikern wiederfindet, nachträglich eingeführt hat, lässt sich noch aus seinen sūtras erkennen. Denn bevor er angibt, dasz im Vaktra die Silben 5-7 einen Bacchius (y) bilden, lehrt er, dasz von den Silben 2-4 der Anapäst (s) und Tribrachys (n) ausgeschlossen sind, und in den geraden Pādas auszerdem der Amphimacer (r). Letztere Regel hat aber nur für den echten Śloka Sinn, weil durch sie der Jambus vor dem Dijambus ausgeschlossen, also die Aufeinanderfolge dreier Jamben vermieden werden sollte. Man sieht nicht ein, weshalb vor dem Antispast bez. Epitritus primus (‿ – – ‿) ein Jambus in den ungraden Pādas des Vaktra zulässig, aber in den durchaus gleichen'geraden Pādas verboten sein sollte. Die Verwirrung entstand offenbar dadurch, dasz mit älteren sūtras, die den echten Śloka lehrten, solche über

1. Weber, S. 159f.
2. über ihre Verwendung in der Ākhyāyikā siehe Bhāmaha I, 26, Daṇḍin I, 26. Ich kenne nur vier ältere Vorkom-

das Vaktra verbunden wurden, nicht blos im Anfang, sondern auch im Fortgang der Darstellung (z. B. 14 und 17). Dadurch ist Pingala's Lehre vom Śloka (welchen Namen er nicht gebraucht), sehr confus, und bei den späteren Metrikern ist sie nicht wesentlich besser. Wahrscheinlich hatten die Kunstdichter auch den Śloka zu variieren versucht und darum das Vaktra erfunden, dies hat dann Pingala in seine Darstellung des Śloka eingeflochten, so wenig auch die wirkliche Bedeutung des Vaktra der ihm beigelegten theoretischen auf die Dauer entsprochen hat. Es scheint übrigens Saitava, eine der vedischen Anuṣṭubh ähnliche Strophe, in der alle Pādas auf Dijambus bez. Pâon secundus (˘ ˘ ˘ ˘̱) ausgehen, seiner Lehre vom Sloka zugrunde gelegt zu haben;[1] dem gegenüber wäre Pingala's Ausgehn vom Vaktra eine Neuerung.

Ein künstliches Prinzip, das Pingala eingeführt zu haben scheint, ist ferner die Messung gewisser Metra nach der Morenzahl. Dadurch bringt er verschiedene Metra, wie die Vaitālīya-Arten und die Mātrāsamakas, die manigfaltigen Ursprungs sind, ohne von Anfang an etwas mit der Morenzahl zu tun gehabt zu haben, in einer Klasse unter. Wie unberechtigt dies Prinzip ist, zeigt sich deutlich darin, dasz nun die unveränderlichen Vaitālīyas von denen getrennt werden mussten, in denen eine lange Silbe gleich zwei kurzen, und umgekehrt gelten.

Pingala's Bestreben, die bunte Masse der verschiedenartigsten Versmasze in ein System zu bringen und dadurch übersichtlich zu machen, hat offenbar dem Chandaḥsūtra zu seinem hohen Ansehn verholfen. Dessen System ist in seinen Grundzügen auch bei den späteren Metrikern in Geltung geblieben, wenn es auch im Einzelnen nicht an Verbesserungsversuchen gefehlt hat.

Pingala teilt die Metra folgendermaszen ein:

1. Pingala erwähnt diese Strophe bei den Vipulās. Diese Vipulā ist einige Male im Mahābhārata belegt, aber niemals in beiden Halbversen zugleich, was doch das Wesentliche bei Saitava's Strophe ist.

I Die auf **gaṇas** von 4 Moren aufgebauten Strophen, in denen je zwei Pādas zu einem Halbvers verwachsen sind: die verschiedenen Āryā-Arten.

II Die Metra, in denen die Anzahl der Moren bestimmt ist.

(I und II bilden den Inhalt des 4. Adhyāya. Die Späteren nennen die zu I und II gehörigen Versmasse **jāti**[1], und zwar die unter I Gaṇacchandas, und die unter II Mātrāchandas.

III **vṛttam.** Pingala gibt keine Definition, sondern geht sofort zur Einteilung der vṛttas über:

a. **samam** (samavṛtta) von vier gleichen Pādas;

b. **ardhasamam** (ardhasamavṛtta) von zwei gleichen Vershälften, in denen aber die Pādas ungleich sind;

c. **viṣamam** (viṣamavṛtta), alle Pādas sind ungleich. Hierhin werden alle Metra gestellt, die in a. und b. nicht unterzubringen sind. In diese Klasse stellt Pingala auch den Śloka (Vaktram). Hemacandra ist ihm darin gefolgt, während Kedārabhaṭṭa im Vṛttaratnākara ihn zwischen den Vaitālīya-Arten und den Mātrāsamakas einschiebt. Die Schwierigkeit liegt darin, dasz in den jeder Pāda sein bestimmtes Schema haben sollte, und das trifft eben auf den Śloka nicht zu. Wahrscheinlich waren es Bedenken ähnlicher Art, die Pingala bestimmten, **vor** der Lehre vom Śloka (Vaktra) in V, 9 ff. die regulären Anuṣṭubh-vṛttas (in V, 6-8) zu behandeln, nämlich die trochäische Samānī, die jambische Pramāṇī und das Vitānam, unter welchem Namen die übrigen Anuṣṭubh-vṛttas zusammengefasst sein sollen[2]. Diese kommen dadurch in den Anfang des Abschnittes über die vṛttas (III) zu stehen, während ihre richtige Stelle im 6. Adhyāya wäre. Dort lehrt Pingala folgerichtig die Pramāṇī und Samānī nicht, sondern nur Citrapadā,

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1. padyam catuṣpadam tac ca vṛttaṃ jātir iti dvidhā. Zitat bei Halāyudha zu, V, 1, Hemacandra zu I, 11.

2. Halāyudha ad V, 8, Hemacandra ad II, 82.

Vidyunmālā und Māṇavakākrīḍitakam[1]. Aber eigent-
lich sollte er auch diese nicht lehren, da sie schon im
Vitānam einbegriffen sind. Dies scheint der Sinn einer
Bemerkung des Śvetapaṭa[2] zu sein, worüber Halāyudha
zu V, 8 eine Strophe beibringt. Aber trotz dieser
Inconsequenz ist an der Echtheit von V, 6-8 nicht zu
zweifeln, da ja der spätere Abschnitt hinsichtlich der
Samānī und Pramānī darauf Rücksicht nimmt. Wahr-
scheinlich war in Pingala's Quellen der Sammelname
Vitānam für andere als die beiden genannten Metra
üblich; da aber zu seiner Zeit einige Vitāna-Strophen
schon besondere Namen bekommen hatten, so konnte er
sie im 6. Adhyāya je an ihrer Stelle aufführen.

Dagegen ist der Abschnitt VIII, 2-19 sicher ein späterer
Zusatz, wie Weber, S. 184 und 414 gezeigt hat. Er fehlt
tatsächlich in allen Mss. der Ṛg-, und einigen der Yajus-Rezension.
Zwar ist zu diesem Abschnitt Halāyudha's Commentar vorhanden,
aber seine Echtheit ist zweifelhaft, vgl. Weber, S. 414 f. Da
Bharata und Varāhamihira die meisten der in VIII gelehrten 19
Metra nicht kennen, musz der betreffende Abschnitt nach dem 6.
Jahrhundert zugefügt sein. Hemacandra aber hat ihn wohl
gekannt, da er alle 19 Metra lehrt, wenn auch 6 mit andern
Namen.[3]

1. In dieser Reihenfolge in der Yajus-Rezension. Weber,
S. 36 f.
2. Derselbe kritisiert auch nach Halāyudha I, 22
Pingala's Lehre von der syllaba anceps am Pādaschlusz, und soll
auch (vgl. Weber, S. 222 note) mit Māṇḍavya und andern die
Lehre von den Zäsuren verworfen haben.
3. Im Vṛttaratnākara (Commentar Pancikā) finden sich
von diese 19 Metra nur 9. Dies ist um so bemerkenswerter,
als auch diese kürzeste Rezension des arg interpolierten Werkes
durchweg mehr Metra in jeder Klasse aufzählt als Pingala. Wenn
also der Redactor den betreffenden Abschnitt im 8. Adhyāya
gekannt haben sollte, so müsste er ihn als unecht angesehn und
darum ignoriert haben.

Der Rest des 8. Adhyāya ist zweifellos echt. Er handelt über den Prastāra, die systematische Anordung der Metra, and die Stelle eines jeden in demselben. Solche algebraische Spekulationen haben von je den indischen Geist lebhaft interessiert, und wir haben keinen Grund zu bezweifeln, dasz sie auch schon Pingala beschäftigt haben Derselbe Gegenstand wird auch von Bharata im 14. Adhyāya behandelt, teils übereinstimmend mit Pingala V, 3-5, VIII, 20 ff., teils daran anklingend.

2

Die zweitälteste Quelle für unsere Kenntnis der Indischen Metrik ist das Nātyaśāstra Bharata's. Für ihn ist die Metrik nicht Selbstzweck, sondern er behandelt die Metren insofern sie im Drama Verwendung finden. Er widmet der Metrik den ganzen 15. Adhyāya: Chandovṛttividhi, und den 32ten: Dhruvādhyāya, zum Teil. Die im 15. Adhyāya gelehrten Metra sollen in Dramen und andern Dichtungen verwendet werden, die im 32ten sind Gesangsstrophen.

Betrachten wir zuerst Bharata's Metrik im 15. Adhyāya. Wie oben bereits bemerkt, gibt er bei Beschreibung der samavṛttas die Stellen im Verse an, wo lange (bez. kurze) Silben stehen; aber bei den übrigen vṛttas bedient er sich der trikas, die charakteristisch für Pingala's System sind. Letzteres hat darum Bharata zweifelsohne gekannt; die allgemeinen Grundzüge desselben befolgt er durchaus in der Einteilung und Darstellung der Metra. Aber im Einzelnen sind Abweichungen bedeutend und bedeutsam. So lehrt Pingala 73 samavṛttas, ·Bharata dagegen nur 49, und zudem fehlen von diesen 10 bei Pingala. Von den übereinstimmenden Metren haben viele andere Namen, nicht blos die selteren, sondern auch ganz gewöhnliche. Er gibt den Namen Hariṇīplutam für Drutavilambitam, Aprameyam für Bhujaṅgaprayātam, Nandīmukhī für Mālinī, śrīdharā für Mandākrāntā, Vilambitagati für Pṛthvī. Bharata schöpfte also nicht unmittelbar aus Pingala, sondern traf seine Auswahl aus dem was zu seiner Zeit (offenbar lange nach Pingala) in den Schulen der Metriker gelehrt wurde. Er selbst sagt darüber

XV, 144 f. [1] "Es gibt noch andere Metra, die hier von Gelehrten beschrieben worden sind; ich habe sie nicht genannt, weil sie nicht zur Schönheit beitragen. Alle anderen soll man als Gesangstrophen benutzen Das Genauere über sie werde ich·im Dhruvāvidhāna lehren." Man beachte, dasz das Gesagte nur von den vṛttas, zu denen auch der Śloka (XV, 116 ff.), aber nicht die Āryā-Arten (XV, 146) gehören, Geltung hat. Diejenigen vṛttas, welche Bharata im 15. Adhyāya lehrt—also musz man wohl schlieszen—sollen nicht als Gesangstrophen verwendet werden, ausgenommen sind Rathoddhatā und Pramitākṣarā (XXXII, 282. 291). Daraus folgt, dasz dergleichen, in den Dramen vorkommende Strophen nicht gesun·gen, sondern in Rezitativ (mit **abhinaya**) vorgetragen wurden.

Wir wenden uns nun zur Metrik im Dhruvādhyāya (XXXII). Zwar ist das technische Detail über die **Dhuvās** in der dortigen Darstellung ohne erklärenden Commentar uns annoch unverständlich; aber es ist zweifellos, dasz es sich dabei um Verwendung der betreffenden Strophen zum Gesang handelt. Es finden sich nämlich darauf hinweisende Ausdrücke wie folgende: **gīte** 162, **gītakavidhau** 175, **gītakavidhāne** 196. 204, **gītakabandhe** 213. Dafür spricht auch, dasz die Beispiele nicht in Saṃskrit wie in XV, sondern in Prakrit[2] abgefasst sind. Diese Gesangstrophen waren nicht Bestandteile des Dramas selbst, sondern gehörten zu dem Conzert, das dessen Aufführung begleitete.

Die Metrik der Gesangstrophen war wohl Gegenstand des Gāndharvaveda des Bharata und ist von der im Chandaḥśāstra gelehrten grundsätzlich verschieden. Zwischen beiden Arten der Metrik besteht auch ein Unterschied in der Behandlung der Metra. Pingala beginnt die Aufzählung und Beschreibung der samavṛtta mit der Gāyatrī-Klasse, deren erstes Metrum Tanuma-

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1. santy anyāny api vṛttāni, yāny uktānī 'ha paṇḍitaiḥ |
   na ca tāni mayo 'ktāni; na śobhāṃ janayanti hi||.
   yāny ataḥ param atra syur, gītakais tāni yojayet; |
   Dhruvāvidhāne vyākhyāsye teṣaṃ caiva vikalpanam.||
2. über dasselbe habe ich gehandelt in Bhaviṣattakaha S. 84 ff.

dhyā ist, und geht dann die übrigen Klassen bis zu den 26-silbigen durch; ebenso verfährt Bharata im 15. Adhyāya. Im 32. Adhyāya beginnt dagegen die Aufzählung mit den einsilbigen und schreitet so fort bis zu den 13-silbigen. Die 5 Klassen: Ukthā, Atyukthā, Madhyā,[1] Pratiṣṭhā, und Supratiṣṭhā, die doch nur theoretische Bedeutung hatten, fehlen also in der ursprünglichen eigentlichen Metrik, die durch Pingala und Bharata's 15. Adhyāya vertreten ist. Die späteren Metriker machen aber keinen Unterschied zwischen beiden Arten von Metrik, sondern führen in ihrer Aufzählung der samavṛttas alle Metra auf, deren sie habhaft werden konnten, gleichgültig, welchen Ursprungs sie sein mochten; sie beginnen daher mit den 5 bei Pingala fehlenden Klassen, so in Hemacandra's Chandonuśāsana, im Vṛttarat-nākara und Prākṛta- Pingala.[2]

Nach den Dhruvās behandelt Bharata noch andere Klassen von Gesangstrophen, für deren Verständnis die Veröffentlichung von Abhinavagupta's Commentar abzuwarten ist. Vorläufig wage ich nur mit allem Vorbehalt die Vermutung zu äuszern, dasz die Prakrit Metrik, wie sie in Hemacandra's Chandonuśāsana Adhyāya 4 vorliegt, sich vielleicht auf der von Bharata gebotenen Grundlage entwickelt hat.

Im Anschlusz an die älteren Metriker sei noch der im 6. Jahrhundert n. Chr. lebende Astronom Varāhamihira erwähnt. In dem 104. Adhyāya (**grahagocara**) der Bṛhat- Saṃhitā gibt er die betreffenden astrologischen Regeln in 64 Strophen von verschiedenem Metrum, wobei in jeder Strophe ihr Name genannt wird; es sind also Musterverse für diejenigen Metra, welche nach seiner Meinung ein Pandit kennen sollte, nämlich 50 samavṛttas,

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1. Der Name der 3. Klasse madhyā, die Mittelste, scheint entstanden zu sein, als diese 5 Klassen noch eine Einheit für sich bildeten.

2. Es sei aber erwähnt, das Kṣemendra, dessen Suvṛttatilaka praktischen zwecken dient, seine Darstellung der Metra mit Tanumadhyā beginnt.

4 ardhasamavṛttas und die Āryā. Diese Metra erklärt Bhaṭṭot-
pala, der in den 60er Jahren des 10ten Jahrhunderts schrieb, in
seinem Commentar mit Berufung auf einen ungenannten Ācārya;
dessen Regeln sind in dem zu lehrenden Metrum abgefasst, und
zwar benutzt er dazu bei den samavṛttas nicht die ganze Strophe,
wie es Bharata in XXXII tut, sondern nur einen Pāda, was eben
bei Verwendung der **trikas** möglich ist. So finden wir hierschon
dieselbe Methode, die in späteren Handbüchern wie Vṛttaratnā-
kara und Chandomanjarī befolgt wird.

DER EINFLUSS DER VOLKSPRACHE AUF DIE ZISCHLAUTE IM ZEITALTER DER ENTSTEHUNG DES ṚGVEDA

Von Prof. I. Scheftelowitz (Köln).

Bereits zur Zeit der Entstehung der Hymnen des Ṛgveda waren in der damaligen Volksprache der Inder die Zischlaute ś, ṣ und s in der Aussprache kaum unterschieden. Nur so ist es zu verstehen, dass in Ṛgv. zuweilen 1.) s für urarisch ś und ṣ steht, 2.) ṣ hinter i, u für ś steht.

In denjenigen Fällen, in denen Rv. ś sich für arisch s findet, ist es unter Einfluss eines in der folgenden Silbe desselben Wortes stehenden ś, ṣ entstanden, wie bei śvaśura (=aw. χᵛasura), śmaśru 'Bart' (a irisch smech 'kinn'), śuṣka, śuṣyati (=aw. huška, haoš)[1], ślakṣṇa (AV.) 'schlüpfrig, glatt': aisl. slakr 'schlaff', nd. slakk 'dicke, weiche Masse' (zum Suffix vgl. tikṣṇa 'scharf': ejate).[1]

I. Beispiele, in denen Ṛgv. s für ar. ś steht:—

(1) Ṛgv. pāṃsurá 'staubig' pāṃsú (Av.) m. 'Staub': aw. pa‹snu 'Staub'. In MBh. (Kalkuttaer Ed.) liegt die Schreibung pāṃśu vor, die aber als sekundär anzusehen ist z. B. X 9, 14: sa hato grasate pāṃśūn.

(2) Ṛgv. busá n. 'das Trübe, trübes Wetter' (nur X 27, 24), nach den Lexicographen 'Abfall, Schlacke dicke Schicht der geronnenen Milch', busá 'trockener kuhdünger' (vgl. z. B. Vaijayantī 128 Z. 128; 134, Z. 283; 91 Z. 193), mi. busu, ni. buhu (Grierson. ZDMG. 50, 17). busa ist unmöglich mit Bartholomæ ZDMG. 50, 712 auf urind. bṛśa zurück zu führen und zu

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(1) Vgl. hierüber Wackernagel, Altind. Grammatik I 197, Osthoff, Perf. 493 f., Hirt, B. B. 24, 230, Bloomfield J. A. O. S. 13, 118, Hübschmann, Arm. Gram. 476, 491. RV. śaśvat 'wiederholt, jeder' ist schwerlich aus saśvat entstanden, sondern gehört zu arm. sos-k 'einfach, allein, gewöhnlich'. Demnach ist das ś in śaśvat ursprünglich.

Pamir **bis, büs** 'Dunst, Nebel' zu stellen (vg. Johansson KZ. 36
356 f.), sondern geht auf urind. **buśa** zurück: russ, **bus**
'Staubregen', **za-busět** 'trüb, dunkel' werden', **busorět** 'grau,
dunkel werden', **busol** 'schimmel, schlamm'. Zum Bedeutungs-
wandel vgl. aslav. **tǎ.ča** 'Regenwolke', russ. **tuca**: serb. **tüska**
'Schlacke, Treber, russ. **tusknut** 'trübe werden', oder slov.
kaliti se 'trüb werden: lat **calīgo** 'Nebel'.

(3) Rgv, **sūcī** 'Nadel', prak. **sūī**, pali **sūci**, neben. ai. **śūka**
'Granne des Getreides, Stachel eines Insekts', aw. **sūkā** 'Nadel'
Hierzu auch ai. **sūkṣma** neben **śūkṣma** 'fein, genau'. Uṇādisūtra,
4. 93 leitet **sūcī** fälschlich von. **sīv**+suff. **ca** ab.

(4) Rgv. **srutī** I 46, 11 wofur das Kaśmir-Ms. **śrúti** liest, was
einen besseren Sinn gibt: **ádarśi ví śrutir diváḥ** 'offenbart hat
sich des Himmels Segen', vgl. Rgv. II 2, 7.

Ebenso findet sich in anderen vedischen Texten s für ar. **ś**.

(5) **Késara** (VS.) 'Haar', aus **késara**: Rgv. **kéśa** 'Haar',
keśín 'lang haarig, haarig', alb. **k'eθ** (idg. *koiᵏ̑ō) 'schere', lit.
káiszau 'schabe', **apkaiszti** 'abschaben' (Geitler, Lit. Stud 77).[1]
Hierher gehört auch ai. **kisala, kisalaya** 'Schössling, Blattknospe'
(Vgl. auch Vaijayantī, p. 46). Kālidāsa Megh. 21: **keśara**
'Staubfaden' ist wohl sekundäre Schreibweise. Begrifflich vgl.
arv. **varasa** 'Haar': ai. **valśa** 'schössling, Zweig'.

Bloomfield (J. A. O. S. 13) und Walde (Lat. Et. Wtb.)
nehmen an, dass ai. **keśara** mit. lat. **cæsaries** 'Haupthaar' ver-
wandt sei, doch idg. *kaisar hätte in Lat. zu *caerar werden
müssen (vgl. lat. **aurora, soror**). Lat. **caesaries** geht auf, vorlat.
*kaidh-s-zurück: ags. **hád** 'Haar', germ. *haid, ndd, fries. **hěde**
'Werg, Hede', lit. **sukìdēs** 'zerzaust', daneben idg. *kidh-tōn
*kiddhōn, kizdhōn=germ. **hizdōn**, ndl. **herde** 'Haar, Werg', ags.
heorde, engl. **hards, hurds** (Sievers, zum Ags. Voc. 24f., Murray V

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(1) Zum Bedeutungswandel vgl. aslav. **kosa** 'Haar': lit.
kasyti 'gelinde Kratzen', gr. **ksēō** 'schabe'; čech. **škutina** 'Haar-
schopf': lit. **skutu** 'Kratze, schabe.'

89, Trautmann, Germ. Lautges. 33). Bisher wurde angenommen dass in Lat. caesaries das s ausnahmsweise ebenso erhalten geblieben wäre wie in lat. miser. Doch ist das s in letzterem Wort nicht ursprünglich (vgl. WZKM XXI 127).

6. Musala m. (AV., TS) 'Stössel, Kolben'; die in Śivapur. Adhy. 10. 53, sich findende Lesart muśala kann, sekundär sein: lit. muszíkas 'schlägel', muszù 'schlage', lat. mucro 'scharfe Spitze.'

7. Rásnā (V S.) 'Gurt': Rgv. raśaná 'Strick, Zügel,' np, räsän 'Strick, Zügel', arm. Lehnw. erasan.

(8) Vásā (Kāṭh, A Br.) neben vasá (TS , SBr.), váśa (AV., VIII 9, 24) 'flüssiges Fett:' aw. ūθa 'Fett', phl. ūs. Unmöglich ist Charpentiers zusammenstellung von ai.vásā mit aw. vohu 'Blut', ar. vasu, ae. wōs 'Feuchtigkeit' (KZ. 46, 42)

(9) Suka (AV. I. 22, 4) fur śuka (Rgv. I, 50, 12 und Paippal).

II. Beispiele, in denen Rgv. s fúr ar. ṣ steht.

(10) Rgv. rbísa 'Schlund, Erdspalte', urind. *rvīṣa (zur Bildung vgl. rjíṣa, puriṣa: uṣṇíṣa), lit. ūrwa 'Loch in der Erde, poln. rów 'Graben', preuss. rawys.

(11) Rgv. kīstá. 'Sänger' (Sāyaṇa: udgātṛ): aw. kaēš 'lehren', lat. quaero, quaestor, quaestio. Zur Bedeutung vgl. aw. saₑh 'lehren' : ai śaṃs 'singen' ; np āhäng, hanj 'Belehrung, Rat', phl . frahaxt 'ausgebildet', ar. W. *sangh: got. saggws 'Sang', ahd. sang, got siggwan; lit. bóti 'fragen', gr. φωνή 'Stimme'.

(12) ved. bársva (VS. 25, 1, Kāṭh. 25, 9) 'Zahnfleisch', neben varsva (nach Mahīdhara = danta-pīṭha), idg. *volsvo : gr. oûlon 'Zahnfleisch'. Betreffs der Behandlung von urgriech. ls, vgl. F. Sommer KZ. 32, 386 ff, Brugmann IF. 11, 208 A. Anders über oûlon Schwytzer KZ. 57.

(13) Rgv. bísa (wofür viele Mss. vísa schreiben) Wurzel-schoss' (in bísa-khá, AV. bísa), mi. bisu, ni. bíhù (Grierson ZDMG. 50, 17), urind. viṣa : lit. wystù, 'sich fortpflanzen',

(2) Hier ist das k von der Vollstufen form *kaiṣ aufdie Schwundenstufe *ciṣ übertragen, vgl. gītha.

waisinü 'wachsen machen', waïsius 'Frucht'. Hierzu auch ai, biṣyati 'hervorbrechen, wachsen' (bhedana-karman, vṛddhi-karman), nur in Nir. 2. 24 überliefert.

(14) Rgv. bṛṣaya etwa 'Zauberer' und Bezeichnung eines Dämons ụrind. vṛṣaya, asl. vlchv 'Wahrsager', vlšïba Zauberei', russ. volchit 'Zauberer', wruss wolchwić 'zaubern' asl. volchvica 'Wahrsagerin'.

III. Beispiele, in denen Rgv. ṣ für ś hinter i, u steht.

(15) Rgv. úṣa (X 95, 4) 'Liebhaber' (úṣo yádi váṣṭi) steht, wie bereits Grassmann erkannt hat, für úśa. Ebenso steht in Kaśmirischen Rgv-Ms. I 162, 11 uṣádbhyo für uśádbhyo.[1]

Ferner ist in Rgv. das auslautende ṣ von dem Verb piṣ wie ś behandelt worden. So lautet die 2. Sing. Inj. und Impf. sam-piṇak für *sam-pinaṣ.[2] In klassischer Zeit ist von dieser Wurzel ferner apikṣam, pekṣyati belegt. Ähnlich überliefern die Grammatiker von karśati die Formen akṛkṣat, krakṣye, die in Anlehnung an karśati gebildet sind, und von viveṣṭi (W. viṣ)

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(1) In Rgv. I 6,3 ist uṣádbhis unmöglich von uṣás abzuleiten (vgl. Scheftelowitz, IF. XXXIII 153 f.) sondern steht für uśádbhis, worunter die hilfreichen Marutas zu verstehen sind. die in diesem Vers wie auch sonst häufig als maryá bezeichnet werden (I 61, 4; 64, 2; III 54, 13; V 53, 3; 59, 6; 61, 4; VII 50 1; X, 77, 23), den Indra stets begleiten und seine Brüder sind (vgl. I 70, 2 : Kím na indra jighámsasi bhrátaro marútas táva) Unter allen Gefährten, die Indra in dem Vṛtra-Kampfe beistehen, sind die Martus die treuesten Helfer. Ein Teil der vedischen Lieder und die rituelle Literatur bringt sie so häufig in Zusammenhang, dass man die Verbindung als Gemeingut der RV. angesehen hat (Hillebrandt, Ved. Myth. III 312). Der Vers I 6, 3 lautet : "Dem Lichtlosen Licht schaffend, dem Farblosen Farbe, O ihr Männer (=Marutas), wurdest du (O Indra) mit den Huld-reichen (*uśadbhis) zusammengeboren". uśant dient sowohl im Sg. als auch in Pl. häufig zur Bezeichnung von Göttern.

(2) Betreffs des ṇ vgl. Benfey S. V. Einl. XXXV. Nach Bartholomae IF. III 171 A soll "ṣám piṇak nach prá piṇak" gebildet sein.

die Formen **vekṣyati, vivikṣa,** wo das **ś** von der W. **viś** her-
genommen ist. In Rg. **viviḍḍhi** (I 27, 10; VIII 85, 12) ist bereits
das wurzelausl. **ṣ** vor dem Imp. suffix -**dhi** wie **ś** behandelt [1]

Patañjali Mahābhāṣyam (ed. Kielhorn, I 24) macht ausdrück-
lich darauf aufmerksam, dass man in der Aussprache **ṣ** und **ś**
verwechsele, weshalb man **ṣaṣa** für **śaśa** und **palāṣa** .für **palāśa**
sagt. Jabāla Upan. 2 bezeugt ferner, dass **ś** als **s** gesprochen
wurde. Darauf beruhen z. B. Schreibungen wie **suṣi, suṣira** (Āp
Śr.) "Höhlung" neben älterem **śuṣi, śuṣira** (l. cavus); **sraṃśayitvā**
(AV IV, 16,7) für **sraṃsayitvā, sṛgāla** (Manu IX, 30) für
älteres **śṛgāla; sveta** (Bhāvaprak., p. 102) für älteres **śveta**
caturasram (Saubhāgyalakṣmī Up, in 108 Upaniṣads ed. Pāṇḍu-
raṅg Jāwajī, Bombay, 1925, 549) für **caturaśram; vaṃśiṣīya**
(AV. IX, 1, 14; 16, 9, 4) für **vaṃsiṣīya** (Opt. Aor. von **van**);
kūṣmā (MS.) für Rgv. **kūśma; sikṣasi** (Vālakhilya III 6; IV
8 in den Rgv. Mss. Brit. Mus. Add. 5351, India Office 2131) für
śikṣasi. Vaśiṣṭha (Bhav. Pur. 139, 54,; 140, 30; III 1, 47; IV
53, 23) für **Vasiṣṭha; visrabdhāḥ** (Ram. II of) fur **viśrabdhāḥ;**
santva, santvā 'Beschwichtigung' aus **śantva, śāntva; sāri,**
sārikā 'Krähe' fur **śāri, śārikā** : lat. **corvus.** Weitere Beispiele
über die Verwechslung der 3 Zischlaute in nachvedischer Zeit
habe ich in WZKM. XXI 132 behandelt.

(1) Vgl. ferner Scheftelowitz WZKM. XXI, 125 fg. In Rv.
kóśa 'Kufe' ist das **ś** ursprünglich (vgl. daselbst 127). Jünger ist
die Schreibung **koṣa,** die zuerst in Praiṣādhyāya (Ed. Scheftelo-
witz, Apokryphen d. Rgv.) VII 1 f, T Br. III 6, 2, MS. IV 13, 2
belegt ist und zwar in dem Wort **akoṣadhāvanīr (duras)** "die
nngebogen gehenden (Türen)".— **ṣaṣṭha** (lat. **sextus**)aus ***sakṣ-ṭha**
ṣaṣṭi aus **sakṣ-ṭi.** Nach snalogie von **caturtha pañcama, saptama.:**
catur, pañca, sapta hat sich aus **ṣaṣṭha** die Lautform **ṣaṣ**
ent vickelt, die das ursprungliche ***sakṣ** verdrangte.

THE WORD ARI' IN THE ṚGVEDA SAMHITĀ

K. Chaṭṭopādhyāya.

अरिश्वसं नमस्कृत्य राघवमार्यंभूसृतम् ।
अरिश्वश्चार्थयुग्मस्य निरुक्तेर्निर्णये यते ॥
बाह्चचे संहिताप्रन्थे शब्दोऽयमार्यसम्मत: ।
भूयश्च शत्रुपर्याय: शौमेरारिप्रभावित: ॥

It is well known to students of the Ṛgveda samhitā that the word A R I′ has been used in it in both a good and a bad sense, either as meaning 'active', 'pious', 'a pious man', etc., or as 'niggardly', 'godless', 'a niggard or an ungodly man', 'a foe'. etc. This strange phenomenon has exercised the brains of several scholars, [2] but the riddle of how a word could have such contradictory meanings in texts of the same period still remains unsolved. It has been proposed to analyse the word as a-r i², originally meaning 'having no wealth' and having the regular accent of a Bahuvrīhi with the privative particle a-. The word is then believed to run in two different channels, in one *'having no wealth'* coming to mean 'meek' or 'humble'> 'a suppliant'> 'a worshipper of the gods'> 'a pious man'> 'a noble man' and in the other 'a niggard'> 'an envious being'> 'a bad person'> 'a foe'. · This is highly ingenious no doubt but fails to give conviction. It is the first series which is unconvincing. Passage from *'having no wealth'* to *'worshipping'* is hard to see in view of the fact that the Ṛksamhitā priest often praised his gods for the benefit of his rich patron. Besides this, passages like 1-150-1, purútvā dāśvā′n voce ari′ḥ, where dāśvā′n= 'giving' goes along with a r i′ḥ make it impossible, as Neisser points

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1. Grassman, Woerterbuch zum Ṛiveda, 105-6.

2. Geldner, Vedische Studien, III, 72ff., Oldenberg, Z. D. M. G., 54. 177ff. Ṛgveda, textkritische und exegetische Noten. I. 384, II. 28 and *passim*, Bergaigne, E'tudes sur le lexique du Rig-veda, 182, Ghate Lectures on the Ṛgveda (Ied.), 121-7, Neisser, Zum Woerterbuoh des Ṛgveda, 98ff, *et cetera,*

out', that a r i' ḥ should mean 'having no wealth'. The second series of meanings is, however, more readily comprehensible. **'Having no wealth'** can easily mean 'having no wealth **to give to others'**> 'a niggard', as 'm a g h a' v a n t' means 'having wealth'>having wealth to give to others' = 'bounteous'. The major portion, if not the whole of the Ṛksaṃhitā, being a priestly composition, it is but natural that 'the niggard' (=refusing Bloomfield's **buksheesh**) should become a type of all that is bad.

The references for the two sets of meanings are : —

(1) In Good Sense :

I-4-6, 70--1, 71-3, 122-14, 150-1, 184-1, 185-9; III-43-2; IV-2-18, 4-6 (?); V-48-5, 54-12; VI-25-7. 45-33, 51-2; VII-8-1, 34-18, 60-11, 92-4; VIII-1-4, 54-9, 61-16, 83-3; Vālakhilya 3-9; X-27-8, 28-1, 39-5, 86-1, 3, 148-3.

(2) In Bad Sense.

I-73-5, 118-9, 169-6 (?); II-8-2, 12-4, 5, 23-13, IV-16-19, 20-3, 29-1, 50-11; V-2-12, 33-2; VI--13-5, 14-3, 15-3, 16-27, 20-1, 24-5 36-5, 48-16. 59-8; VII-21-9, 31-5, 34-10, 43-3, 56-22, 68-2, 83-5, 97-9; VIII-21-6, 24-22, 33-14, 39-2, 48-8, 49-12, 55-12; IX-23-3, 61-11, 79-1, 3; X-42-1, 59-3, 115-5, 116-6, 133-3; to which may possibly be added I-33-31, I-121-15, VI-47-9 and X-191-1.[4]

A R I' in a good sense seems connected with a r y a'[5]

3. *Op cit.*, p. 98.

4. The above references are not copied verbatim from Grassmann. I looked up all these passages and succeeded in checking some of his mistakes. The same remark also applies to the other references in this paper.

5. I 33-3 (?). 81-6, 9, 121-15 (?); II-23-15, 35 2; IV-1-7,2, 12, 16-17, 24-8; V-33-6, 9, 34-9. 75-7 (a ryā'; VI-47-9 (?)-86-7; VII-21-5, 64-3, 65-2, 56-7, 100-5; VIII-1-34, 19-36, 52-7; Vālakh. 3-9, 6-7; X-20-4; 27-19, 34-13, 76-2, 89-3, 191-1 (?). Of all these passages I-33-3, I-121-15, VI-47-9, and X-191-1 may possibly have a r y a' ḥ as gen. sg. of a r i' = 'foe' or 'niggard', instead of masc. sg. of a r y a'—'the excellent one'

'kind', 'benevolent', 'righteous', 'pious' *et cetera* and ā'r y a[6] ('Aryan' as an adjective and a noun) in the Rv. S. and a i r y a and a r i y a of the Avesta and the Ancient Persian Inscriptions. We should follow Neisser's suggestion[7] in adding to the etymology the Greek word ἄριστος, meaning 'noblest', 'best of its kind' which is believed to be one of the irregular superlatives of ἀγαθός, it being further assumed that " In the early prim. Indg. period the comparative and superlative stood in no grammatical relation to the so-called positive. "[8] I cannot, however, help feeling that it was not so and it is on account of the disappearance of words that we cannot always find the corresponding positive or superlative bases in Greek or other langu-ages. The Sanskrit language gives abundant illustration of the former existence of words and forms which recur later only in special combinations, e. g., **puṣpadhanvan** (showing the old *d h a' n v a n* =bow), **yuva-jāni** (the old *ja'ni* = woman). I have, therefore, no hesitation in taking ἄριστος to be a superlative from a stem *ἀρί. or *ἄρι. The accent is on the first syllable (or third from the end) as in μέγιστος (=mahiṣṭha, from μέγας = Vedic *m a h a' h* and *m a g h a'ḥ* with accent on the second syllable), ἤδιστος (=s v ā' d i ṣ ṭ h a ḥ with accent on the first syllable, though the positive s v ā d u'ḥ, Greek ἡδύ, has accent on the second syllable, ἐλάχιστος (=laghiṣṭhaḥ) *et cetera*. The passage from 'noble' to 'Aryan' in ārya, airya or ariya is very natural under the influence of race pride and, it is possible that a r i' has got that sense in some passages of the Ṛgveda samhitā.[9]

6. I-51-8, 59-2, 96-3, 103-3, 117-21, 130-8. 156.5; II-11-18, 19; III-34-9; IV-26-2, 30-18; V-34-6; VI-18-3, 22-10, 25-2, 33-3, 60-6; VII-5-6. 18-7. 83-1; VIII-24-27, 92-1; Vālakhilya 3-9; IX-63-5, 14, X-11-4, 38-3, 43-4, 49-3, 65-11, 69-6, 83-1, 86-19, 102-3, 138-3.
7. *Op. cit.*
8. Wright, *Comparative Grammar of the Greek Language.* 378. See also Brugmann, *Kurze vergleichende Grammatik d. indg. Sprachen*, 391.
9. E.g. in VI-45-33.

I have already said that *a r i'* in a bad sense is a Bahuvrîhi formed from a-(='not') and-ri (weak form in compound of **raî**, **rayi**-'wealth', as in b ŗ h a' d-ri *et cetera*). The usual sense is that of 'a niggard' but sometimes the meaning seems to be 'a foe.' In many cases it is difficult to ascertain whether the poet meant 'a niggard (or envious being)' or 'a foe'. The sense of' foe' realy constitutes a difficulty, because the passage from 'niggard' to 'foe' is not so easy as from 'moneyless' to ' niggard' and we have other words in the Ṛv. S. for an enemy, *v ŗ t r a'*, d v e' ṣ a s *et cetera*. In the later language, of course, **ari** means 'au enemy' and that alone, but this gives us no help for its correct etemology. *A r i'* = 'enemy' in the Ṛgvedasaṁhitä has, therefore, remained a great problem with me for a number of years.

Recently some solution of the difficulty has seemed within sight. A somewhat similar word seems to have existed in the old Sumerian language, which Gadd [10] transliterates as erim [2] and Langdon [11], earlier, as [1] ari. It will be recalled that Hall threw out a suggestion years ago that the old Sumerians were con-nected with the Dravidians of India [12] and several scholars have in recent times followed him and believed, further, in the Sumer-ian affinity of the dwellers of the pre-historic Indus basin. It must be admitted that connexion of the Sumerians with the Dravi-dians or with the pre-historic inhabitants of Mohenjo-daṟo, Lar-kana, Harappa etc. has not been proved. Keith's statement, how-ever, that the facial aspect of the Sumerian *patesi* Gudea in his statues seems to be "wholly un-Dravidian" [13] cannot be accepted, for we do come across such types among Dravidians and I have myself seen a number of Dravidians with the receding fore-

10. **Sumerian Reading Book**, pp. 2, 65 and ff. and L82.

11. **Sumerian Grammar and Chrestomathy**, p. 203. So also Delitzsch in **Sumerisches Glossar**, p. 10 (I a-ri).

12. See his **Ancient History of the Near East**[5], pp. 173-4.

13. **Religion and philosophy of the Vedas**, Vol. I, p. 10 n. 1.

head and peculiar skull we find in the Sumerian sculptures.[14]
Regarding the further connexion of the Sumerians with the pre-
historic dwellers of the Indus basin, I may say that a bust I saw
in the Mohenjo daro Museum in November, 1928, appeared in my
eyes as having strong resemblances with Sumerian statues like
those of Gudea.[15] G. A. Barton in his recent article in the J. A.
O. S., "Whence came the Sumerians?"[16] has combated the Indian
hypothesis.[17] But his objection that not all the signs in the seals
of Harappa and Mohenjo-daro agree with Sumerian signs creates
no great difficulty for we may have here an earlier or a later or
a different settlement of the same people and some differences in
writing would be inevitable under the circumstances. Consequently
the hypothesis that before the advent of the Aryans, the Punjab
was inhabited by a people having Sumerian affinities seems
still possible or even likely. Consequently a native word ari or
erim, meaning 'foe', could easily affect Aryan usage and give to
a-r i'='a niggard' the occasional sense of a 'foe', which had the
good fortune of surviving as the only meaning of the word in
later Sanskrit, to the exclusion of 'a niggard' and of the good
sense, 'a kind' or 'noble person'.

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14. I must confess that I do not very much believe in identi-
fication of races of very different periods on purely anthropometri-
cal grounds, for emigrants have been known to have changed their
skulls in a few generations under the influence of the new environ-
ment. See Franz Boas, *Changes in the Bodily Form of Immi-
grants* (Columbia University Press, 1912). Besides this there
is always in such cases admixture of blood with other
races with a resultant physical change. It cannot be
assumed that the present day speakers of Dravidian tongues
carry *cent per cent* Dravidian blood. The only safe method that
can be pursued for proving or disproving the Sumerian affinity
of the Dravidians is linguistic. But for this we require trained
linguists, possessing deep first hand knowledge of both the
languages and not a Waddell or a Vaidyanatha Ayyar. It may
be noted here that like Sumerian, Dravidian languages are agglu-
tinating.
15. See **Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report,
1925-26,** Plate XXVIII.
16. Vol. 49 pp. 263 ff.
17. pp. 264-6.

Another classical word for 'foe' is **arāti**, which we find in the Rv. S. usually as an abstract or action noun, meaning 'niggardliness', 'envy', 'hostility', etc.,[18] but also as a concrete noun, meaning 'godless person', 'demon' or 'demoness' and 'enemy'[19]. The accent is on the first syllyable in both the cases. Consequently we cannot understand the *samāsa* as a *'Bahuvrīhi*, even for the sense of 'enemy'. The change of meaning from 'hostility' to 'a hostile being', without a shift of accent, is probably due to personification, the transition being indicated by the meaning of 'demon' or 'demoness'. We may find a parallel in d v e' ṣ a s, which is used in the Rv. S. for both 'animosity' and 'enemy'.[20] It is possible, however, that a' r ā t i and d v e' ṣ-a s as concrete nouns have been influenced by a r i' as a concrete noun meaning 'a foe', because abstract or action nouns (at least those ending in -as or -an) usually shift the accent to the final syllable, when meaning concrete or agent nouns. [21]

The Sumerian word that has been suggested above as affecting the meaning of the Vedic word a r i' seems to be a native Sumerian word, for though there is a word in that language with the same phonetic value but written differently—its meaning being 'man', 'servant', 'soldier', 'army', [22] (1) there seems to be some pictographic connexion between the signs of the two words, (2) the sense 'army' seems to supply the connecting link between 'man' and 'foe' and (3) **ur**, [22] 'to bristle', seems to be the

18. I-29-4; II-7-2, 35-6; IV-4-4, 50-11; V-53-14; VI-53-14; VI-16-27, 44-9, 48-16, 59-8; VII-83-3, 5, 97-9; VIII-39-2, 48-3, 60-1; IX-79-3; X-34-14, 63-12, 133-3.

19. I-43-8, 99-1 (a r ā t i y a t a' ḥ); II-38-9; III-18-1; V-2-6; VI-4-5; VII-1-7; IX-96-15, 97-10; X-85-32.

In III-24-1, IV-26-7, IV-27-2, IX-79-1 and X-57-1, a' r ā t i may possibly be a concrete noun but this is not certain and I-116-21, III-23-5,9, VIII 9-1, VIII-11-3 and VIII-60-4 are wholly doubtful.

20. Grassmann, *Woerterbuch zum Rigveda*, 653.

21. See Macdonell. *Vedic Grammar for Students, p. 453.*

22. Gadd, *Sumerian Reading Book, pp. 2 and 182.*

root behind both the words. [23] Variety of signs with identical phonetical value is a too well known phenomenon in the Sumerian language to make Gadd's 'erim or Langdon's 'ari a non-Sumerian word.

In conclusion, I wish to remind students of the Rksamhitā that other non-Aryan words have been believed to occur in the Rv. S., e.g., m a n ā' of VIII-67-2, meening 'a weight or an ornament', connected with the Babylonian word *minu* or *ma-na*[24] (from which we have Greek μνᾶ and Latin **mina**); we find this latter word also in Sumerian (e.g., in the Inscription of Sin-gashid, king of Erech [25] as ma-na.)[26] It should be noted that m a n ā'[*] occurs only once in the Rv. S. and that in the Eighth Book, which for various reasons appears to be a later collection than the rest of the work except Book X. This Eighth Book has also strong western affinities, [27] which would make the occurrence of a Sumerian or Babylonian word in it easily intelligible. The other word manā [*] occurring four times in the Rv. S. thrice means 'devotion or' 'attachment' (I-173 2, IV-33-2 and X-6-3) and once 'wrath' or some such thing (in II-33-5, in connexion with Rudra). In the previous case derivation from √man to 'think'> 'to worship' is quite evident. The same etymology seems possible in the latter case too, in view of the fact that m a n y u' in the Rv. S. means both 'ardour' and 'wrath'. It is, however, tempting to connect m a n ā' of II-33-5 with the Melanesian word *mana*, well

23. It is at least so for **ari** = 'foe', according to Langdon, *loc. cit.* Delitzch gives a root II ar-i 'to devastate' (*loc. cit.*)

24. King, **First Steps in Assyrian.** p. 291 (k. 251, 1. 6).

25. Gadd, op. cit., pp. 50 and 51 (1. 9).

26. See Hommel, *Grundriss der Geographic and Geschichte dre alten Orients* part 1, p. 228 n. 1, S. K. Chatterji, *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, Vol. I pp. 27-8-n.

27. See Hopkins in **J.A.O.S.**, XVII. pp, 81ff. In the Avesta *minu* occurs twice (Yašt V. 127 and XVII. 10) in the sense of a necklace. See Bartholomae, Altiranisches Woerterbuch, 1186, under *minav* with *note,*

known to anthropologists, meaning a mysterious power inhering in a person or object coming in whose contact a man may injure himself.[28] The researches of J. Przyluski and following him, of Sunitikumar Chatterji, have abundantly made clear the Austric affinities of many neo-Indian words, which shows that the Austric·peoples must have once inhabited India. I am not in a position to determine whether the Melanesian word *mana* is an Aryan loan word or the Vedic word manā' of II-33-5 is of Austric orgin, but the former may be the right view, because of the double usage of the word m a n y u' in Rv. S.[29] and the capability of √ *man* 'to think' of lending itself to the meanings of both good and bad thinking. A r i', however, can hardly have come from a root that can give both' noble man' and 'foe'.

Post-script.—The above paper was written more than three years ago. Since then I have felt that Indo-European etymology of **arí**='foe' is not absolutely wanting. First of all, we have **arika**='inimically disposed' in Ancient Persian **(Behistun** IV l. 13) though Bartholomae (**Altir wörterbuch,** 189) connects it with Av. **ayra** (=skt. asra?). One may also think of Greek ἔρις = 'strife' though Brugmann, (**kurze vergleichende Gramatik §426**), Uhlenbeck **Kurzgefasstes etymol. Wörterbuch d ai Sprache** 13 and others have doubted the connexion. It is possible that **arí** = 'noble' and **arí**='foe' of Veda come from two distinct I.E. words of somewhat similar sound. The question is however wrapped in a good deal of obscurity. I allow this paper to be published because the summerian affinity pointed out above is interesting and may be suggestive to those who believe in a prehistoric contact between Indo-European and Sumerian.

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28. See Marett, *The Threshhold of Religion,*[*] 12ff, *et passim.*
29. Compare also English **passion**, which has been used both in a good and a bad sense.

PĀNINI'S GRAMMAR AND THE INFLUENCE OF PRAKRIT ON SANSKRIT.

Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya,

Principal of the Vidyabhavana, Visva-bhāratī,
Santiniketan.

It is well-known that Prakritisms are found even in the Vedic language. That it has exercised a great influence also on classical Sanskrit can be shown, among others, from the grammar of Pāṇini himself. A few instances from that work are given in the following lines.

It is a general rule (VIII. 3. 23) that m followed by a consonant becomes ṃ; e. g. vanaṃ (for vanam) hasati. But when after m there is h followed by m, the first m becomes ṃ as usual, or it may remain unchanged; e. g. kim before hmalayati may be either kiṃ or remain as kim there being no change whatsoever in the second case. But why? It is quite evident from the very observation of Pāṇini that in his time in the country or in a particular part of it the sound hm was in many cases not pronounced as it should have been; i. e. first h and then m uttered in a syllable; but it was pronounced as mh owing to metathesis (*varṇa-viparyaya*) as in Prakrit and Indo-Aryan vernaculars For instance, Skt. brāhmaṇa, Pkt. bamhaṇa, Bihāri bāmhan.

Similarly the origin of the next sutra na pare naḥ, (VIII. 3. 27) of Pāṇini where he says that m before h which is followed by n may optionally change to n (e. g. kim before hnute may be either kim or kin) is the same fact, that is to say, in Pāṇini's time some used to pronounce hn as nh; and he had to take cognizance of it in his grammar. Cf. Skt. cihna; 'mark', Pkt. ciṇha (and cindha,) Od., Beng. cinha, Skt. vahni 'fire', Pkt. vaṇhi.

Kātyayana noticed such metatheses in three cases more and added here a short sentence saying that m before k which is followed by y, v, or l optionally changes to them respectively (yavalapare yavalā vā, VIII. 3); e. g. kim before hyaḥ,

hvalayati, and hlādayati may be kiy̆, kiv̆, and kil̆ respectively. This clearly shows that, as in Pkt. and modern Indo-Aryan vernacu'ars, (*i*) hy was often pronounced as yh; (*ii*) hv as vh; and (*iii*) hl as lh. Cf. (*ı*) Skt. guhya, Pkt. gujjha (<*gujha* <*guyha*), Beng. gujjha) Panj. gujjhā, Sind. gujho, Guj. guj, Mar. gūj; Skt. nahyati, Pkt. ṇajjhai; (*ii*) Skt. jihvā, Pali *jivhā*, Pkt. jibbhā (and jīhā), Beng. jibbhā (jibh); (*iii*) Skt. āhlāda, Pkt. alhāda.

Such euphonic combinations (*sandhi*) as prejate (for pra+ejate), not praijate; or upoṣati (for upa+oṣati), not upauṣati (according to Pāṇini VI. 1. 94) ; or adyom (for adya+om), not adyaum; or adyoḍhā (for adya+oḍhā, oḍhā=ā+ūḍhā), (not adyauḍhā (in accordance with VI, 1. 95) are instance; of Prakritism. It is well known that such forms abound in Pali and Pkt. Kātyāyana notices some other forms of the kind and gives a few examples saying that when ascertainment is not meant (aniyoge) the forms like iheva (for iha+eva), and adyeva (for adya+eva.) instead of ihaivɪ and adya:va respectively are qu.te correct. Similarly such words as sthūlotu beside sthūlautu, bimboṣṭhī beside bimbauṣṭhī are admissible. For such uses in the Vedic language one may be referred to the *Taittirıya Prātiśākhya* X.14; Macdonell. *Vedic Grammar* §70.2 (p. 64). He notices also a group of other words which are formed according to the rules of *sandhi* in Pali or Pkt. This group is known to the grammarians as Śakandhvadi which includes words like sāraṅga (for sāra+aṅga), haliṣā (for hala+ıṣā), etc. besides Śakandhu (for śaka+andhu). Later grammarians take this gaṇa or group as an ākṛti-gaṇa meaning thereby that it does not include only the words which are actually enumerated in it, but also others found in use in literature.

The phenomenon of ya-śruti in Pkt. hardly needs any special mention. The literal sense of the word is 'hearing of y.' But, in fact, it implies that the y meant here is not a *fully* pronounced y, but only, so to say, the *'hearing'* of it ; *i.e.* y which is

uttered with a slighter effort (**laghuprayatnatara-yakāra-śrutir bhavati.** –Hemacandra, VIII 1. 180; Lakṣmīdhara, I. 3. 10).

Now according to Pāṇini, VIII. 3, 17 for **kaḥ āste** we have **kay āste** (**ḥ** drops and the hiatus is filled up by **y**). So far as Pāṇini is concerned there is nothing to show that this **y** is not a fully pronounced one. But in accordance with Śakaṭāyana quoted by Pāṇini himself (VIII 3. 18) and Vātsapra mentioned in the *Taittirīya Prātiśākhya*, X.23, thus **y** is **laghuprayatnatara** 'uttered with a slighter effort.' It is sometimes called **leśa**[1] or 'attenuation' of **y** (*Taittirīya Prātiśākhya*, X.23, see Whitney: *Atharvaveda Prātiśākhya*, II. 24), and is, in fact, nothing but the **ya-śruti** of the Prakrit grammarians.

It may be gathered from the above that **ẏ** (or laghuprayatnatara **y**, or **leśa** of **y**, or **ya-śruti**) of Śakaṭāyana and Vātsapra changed to a fully-developed **y** when Pāṇini wrote his grammar. But according to Śakalya, as says Pāṇini himself (VIII 3.19), in such cases there was no sound either as **ẏ** or as **y**[2]. Gārgya a predecessor or contemporary of Pāṇini is, however, of opinion that only in certain cases that sound is not heard.

All this is quite in agreement with Pkt. in some of the dialects of which there is **ẏ**- while in others it is not.

The case is exactly the same with regard to **v** or **v** (**leśa** of **v**) though there is some difference of opinion according to different authorities.

It may be noted here that it is in this way that such forms as **devayoḥ** (for **deva**+-**os**, gen. or loc. dual), **dāyin** (for √**dā**+-**in**), **vāyu** (for √**vā**+-**u**), etc. or again **bhūvādayah** (for **bhū**+**ādayaḥ**; Pāṇini, I. 3. 1) can very satisfactorily be explained.

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(1) The word **leśa** is explained by a commentator saying **luptavad uccāraṇam**, while another says **ekadeśo yathoktaviṣaye lupyate, ekadeśaḥ śrūyate.**

(2) The same view is held also by the author of the *Taittirīya Prātiśākhya* (X. 19); while Mācakīya says that after *a* or *ā* **y** and **v** followed by **u** or **o** are dropped (*Op. cit* X. 22)

AŚOKAN VĀSA- 'YEAR'.

R. L. Turner.

The Sanskrit word for 'rain', várṣa-(n., later m.) in the Brāhmaṇas acquires the meaning 'year', for which it becomes the most usual word. But it retained the meaning 'rain', ospecially in certain compounds, such as prabandha-varṣa, vāta-varṣa-; and in the plural it continued to mean 'the Rainy Season.' The feminine varṣā-, usually in the plural, means only 'rain, Rainy Season.'

In Pali vassa- n. means both 'rain' and 'year'; but the plural vassā (m?- or <Sk. f. pl. varṣāh?) means only 'the Rainy Season'.

There seems, then, to be already a certain tendency towards differentiation, viz. várṣa- n. 'year', varṣa- m. and varṣā- f. 'rain'. This is continued in Singhalese vas 'year' (<várṣa-)[1], but vasi 'rain', (<*varṣikā-enlargement of varṣā. or<vārṣika-).

Elsewhere other means were used to avoid confusion. The Inscriptions of Aśoka unfortunately do not contain the word for 'rain' ; but they have three divergent forms for 'year', a study of which discloses the same striving after differentiation.

In the Girnar inscription 'year' is vāsa-. This cannot be from Sk. várṣa-[2], which would have become vasa- (i. e. vassa-). In the Eastern Inscriptions a long vowel before two consonants is shortened ; but in Girnar it remains long, e. g. nāsti <Sk. nāsti, ātpa-<ātma-. We may therefore read vāsa- as vāssa- and derive it from Sk. varṣā- yearly. As in several other cases

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[1] Replaced in the modern language by avurudda.<* havadura-, loanword from Pa. samvacchara-.

[2] As maintained among others, by Michelson, JAOS. 1911, p. 236 ; and in the last instance by Hultzsch, Inscr. of Aś., p. LIX. I have shown in Bull. SOS. VI. 2 that kāsati 'will do', sometimes quoted in support of the hypothesis that ass> ās, is probably to be read kāssati and is certainly a future made on the pattern of *dāssati <Sk. dāsyáti.

(*e. g.* Sk. **bailvá**- wh'ch in l'k. **bella**-, Hi. **bel** etc. supplants **bilva**-) the Vṛddhi adjective was used to form a substantive, which with its long vowel provided a word dist inct from **vassa**- 'rain' (<Sk. **várṣa**-, **varṣá**-),

Whether **vaṣa**- of Shah. Man is to be read **vaṣṣa**- or **vāṣṣa**-, we cannot say *in the absence of any modern form for 'year' from this word.* **vāṣṣa**- *may have existed, but subsequently been driven out of use by collision, c.g. in Sindhi, with a loanword of the type* **vāsu** m. 'scent'- But the apparently complete absence of a descendant of **vāṣṣa**- in all NW. languages renders it probable that the form is to be read as **vaṣṣa** .

The forms of the Eastern group- **vaśa**-, **vaṣa**-, and **vasa** (*i.e.* **vaśśa**-, etc.)- may be derived from earlier **vāssa**-, and have then fallen together with **vaśśa**-<**várṣa**-. But we have no criterion for deciding.

In Girnar, in one instance, there appears another form, *viz.* **varsa**-, in place of the usual **vāsa**- (**vāssa**-). Here is another device to find a form for the word for 'year' different from that for 'rain', namely the borrowing of a learned Sanskrit form.

It is this procedure which has been generally adopted (subsequently to ⁓the Aśo'an Inscriptions) in most Indo-Aryan areas to provide a word for 'year': Pk. **varisa**- m,n.; Rom. eur. **berš** m., Syr. **wars**, Shina **bǎriṣ** (pl.**bārīzí**) · m.. Kash **warihy**, **waharm**. W. Pah. pād. cam. **barh**, Nep. **barsa** Ass. **barih**, Bg. **barib**, Or. **barsa**, Hi. **baras** m., Pj. **varah** m., Si. **varhyu** m., Guj. **varas** n., Mar. **varīs** n.

In distinction to this the North-West preserves **várṣa**-, **varṣá**- in the sense of 'rain': Kalasha **bashik** 'cloud', Torwali **baśā** m. 'Summer' (?), Kash. **wośu** m. 'shower'. Si. **vasa** f. 'rain'.

In Shina, where it might collide with **baṣ** f. 'language' (<**bhāṣā**-), it has been replaced by **ázŭ** m. <Sk. **abhrá**- n, m, or **ārdrá**- (cf. **ázŭ** adj. 'wet').

In Lahndā and Panjabi, where it might collide with vass m. 'power' (<Sk. vaśya- n. ?), it has been replaced by mēh m. Sk. < meghá- m. 'cloud'.

In the Centre, South, and East, where MI. vassa-> *vās, *bās-would certainly collide with vās, bās <Sk. vāsá-, it has been replaced in various ways.

In Marathi the compound prāvṛṣɪ- m. 'the Rainy Season' provides a general term for 'rain', viz. pāūs m. (Hi. pāwas m. and Guj. pāvas m. retain the meaning 'Rainy Season). In Gujarati another compound, varsāɪ m. (<OGuj. varasāt, cf. Sk. varṣārātra- and see below), is the usual word for 'rain'. Hindi, like Lahnda and Panjabi, uses mēɪ m. <meghá-. In Nepali pāni (<Sk. pānīya- n.) is the general term for rain; the corresponding word pānī m. is also so used in Hindi. Bengali has jal (<Sk. jala-, or perhaps loanword) or the Sanskrit loanword bṛṣṭi or bisti. Only in Nepali, and there only in the compound bīsi-bido 'cessation of the Rains', does varṣá- or vārṣika- survive.

In Prakrit the loanward varisa- means both 'year' (see above) and 'rain': in the modern Indo-Aryan languages the meaning, as we have seen, is restricted to 'year'. But the compound varisāratta- n. (formed after Sk. varṣā-rātri- f., varṣā-rātra-n. : Pa. vassāratta-n.), in which the varisa- 'rain' is not liable to be confused with varisa 'year', remains in a number of languages in the sense of ' the Rainy Season', viz. Kash. waharāth (dat. waharöiü) f. Guj. varsād m. (only 'rain'), Nep. Hi. barsāt f., Bg. barisā, Or. barasā.[1]

The verb várṣati> Pa. vassati survives in the North-West: Kash. waśun, Lah. vassan., Sɪ. vasaṇu. But in the Centre, South and East, where vass-> *vās-, *bās-would collide with vās- bās- < vāsayati and vāśyate, it is descendants of Pk.

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1. With-ā <-ātra-, as in Pk. amg. rāī <rātri-, Sgh. pā <pātra-.

varisaü (loanword from Sk. **várṣati**) which are employed: Ku.
barsaṇo, Nep. **barsanu**, Ass. **barahiba**, Or. **barasibā**, Hi.
barasnā, Guj. **varasvū**, Mar. **varasṇě**. This extends even
into Panjabi with **varhṇā**: for here **vass**- 'to rain' collides with
vassṇā 'to stop'.

Finally, though **varisa**- loses its meaning 'rain', there is no
likelihood of confusion between the verb **varisaï** 'rains' and the
substantive **varisa**- 'year'.

[Contributed in 1930.]

DHARMAPRABHASŪRI'S VERSION OF THE
KĀLAKĀCĀRYAKATHĀ [1]

*W. Norman Brown, Professor of Sanskrit,
University of Pennsylvania.*

Up to the present texts of four versions of the Kālakācārya-
kathā or °kathānakam have been published, three of these from
single manuscripts, the fourth in a more or less critical edition;
in addition there is a Kālakasūriprabandha in the Prabhāvaka-
carita.[2] Other versions are in existence, represented by numer-
ous Mss. in Jaina bhaṇḍārs and in other collections in India,
Europe, and America. Many of these I have photographed, or
copied, or collated with manuscripts already transcribed by me,
and most of these versions, I shall, in due course, publish. In
addition there are a number of references to Kālaka in Jaina
works, giving incidents from the Kālakācāryakathā and in some
cases additional information. Such references as I have found
will, in their proper place, be incorporated in a study of the Kālaka
cycle. In this paper I propose to present only a critical edition
with translation and a few notes of one version of the Kālakā-
cārya legend, namely that composed as a summary (saṃkṣepataḥ)
by the sūri Dharmaprabha in the Saṃvat year 1389.

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(2) The editions to which reference is made are; (1) "Das
Kālakācārya-Kathānakam", by Professor Jacobi in **ZDMG** 34. 247-
318 (cf. **ZDMG** 35. 675-679); (2,3) "Zwei weitere Kālaka Legen-
den", by Professor Ernst Leumann in **ZDMG** 37. 493-520;
(4) **Sri**-Kālakācāryakathā, being in appendix to the **Sri-Kalpa-
sūtra,** vol. 18 of the Sheth Devchand Lalbhai Jain Pustakoddhar
Fund Series, Bombay, 1914. (This is a brief Sanskrit version in
65 stanzas); (5) **Prabhāvakacarita,** ed. Pandit Hirananda M.
Sharma, Bombay. Tukaram Javaji. 1909 (pp. 36 ff.) The name
Kālaka alternates with the form Kālika.

This version is one of the two published by Professor Leumann from single Mss. and without translation. His Ms. gave no indication of the date of composition and contained a number of false readings which can now be corrected. A number of errors in his Ms. were successfully emended by him, as will appear in my critical notes. By a strange coincidence the other version published by Professor Leumann bears a peculiar relation to that of Dharmaprabha. It is the version ascribed to Bhāvadeva sūri, whose date was unknown to Professor Leumann in 1883 when he published the text, but who flourished in **Saṃvat 1312**[1], sixty-seven years before Dharmaprabha. Bhāvadeva composed his Kālikācāryakathānakam in śloka metre; Dharmaprabha, as seems obvious from a comparison of the texts, largely based his version on Bhāvadeva's or one very close to it, abbreviated, changed the metre to āryā, with a few other metres used sporadically, and added one onomatopoetic stanza describing the rainy season. The most important differences between the two are in proper names. I have not published Bhāvadeva's version here but shall perhaps do so elsewhere, as I already have the materials at hand for a critical edition.

In preparing this edition of Dharmaprabha's text, I have used five Mss. These are clearly divided into two groups (here designated A and B), yet all seem to come from a common source for all seem to have common corruptions, namely in stanza 9 **nomūlemi** for **nommūlemi**; in stanza 20, where all read **patto** instead of **patte**; and in stanza 4ֿ, where all read **suttaṃ** for **mottuṃ**. For differences between A and B, see stanzas 5, 6, 10, 12, 17, 18, et **passim**.

The following abbreviations are used to indicate the manuscript sources of my edition.

A l Lohar Pol Bhandar (Ahmedabad), No. 33-3-3, being folios 93 verso to 98 verso of an illustrated paper Ms. of the Kalpasūtra. Dated **Saṃvat 1513**.

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(1) See in Bloomfield, *Life and Stories of the Jaina Savior Pārçvanātha* (Baltimore; The Johns Hopkins Press, 1919), p. 3.

n **Vijayanemisûri's** Bhandar (Cambay), No. 181/2, being folios 137B-144B of an illustrated piper Ms. of the Kalpisūtra. Although all the folio numbers are present, nevertheless one folio is missing containing stanzas 44-50. No date.

b. Preuss. Staats-biblothek (Berlin), Or. Mss. folio 1737, being an illustrated paper Ms. of 5 folios. No date.

B *w* Wādi **Pārśvanātha** Bhandar (Patan), No. 18. 19. Illustrated paper Ms. of 5. folios   Dated **Saṃvat** 1502.

i India Office Library (London), bundle 1530   No date. I have not examined this Ms. but have relied entirely upon Leumann's edition of it; see the following item.

[**L** The foregoing Ms as published by Leumann in **ZDMG** 37 (1883). 505-509.]

Words or forms which I have not found in the **Paia-Sadda-Mahannavo** (that most welcome work by Pandit Har Govind Das, T. Sheth, in 4 vols., Calcutta, 1923-28) are.

Khetta for **kṣipta** (stanza 6)

kārai (causative of **kṛ**; stanza 35)

āra for ādara (stanza 42; noted by Leumann)

pairicchaṃ, pairitthaṃ for pratirathyam (stanza 10)

Si for **srī** (?) (stanza 19)

ūraṇi from **ânṛṇa** (stanza 31; noted by Leumann)

<div align="center">arhaṃ</div>

nayaraṃmi Dharāvāse	āsī siri · Vairasiṃha · rāyassa
putto Kālaya · kumaro	devī · Surasundarī · jāo. **1**
so patto kīlāe	ujjāṇe annayā ya dhammakahaṃ
suṇiya Guṇāgara · guruṇo	pāse paḍivajjai **dikkhaṃ. 2**
ṭhavio ya so gurūhiṃ	sūri · pae ' ṇega · sīsa · pariyario
viharanto Ujjeṇiṃ	patto aha tassa lahu · bhaiṇī 3
sāha sahuṇīhiṃtattha ya	mahā · saī Sarasai - tti saṃpattā,

bahi viyarantī diṭṭhā	niveṇa sā Gaddabhilleṇa. 4
aha handa mahā · muṇī ha hā	aha hā Kālaya sūri · puṅgava
mama sīla · mahā · maṇiṃ ha hā	hīrantaṃ naṇu rakkha
iya vilavantī mayaṇ' āureṇa	rakkhaha. 5 (vāitālīya)
pāveṇa t‹ ṇa gahiūṇaṃ	
bāleṇa balā bālā	kheltā anteure, avvo. 6
aha taṃ nāuṃ sūrī	tattha gao bhaṇai: n' esa niva ·
	dhammo;
candā aggī sūrā	tamo ya jai, tā hao loo. 7
tā rāya munca eyaṃ.	sangheṇa vi so taheva vinuatto.
tav · vayaṇaṃ taṃmi visaṃ	jāyaṃ duggham va sappa ·
	muhe. 8
to avagaṇṇiya · vayaṇo	sūrī karae imaṃ paiunam tu:
jai n' ommulemi ahaṃ	to 'haṃ ciya sangha · paḍi-
	kūlo. 9
evaṃ kaya · ppainno	nivaṃ ca vijjā · bal ' ukkaḍaṃ
	muṇiuṃ
bhamai ummatta · veso	[1]pairiccham imo-tti cavamāṇo: 10

yadi guru balaḥ so 'yaṃ rājā tataḥ kim ataḥ paraṃ
yadi ca nagarī se 'yaṃ ramyā tataḥ kim ataḥ pṛraṃ
svapimi yadi vā śūnye gehe tataḥ kim atah paraṃ
pratigṛham atho yāce bhikṣāṃ tataḥ kim ataḥ paraṃ. 11

(hariṇī)

taṃ daṭṭhuṃ tahabhūyaṃ	nivaṃ tu bohinti manti · sāmantā.
so vi bhaṇai: uvaesaṃ	gantūṇ ṃ deha niya piuṇo 12.
vuttantaṃ taṃ nāuṃ	Saga · kūlaṃ so gao muṇī. tattha
sābaṇusāhi-tti nivo	sāmantā sāhiṇo khāyā. 13.
sāhiss' egassa pure	thiomuṇī taṃ ca manta · tantehiṃ
āvajjai aṇudiyahaṃ.	ah' annayā sāhiṇo tassa 14
sāhāṇusāhi · pahio	dūo tatth' āo churiya · hattho.

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[1] pairiccham (**B** pairittham), from pratirathyam: for assimilation of vowels, see Pischel, **Grammatik der Prākrit-Sprachen**, section 177. The meaning is borne out by other texts, as in **ZDMG** 34. 261, line 44, tiya · caūkka · mahāpaha · ṭṭhāṇesu ya imaṃ palavanto hiṇḍai.

taṃ pikkhiyo vicchāyaṃ ṭhiyaṃ nivaṃ pucchae sūrī. 15

so sīsai: maha eso khudd'āeso ya sāmiṇā pahio

taha annesiṃ ankā pancāṇauī ya sāhīṇaṃ. 16

bhaṇai gurū mā tappasu meliya egattha sāhiṇo savve .

vaccaha Hinduga · dese teṇa vi savvaṃ taheva kayaṃ. 17

jāv' uttarittu Sindhuṃ pattā Soraṭṭha · maṇḍalaṃ tāva

vās'āgamo payaṭṭo. ṭhiyā hu tatth' eva te cchaiu.ṃ

yatr ca varṣāgame 18

si · riraṃsu · sūro sūro sosarā sarasī rasā

sāsār'āsā susār'āsa sariṃsu sārasā saraṃ. 19:

patte sarae Mālava · visayaṃ pai periyā u te muṇiṇā

sāhinti sambalassā 'bhāvaṃ. to buddhimaṃ sūrī 20

cunna · jogeṇa kaṇayaṃ pādai. taṃ te viginhiuṃ cāliyā

pattā Mālava · desaṃ. taṃ jāṇiya Gaddabhilla · nivo. 21

nīhario nayarīo sa · visaya · sandhiṃmi gantu

tehiṃ samaṃ

jujjhai. aha bhagga · balo puriṃ paviṭṭho siyālu vva. 22

taṃ nayariṃ veḍhauṃ ṭhiyā; tao sahiṇo 'nnayā sunnaṃ

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¹ The editing of this stanza is conjectural. In the firs
place I do not know the metre It could conceivably be a very
free śloka (for such pādas see in Hopkins, *Great Epic of India*,
pp. 453, 458), but this hardly seems prdbable. As chāyā I
suggest:

śrī · riraṃsu · sūryaḥ śūraḥ sa · ūṣarā sarasī rasān

sāsāra · āśā · susāra · āśāḥ asmārṣuḥ (or asvārṣuḥ) sār-
asāḥ saraḥ (or, svaraṃ).

si for śrī is difficult, although the Paia-Sadda-Mahaṇṇavo (by.
Pandit Har Govind Das; Calcutta, 1923-28; 4 vols.) records sī
for śrī. In n there appears a commentary written in marginally,
but only one line of it oppears in my photograph. It seems doubt-
ful if the commentary could give the correct rendering. for in the
first part of the stanza n reads isiraṃsu°.

gaḍham āloiya **sūriṃ**
ajj' aṭṭhamii kattha vi
taṃ ca niyacchaha tubbhe.

siṭṭhā **guruṇo**. **teṇa** vi
succā **saddaṃ savvaṃ**
osaraha gāuya · **dugaṃ**
aṭṭhasayaṃ maha˘pāse
aha jāva gaddabhīe
tīe avihiya·saddāe ceva johehiṃ baṇehiṃ. 27

tūṇaṃ va pūriyaṃ tam.

kāuṃ viṭṭhaṃ naṭṭhā;
bandhittu Gaddabhullo
gāḍhaṃ tajjiya **dikkhaṃ**
niddhāḍio sa · desā;
ṭhavio, sā vi hu bhaiṇī
aha te Saga tti khāyā.
jāo Vikkama · rāo
tatto **puṇa paṇatīse**
　　jeṇ' ankio ya saṃ**vatsa**rotti.

puchinti **ya**; so vi vajjarai: **23**
sāhai rāyā hu **gaddahiṃ vijjaṃ**;
tehiṃ ya aṭṭālae diṭṭhā.　**24**

vuttaṃ: kaya · sāhaṇāe eyāe
niya · sinnaṃ **aceyaṇaṃ** hohī. **25**
tubbhe; tā saddaveha · juhāṇaṃ
thaveha. tehiṃ ya tahā **vihiyaṃ** 26
dūraṃ uppāḍiyaṃ muhaṃ tāva.

sā　haya · satti-tti Gaddabhill'
　　　uvariṃ

sāhīhiṃ purī ya sā bhaggā.　**28**
paṇāmio sūriṇo ya.　**teṇāvi**
aṇabhilasanto abhavvo so **29**
aha **sūrīhiṃ** tu **saṃjame** appā
pāyacchitteṇa sujjhaviyā. **30**
　tav · vaṃsaṃ　chindiūṇ puṇ
kāle puhavī jeṇ' ūraṇī vihiyā. **31**
vāsa · sae naravaī Sago āsī.
pāsan **giyaṃ** iṇam o. **32**

siri **Kālagasūrī** aha˘

Balamitta · **Bhāṇumittā**
vandanti **gurū dhammaṃ**

tīe suo **Balabhāṇū**
aha tattha duṭṭha · citto
kārai **aṇesaṇ'āiṃ**.
Marahṭṭha · visaya · maṇḍaṇa ·
tatth' atthi **Sālivāhaṇa** ·

Bharuyaccha · puraṃ　gayā
　　viharamāṇā. ˘

sūrīṇaṃ tattha bhaiṇi · suyā. **33**.
suṇanti.　tāṇaṃ　ca bhaiṇi ·
　　　Bhāṇusirī.

giṇhai dikkhaṃ b'ava · viratto.**34**.
purohio sūri · niggamovāe
sūrī vi hu taṃ muṇeūṇaṃ **35**
Puhaiṭṭhāṇammi paṭṭaṇe pattā.
nivaī su · ssāvao paramo. **36**

mahayā **vicchaḍḍeṇaṃ**   pavesiyā **teṇa** te **puraṃ niyayaṃ**
thoūṇa **vandiūṇaṃ**   saṃthaviyā phāsue **ṭhāṇe. 37**
aha patto **pajjusaṇā ·**   samao. to vinnavati nivo **sūriṃ:**
bhaddavaya·suddha ·pancamı   diṇammi Indo ·**ṇugantavvo; 38**
hohī na dhamma · kiccaṃ   jaṇâṇuvittīi vāvaḍassa mahaṃ.
tā chaṭṭhi **diṇe** kuvvaha   **pajjusaṇaṃ.** to **gurū bhaṇai: 39**

avi ya calai **Merū**, sīyalo hoi aggī,
muyai niyaya ·meraṃ sāyaro vā kayā vi,
avi ya divasa ·nâho uggame pacchimāe,
na parivasaṇa ·pavvaṃ **pancam** iṃ akkamei. **40 (mālinī)**

to **bhaṇ**ıi nivo: tamhā   cautthi   divasammi   **kuṇaha**
                             pavvaṃ tu.
taṃ guruṇā ’v’ aṇuṇṇāyaṃ   jaṃ bhaṇiyaṃ   āgame **paya-**
                             daṃ: 41
āreṇı vi hu **pajjosaviyavvaṃ.**   to **bhaṇai** nivo tuṭṭho:
bhayavaṃ aṇugahio ’haṃ   jaṃ maha **anteurīṇaṃ** tu **42**
pakkhŏvavāsa · **pāraṇa ·**   **divasammi** ya bhaṭṭam-esaṇā,
                             suddhaṃ
sāhūṇ’ uttara·**vāraṇa ·**   **divasammi** bhavissae **bahu-**
                             yam. 43
pajjoṣavaṇā · pavvaṃ   **Kālagasūrihiṃ** iya cautthīe
vihiyaṃ **kāraṇa · vasao**   **sanghe**ṇˡ aṇumanniyaṃ taiyā. **44**
jaṃ āsi sāhu · **pūyā ·**   paro **jaṇo** tattha kira tayā visae
tap · pabhii sāhu · **pūya**   nāma maho ajja vi pasiddho. **45**
aha **kāleṇaṃ** savve   niya · sīse **viṇaya · vajjie nāuṃ**
sutte **mottuṃ,** sijjāyaraṃ ca **jaṇ**āviuṃ **sūrī 46**
niya · **sīsa · sīsa · Sāgarasūrī ·**   pāse gao; na so **teṇa**
uvalakkhio ya vutto: kiṃ **vakkhāṇaṃ** mae thera **47**
ruiraṃ kayaṃ na va tti ya.   bhaṇiyaṃ guruṇā vi: **aivaraṃ**
                             vihiyaṃ.
aha te vi duṭṭha · **sīsā**   pucchiya **sijjāyaraṃ** kicchā, **48**
tatth’ āgayāu Sāgarasūriṃ   pucchanti jāva, tā diṭṭhā
guruṇo. vandiya khāmanti   pāya · laggā **puṇa puṇo** vi. **49**
aha lajjio ya **Sāgarasūrī** raya ·   puṃja · tiyaga diṭṭhantaṃ
vutto **gurūhiṃ** bahuhā   khāmei **puṇo puṇo paṇao 50**

Sakko 'nnayā Vidchc Sīmandhara · **jina** · varā suya · nigoo

pucchai: Bharahe **bhayavaṃ** ko v' atthi viyārago esiṃ. 51
bhaṇiyaṃ **jiṇeṇa**: Kālagasūrī atthi tti. to **tahiṃ gantuṃ**
māhaṇa · rūvaga · hariṇā nigoya · bhee **gurū** puṭṭho. 52
golā ya **asaṃkhijjā** iccāi kahei. to niyayam āuṃ
puṭṭho jāṇiyá sūrī jampei: Purandaro **taṃ** si. 53
to payadiya niya · **rūvaṃ** aisaya · **nāṇeṇa teṇa** tuṭṭha · **maṇo**
Sakko thuṇi Kālagasūriṃ nāṇāviha · **thuīhiṃ.** 54
ghaṇa · garjitam iva yasya **vacaḥ** **śrutvā** bhavika · samājaḥ
narinarttī 'ha **śikhī** 'va mudā: dhanyastvam muni · rāja 55ı

iya **thuṇiya** sa · **ṭhāṇaṃ** pāvio deva · rāyā.
aha **muṇiya** niy'āuṃ catta · bhatto **muṇ'iṇdo**
aisaya · saya · jutto so vi patto **surattaṃ.**
ti · jaga · kittī deu sanghassa **bhaddaṃ.** 56 (mālinī)
iti **śrī** · Kālikācārya · kathā saṃkṣepataḥ krtā
aṅkāṣṭa · yakṣa · varṣe 'sāu śrī · **Dharmaprabhasūribhiḥ.**

57 (śloke)

NOTES ON THE TEXT.

1 [1] has lacuna (°vā) se ā (sī) 3 b *Slightly confused but intends*
yario 4 b Sarassaīsaraiti 5 i °gave (*L emends*); *B omits* ha
after °**maṇiṃ** (*L. supplies*), b *omits* ha hā *but adds in carrection*;
i, hīranta (*L emends*): i rarakkha (*for* rakkha, *L emends*): nb
rakkhahā 6 *B* gahiūṇa; *B* **baleṇa** (*L emends*); b *omits* bālā *but
adds in correction; all MSS* khettā (*L emends to* khittā); i aṭṭho
L conjectures anto) 7 i ṇesa i sūrī (*but L in vocabulary* sūra);
L punctuates tamo ya: jai tā, hao loo 8 n **vinnatto**; i jāya (*L
emends*); w ca for va 9 l *the original writing of the MS seems
to have become faint; over it is pasted a slip of paper on which
are reproduced parts of the text, as follows:* to **avagaṇiyavayalo**
sūrī va . . . ima **painnaṃ** tla jai nomūlemi aha to ha ciya saṃ
. . . **padikūlo** (9) . . . **vaṃ** . . . innoni .vavijjābalukkada: *then*

[1]Is the metre of this stanza a Sanskrit representation of the
dohā?

original writing is resumed. Only n reads **avagaṇṇiya,** *others*
°**gaṇiya** (*L emends to* avamanniya); *i* **kaeme** (*L emends*); *w*
pannamimtu; *m* jai ṅno°; *all MSS* **nomūlemi,** *emendation here
on basis of readings of other versions of* Kālakācāryakathā,
which regularly show verb **ummūlemi** 10 *metre irregular; all
MSS* painno (*emendation following L's suggestion*); *b* confused
but intends vijjā; *1* (*see note to stadza 9*); *b* ummutta; *B* aisi-
tham (*L divides* pai · rittham-imo); *L emends* cava° *to* vācamāṇo
11 *nbw* **sūnye:** *for* atho *L conjectures* aṭo.

12 *B* **duṭṭham;** *B* **piyaṇɔ** 13 *n* **tam** vutta°; *B* **sāhaṇasāha** 15
i **vitthāyam** (*L emends*); *b* nava (*for* nivam) 16 *b omits* paho
17 *i* gaccha (*L* meliyae gaccha); *b* suvve; *B* Hindaga (*L emends*)
18 *w* patto; *B* ṭhayā (*L emends*); *A* cchaium, *i* cchaiyam, *w*
cchaiyam (*text here with L;* **Bhāvadevasūri's** *version, in* śloka
metre, has ṭhiyā tatth' eva chāium) *metre irregular* 19 *l starting
with* (sa) rasī *and continuing through* tesu (*for* te mu°) *of
stanza 20 the original text is covered with a repair slip on which
appears a fragmentary copying of the origial; n* sisiramsn, *i*
ssirim rasu; *n* sarasā · rasā; *i* . tu sāra . (*for* °su sārasā), *i*
uspara (*for* °su sāra°, *L* sussāra) 20 *MSS* patto (*text here with
L; Bhāvadeva's version* patte saraya · **kālammi muṇiṇā**
Mālavam pai periya); *l* sohinti 21 *i* **kaṇaṟam;** *B* **viginhio;** *metre
irregular* 22 *in* **ntharium;** *b* mantu (*for* gantu); *i* tehi; *w* **sammam**

23 *i* veḍhio (*L emends*); *b* **gāḍham;** *b omits* so *but adds as
correction, B* chajjarai, *b* jjarai *but adds syllable* ba *as correction*
24 *bB* tehi 25 *n* **sāhaṇyṇāe;** *l* sannam (*for* sinnam) 26 *b* usaraha;
l saddavehi; *b* ppāse; *b wrote* ṭhaveha *but corrected it to* °hi;
B tehi, *b* ehim; *B* vikayam 27 *B* uppāḍiya (*L emends*); *B* avihaya
28 *nbB* sattā (*L emends*); *i* kāo (*L emends*); *i* sāhīhi 29 *b*
bandhitu; *L emends to* **sūr'ṇā;** *l has lacuna beginning with* ya
and ending wilhh **dikkham,** *due to a repair slip having been
pasted over the original text* 31 *b* chidiūṇa, *i* ched° 32 *i* Saggo
(*L emends*); *i* samvacchaṟo 33 *i* purah (*for* pṁram) (*L emends*)
34 *i* vadanti (*L emends*) *i* guru (*L* gurum)

35 *All MSS* kārai, *L emends to* karei, *which is against metre;*
B āi (for āiṃ, *L* āī; *B* muṇ∍yaṇ∍ṃ 36 *w* ssāvaī, *but corrects*
to °vao 37 *B* mahiyā (*L emends*); *A* vichaḍḍeṇaṃ; *b* pāsue 38 *i*
bho (*for* to, *L emends*); *B* vinnavatti (*L emends*), *b* vinnave
39 *w* pajjasaṇaṃ 40 *w omits* ya *before* calai; *n* meru; *w* niya-
meraṃ; *l original text of portions* (me) raṃ . . . nā (ho) and
(pariva) 'saṇa . . . bhιṇι (i) (stanza 41) *covered by repair*
slip, but first section is rewritten on slip; l tha diva; *w* disava,
but corrects 41 *l covers original text* (divasaṃmi) . . . *jam with*
blank repair slip; i aṇuṇāyaṃ 42 *i* areṇāvi (*L emends*); *i*
aṇuggaheo haṃ (L suggests aṇuggaho 'ṃhaṃ 44 osūrιhī; *n a folio*
of MS missing, starting with iya *and extending through* atthi
in stanza 51 (*numbering of folios does not indicate loss*) 45
Thιs staιzα does not appear in B, although i preserves the
words ajja vi pasiddʜo *and in the numberιng af its stanzas the*
number 50, making stanza 51 cɔrrespond in number wιth ouɪ 51;
w numbers the last stanzɑ of its text 56, where 55 would be the
cɔrrect number, and the next to the last 54, thus omitting the
number 55. It is possible that this confusion ɔf the numbering
indicates a source, immediate or remote, for w containing our
stanza. At the corresponding place in Bhāvadevasūri's version,
which is close to Dharmaprbhasūri's, there is a stanza correspond-
ing iu meaning to this. The text here ιs from l and b. It seems
probable that the missing folio of n also had the stanza, for when
the text of n ιs resumed the numbering of stanzas cɔɪɪesponds
uith that of the staιızas in our edιtion.

43 *b* savvaṃ; *all MSS* suttaṃ (*emendation gives conformity*
n meaning with other versions); *bi* jāṇāvio (*L emends*) 47 *b*
eṇaṃ (*for* teṇa) 49 *l* tattha gayāo; *b* pucchinti; *all MSS*
khāmanti (*L emends to* khāmenti); *b* laggā ya puṇa puṇa vi 50
i guru°; *i* puṇo puṇo o (*L conjectured* pu° pu° guruṇo) 51
Sakkoṇayā; *b* Bharaho 53 *b* āo 54 *B* paḍiya (*L emends*); *b* teṇai
a tu° 55 *ln* dhanyas tvaṃ, dhanyas tvaṃ dhanyas tva n, *bi*
dhanyas tvaṃ dhanyas tvaṃ, *w* dhanyas tvaṃ dha

56 *n* patthio (*for* pāvio); *b* **nimāuṃ**; *n* jaya (*for* jaga)
*Memorial stanzas with the dates of the various Kālakas appear
in several of the MSS, namely i, which has four as stanzas
56-59); w, which has four stanzas as glosses written on margins
at appropriate parts of the text; l which has three; and b, which
has one, written on margins as glosses at appropriate points in
text. They are as follows:*

1. *found only in i, syllables in parentheses missing from
MS, supplied by L*

bārasā vā(sa) · **saeuṃ**   pannās'ahi(e)su   **Vaddhamāṇāo**
caudisi paḍhama · paveso   pakappio Sāya · **sūrīhi.**

2. *found in liw*

sirivīrāu (i °rāo) **gaesuṃ**   paṇatīs'ahiesu   ti · varisa·saesuṃ
                                      (l °su)

paḍhamo Kālaga (i °ka) **sūrī**   jāo Sāmajja · nāma   (**w** nāmu,
                                      l nānāma) tti.

3. *Found in iw; was in l, but with exeeption of a few
akṣaras is now covered by a repair slip.*

causaya · tipanna · varise   Kālaga · (**w** °liga)   **guruṇā**
                                      Sarassaī gahiyā;

causaya · (**i** omits saya) sattari· varise   Vīrāo   Vikkamo   (**w**
                                      Vikamo) jāo.

4. *found in liw*

navasaya · **teṇauehiṃ** (i °ṇūe°, **w** **teṇaunavasaehiṃ** l °ṇaūe°)
   samaikkantehiṃ Vaddhamāṇāo
pajjosavaṇa · (**w** pajjusa°) cautthī (i cotthī) Kālaya (**w**°ga)
sūrīnto ṭhaviyā.

5. *found only in w*

vīsehiṃ diṇehi kappo   **vaṃcaga** · **hāṇī** kappa·ṭhavaṇā ya
navasai · **teṇūehiṃ**   vucchijjā sangha · āṇāe.

6. *found only in b,*

tinnisae 335 **paṇatīse**   nigoya · vakkhāya Kāligāyario;

causaya · tipanna (**MS** tippanna) · varase 453 Kāligagu (**MS** ga)
ruṇā Sarassaī gahiyā

57 n **aṅkāṣṭakɪyakṣavarṣesāuśrī** *with lacuna to* **bh:ḥ**

    b iti Kālikācārya · kathā **saṃkṣepataḥ** kṛtā

    i iti śrīkālikācārya ·kathā kṛtā śrī **Dharmaprabhasūribhiḥ**

    w iti **śrīkālikācāryakathā**.

    ɪ as above, actually writing in pāda c aṅkā 9 ṣṭa 8 yakṣa

<div align="right">13 varṣe</div>

TRANSLATION

In the city of Dharāvāsa King Vajrasiṃha had a son, prince Kālaka, born of queen Surasundarī. He once went for amusement to a park, heard a sermon by the master Guṇākara, and received iniation from him. He was established by the master in the position of sūri (pontiff), went wandering about with a following of many disciples, and came to Ujjayinī. (1—3c).

Then his younger sister, the very holy Sarasvatī, arrived there with many nuns. As she was going outside,[1] king Gardabhilla saw her. (3d—4).

" Ah, alas, great sage, alas, alas, Kālaka, sūri-chief, save, I beg, the great jewel of my virtuous conduct, which, alas, is being raped. Oh, save!" Even as she cried out thus, the girl was seized by the hair by that lust-diseased villain, and forcibly cast into his harem. O shame! (5—6).

When the sūri learned this, he went there and said, " This is not kingly conduct. If fire comes from the moon and darkness from the sun, then the people are destroyed. Therefore, king, set her free!" The congregation, too, admonished him in the same way. Their word turned to poison in him like milk in a snake's mouth. (7—8).

Then, when the sūri saw the counsel scorned, he took this oath, " If I do not uproot (this fellow), then I, even I, am an enemy of the congregation." After he had taken this oath, being aware that the king was superior through the power of a magic art, he took the guise of a mad man, so as to wander along all the highways, crying out: " If this king has great might, then what is there beyond that? And if this city is charming, then what is there beyond that? And if I sleep in a deserted

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1. Collateral versions make it clear that she had gone outside *to* the latrine (*viyāra. bhūmie niggayā*). A low fellow, this Gardabhilla, to be hanging around the nuns' latrine. (Sarasvatī had become a nun when Kālaka was ordained monk).

house, then what is there beyond that? And if I go begging
from house to house, then what is there beyond that?" (9—11).

When the ministers and nobles saw Kālaka in this state,
they admonished the king. He replied to them, " Go give advice
to your fathers! " (12).

The muni heard of this affair and went to Śakakūla[1]. There
the king was called Sāhaṇusāhi and the nobles Sāhi. The muni
stayed in the city of a certain sāhi and daily won his favour with
charms and sorcery. A messenger once came there sent by the
Sāhaṇusāhi with a sword in his hand. When the king saw him
he went pale; and the sūri asked the reason. The king explained,
" This (messenger) has been sent to me by my lord with a dread-
ful command,[2] and just so, according to the number, to the 95
other sāhis[2]." (13—16).

The master said, " Do not be worried!. Call together all the
sāhis in one place, and go to India (the country Hinduga)." And
he did all just so. When they had crossed the Indus and came
to the region of Sāurāṣṭra (Surat), the rains broke, and they
remained right there. (17—18).

Where at the advent of the rains: The Sun eager for inter
course with Srī (or, eager to enjoy rich substance), the warrior,
and the lake with its salty ground longed for the essences and the
cranes that eat the riches of the stormy skies uttered their cry
(or longed for the pool). (19)[3].

When autumn came the muni urged them to go to the land
of Mālava (Malwa), but they announced that they had no sup-

1. Is this the name of a country or merely of the region
east of the Indus?

2. The command was to cut of his head with the sword
and send it to the Sāhaṇusāhi in a metal pot which the messenger
had brought. The number 96 was written on the sword.

3. Translation conjectural. (The sun sucks up water; the
warrior longs for the rains as a period of rest and love—play
(rasa).

plies. Then the wise sūri by means of magic powder made gold;[4] this they shared and went to the land of Mālava. King Gardabhilla heard of this, came out from his city, went to the border of his kingdom, and fought with them. Then his army was smashed, and like a jackal he entered his city. (20—22).

The sābis invested the city; then one day they saw the fort empty, and they inquired of the sūri. He told them, "At some time to-day, which is the eighth, the king will accomplish the "She-Ass" magic art. You must watch for it." When they saw it (the She-Ass) on a tower, they reported it to the master. He said. "When the charm for it is completed, our entire army, on hearing it bray, will become lifeless. You must withdraw two gavyūtas[5]; then put under my command 108 warriors (bowmen) who take aim by sound." And this they did. (23—26).

Then as soon as the She-Ass's mouth was wide open, but before it had uttered a sound, the soldiers filled it with arrows, as though it were a quiver. The She-Ass, because its power was destroyed, dunged upon Gardabhilla and fled. And the sāhis broke into the city. (27—28).

Gardabhilla was bound and made over to the sūri. The muni rebuked him sternly; but he had no desire to renounce the world, being unfitted for salvation, and the muni banished him from his land. Then the sūri devoted himself to the discipline, and purified his sister with the rites of expiation. (29—30).

Then these were called "Śaka". But in time king Vikrama was born, who cut off their line and rendered the earth free of

4. He sprinkled the powder on some bricks and converted them to gold. The powder had been given him by his Śāsana devī (female guardian deity), who had appeared to him by night.

5. A distance said to equal four kos, about eight miles

debt.* One hundred and thirty-five years later there was a Śaka king, after whom an era was named. This is occasional (to the main story). (31—32).

The reverend Sūri Kālaka then went to live in the city of Bhṛgukaccha (Broach). There the sons of the sūri's sister, Balmitra and Bhānumitra (the king and heir-apparent) revered the master and listened to the law. They had a sister Bhānuśrī, whose son Balabhānu became disgusted with the round of existence and took the vow. Then the evil-minded chaplain there, in order to make the suri leave, caused improper alms to be g iven to the monks and did other such things. The sūri understood this and went to the city of Pṛthivīsthāna, the ornament of the land of Mahārāṣṭra. (33—36b).

There king Śālivāhana lived, a most devoted lay disciple. He led the sūri into his city with great pomp, extolled him, revered him, and settled him in a place free of living creatures. (36c—37).

Then the Paryuṣaṇā season arrived; whereupon the king requested the sūri, "On the fifth day of the light half of the month Bhādrapada we honour Indra. While I am observing the festival according to the custom of the people I shall not be able to perform the offices of the Religion. Therefore celebrate the Paryuṣaṇā on the sixth day." (38—39c).

The master said, " Even though mount Meru should shake, fire become cold, or the ocean sometime leave its bounds, even though the lord of day sould rise in the west, the Paryuṣaṇā celebration cannot come after the fifth." (39d—40).

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6. Text: *puhavi jeṇ' ūraṇi vihiyā*. Bhāvadeva's version: *mahī jeṇ' ūraṇi kayā*. For *u raṇi* Leumann suggested *a-ṛṇa*. Prākrit *ūraṇi* should mean " ewe ", but I cannot make sense of the passage with that meaning. Nor do I see any other possibility that is without phonetic or formative difficulties. Hence Leumann's suggestion seems the best possibility. For confirmation, cf. in No. 91 of the story of Kālaka in the Prabhāvakacarita (P. 45), where at the coresponding point we read concerning Vikrama: *sa co¹nnatamahāsiddhiḥ sāuvarṇapuruṣodayāt medinīm anṛṇāṃ kṛtvā 'cīkarad vatsaraṃ nijam*

Then the king said. "In that case have the celebration on the fourth." The master agreed to this, as it is clearly stated in the Scripture, "Let the Paryuṣaṇā be celebrated with honour!" Then the king was delighted and said, "Sir, I am obliged, and so on the day of breaking the fast observed during the light half of the month my queens shall provide much food, pure according to the ceremonial rules of pure food for the day of the monks' second meal after the fast." (41—43).

It was on this account that the sūri Kālaka thus fixed the Paryuṣaṇā festival on the fourth and the Order then endorsed it. Because the people there were devoted then to honouring the monks from that time even to the present a festival has been celebrated in the kingdom under the name of "Monk-honour". (44—45).

Then once upon a time the sūri, being aware that all his disciples had forsaken the rules of conduct, left them while they slept, and after telling the keeper of the monks' rest house went to his disciple's disciple, the sūri Sāgara. The latter did not recognize him and asked him. 'O elder, do I expound well or not?" The master said, "You do it very well." (46—48b).

Then those wicked disciples repentently inquired of the rest house keeper, came there, and just as they were inquiring of the sūri Sāgara, they saw the master. They humbled themselves and touching his feet again and again asked forgiveness. Then Sāgarasūri was ashamed, and after the master had told him the illustration of the three piles of dust, he bowed down again and again and asked forgiveness. (48c—50).

Once upon a time Śakra, after hearing the Nigoda doctrine from the Jina Simandhara in Videha, asked him, "Sir, is there any one in Bhārata who is versed in (the doctrine of) these (Nigoda creatures)?" The Jina said, "There is the sūri Kālaka." (51—52a).

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7 The word āreṇa also means "before".

So he went there wearing the form of a Brahman and asked the master the varieties of Nigoda. He gave him the exposition which begins, "The balls are innumerable." Then he asked how long he would live. The sūri knew him and said, "You are Puraṃdara (Śakra)." Then Śakra manifested his true form and delighted with that superlative knowledge of Kālaka sūri praised him with many kinds of songs of praise. (52b—54).

"When the congregation of the righteous hears his speech, which is like the rolling of thunder, it dances with joy like a peacock. "Blessed are you, O chief of munis. (55)

After thus giving praise, the king of the gods went to his own home. Then the chief of munis, knowing his time had come, gave up food, and possessed of countless excellences became a god.

May he whose glory extends through the three worlds give a blessing to the Order. (56).

Thus the story of the reverend Kālkācārya has been told in summary by the reverend sūri Dharmaprabha in the year 1389. (57).

KASHMIR-BHATTA SIVASVAMIN'S UNPUBLISHED BUDDHIST MAHAKAVYA—KAPPHINABHYU-DAYA.

In the following pages an attempt has been made to give an account of the Kapphinābhyudaya of Sivasvāmin, who was a contemporary of King Avantivarman of Kashmir.

The reign of King Avantivarman (855/6-883 A. D.) forms one of the glorious records in the chequered history of Kashmir. Aided by his far-sighted and able Minister Sūra, he succeeded in giving the 'happy valley' a comparatively long period of peace and prosperity which provided a fruitful era of great literary activity. As Kalhaṇa says in his Rājataraṅgiṇī :—

मुक्ताकरणः शिवस्वामी कविरानन्दवर्धनः ।
प्रथां रत्नाकरश्चागात् साम्राज्येऽवन्तिवर्मणः ५,३९ ॥

'Muktākaṇa, Sivasvāmin, the poet Ānandavardhana and Ratnākara became famous during the reign of Avantivarman.

Ānandavardhana and Ratnākara have their fame established through published works, Muktākaṇa is familiar only through stray quotations, while Sivasvāmin till 1893 was known only from several stanzas attributed to him in Anthologies and Kṣemendra. Seṣagiri Sāstrin in 1893 gave an account of a poem Kapphiṇābhyudaya by Bhaṭṭasivasvāmin. Therein he traced and identified the quotations from that poem given in the Tīkāsarvasva of Sarvānanda and in the Subhāṣitāvali of Vallabhadeva. Professor Thomas in his Kavīndravacanasmuccaya gave a fuller account of the stanzas attributed to Sivasvāmin in different anthologies and of the quotations from his work, the Kapphiṇābhyudaya.

The poem itself seems to have been quite well known and the fact that it had established a reputation far itself among the great Sanskrit works is testified to by the liberal use made of it by many a Sanskrit writer. Its importance as a literary

production of note was soon realised by compilers of anthologies, writers on Sanskrit poetry, commentators on Lexicon, and Grammarians. The compiler of the Kavindravacanasamuccaya (circa 1000 A. D.), Sarvānanda (1159) Srīdhara (1205), Sārṅgadhara (1363), and Ramānātha (1537), have all at one time or another recognized its merit and acknowledged their debt by extensive quotations from it. As it would appear Mammaṭa (circa 1100 A. D.) has also quoted from it in his Kāvyaprakāśa although it is surprising for a writer of such a comparatively early date that he should not have given the source.

Further, Śivasvāmin's work assumes an importance in the history of Sanskrit Literature in general and the literary history of Kashmir in particular, in-as-much-as it shows the development of Kāvya in Kashmir and the influence of Ratnākara on his contemporaries. To the religious history of that period it makes a useful contribution. Its theme is neither Paurānic nor epic like most of the Mahākāvyas, nor is it historical like Vikramānkadevacarita or Navasāhasānkacarita; on the contrary it deals with the Buddhist legend of King Kapphiṇa who is well known in Pāli and Sanskrit Buddhist Literature.

From the Buddhist sources it appears that King Kapphiṇa was a contemporary of the Buddha and was converted by him to Buddhism. The Buddhist tradition has given him a place among the twelve chief disciples of the Buddha, and refers to him as having become an Arhat in the Buddha's life-time. Even in the engraving on the walls of the Borobudur Temple in Java his figure appears among the Śrāvakas. Such a personality, popular in legends and tradition, provided Śivasvāmin with a suitable hero for his Mahākāvya.

But the merit of Śivasvāmin lies in moulding the material furnished by such a legend into a Mahākāvya written in strict observations of the rules laid down by writers on Poetics,

While doing so he could not escape the influence of the religious atmosphere of his age. Although he acknowledges that in writing his peom he was inspired by his Buddhist preceptor, Candramitra, yet it is not the Buddhist ideal of monkhood that he holds supreme in the concluding verses of his poem, but it is that of a householder or the 'gṛhastha' whose 'āśrama' has always given the highest place in the fabric of Hindu Society. This seems to indicate the process of absorption of the late Buddhism by the reviving Vaiṣṇavism and suggests that the teachings of Kṛṣṇa and the Buddha had begun to be reconciled. Thus Sivasvāmin's poem is an important evidence of the tendency which gradually found its full expression in Kṣemendra's Daśāvatāracarita.

From the following stanza, written perhaps by some contemporary admirer of his it seems that Śivasvāmin wrote several works out of which this poem and some stray verses attributed to him in Anthologies and Kṣemendra have survived the ravages of time.

वाक्यानि द्विपदीयुतान्यथमहाकाव्यानि सप्त क्रमात्
व्यक्षप्रत्यहानीमितंस्तूतिकयालचाणि चैकादश
कृवा नाटकनाटिकाप्रकरणप्रायान् प्रबन्धान् बहून्
विश्रामत्यधुनापि नातिश्रयिता वाणी शिवस्वामिनः

'Not even now does Sivasāmin's unsurpassed Muse find rest though he has composed seven Mahākāvyas which have ' dvipadīs ', and has written eleven lacs of hymns to Śiva every day, and several dramas, and other minor plays and Prakraṇas and other prose works.'

It could not be, therefore, possible to compare the style of this poem with that of any other work of the poet except with a few stanzas given in Anthologies and Kṣemendra. It cannot, therefore, be ascertained what stage of development this poem marks in the literary career of Śivasvāmin. But it was possible to make comparison with the Mahākāvyas of his contemporary

Ratnākara and his predecessor Māgha. This would serve to illustrate the greatness of this poet in an age when literary genius was by no means rare.

From the detailed comparison of the various existing texts of the poem it is found that there are two families of Manuscripts in respect of this poem. The oldest palm-leaf Manuscript is preserved in Uṛiyā script in Madras, and has yielded two more transcripts, one in Telugu and one in Devanāgarī. To the other family of the MSS. belongs another paper MS. at Madras, which has been proved to be closely related to the recently discovered MS. at Puri, and the transcript from Kashmir.

The fact that the Text has passed through the Uṛiyā, the Telugu and Devanāgarī scripts necessitated an investigation into the details of the orthography of these scripts in their relation to śāradā in which the original was written by the poet. The scribal errors due to the orthographic or phonetic similarities of symbols have been fully taken into account and the different readings and omissions noted. The conclusions arrived at by this study gives us the following pedigree of the extent MSS. and transcripts of the Text.
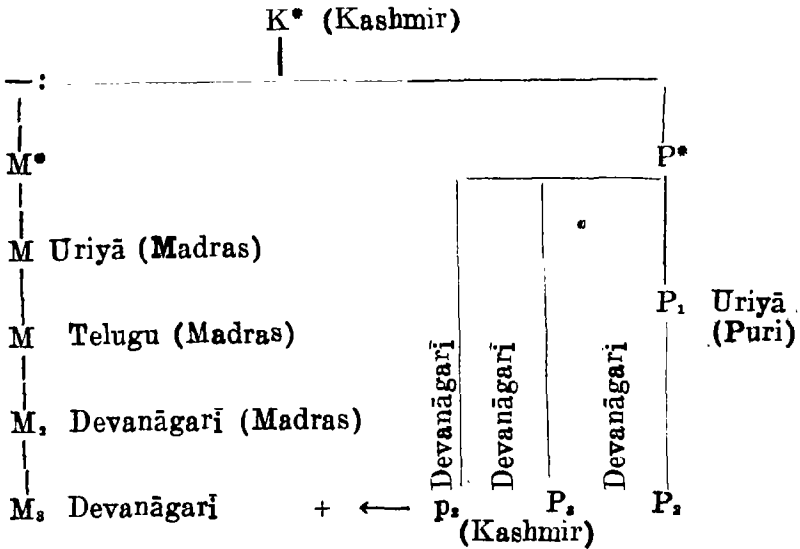
The transcript of M, is that of the Madras Manuscript and belongs to Professor F. W. Thomas, oxford, who kindly lent it to me for my use. It is a fuller Text than the others, but the absence of a verse authentically known to have been quoted from the Kapphiṇābhyudaya shows that even this does not represent a complete transcript of the original poem.

On the basis of these enquiries and studies the text has been reconstructed and an attempt has been made to present Śivasvā-min's poem in its original form.

CONTENTS OF THF POEM.

2.	Subāhu.	23.	Kaṅka.
3—5.	Darśaka.	24.	Sitadhvaja.
6.	Subandhu.	25.	Indu.
7.	Jiṣṇu.	26.	Nala.
8.	Bala.	27.	Satadhanuṣ.
9.	Suśarman.	28.	Sālva.
10.	Bhūridhāman.	29.	Pṛthudhvaja.
11.	Pāṇdya.	30.	Jṛmbha.
12.	Surāṣṭra.	31.	Pradyota.
13.	Suketu.	32.	Babhru.
14.	Bhīṣmaka.	33.	Gada.
15.	Bhīṣma.	34.	Protha.
16.	Kirmīra.	35.	Ugrasena.
17.	Āndhra.	36.	Karandhama.
18.	Utkala.	37.	Dantavaktra.
19.	Bhīma.	38.	Rukmin.
20.	Samudra.	39.	Sauvalka.
21.	Dṛdhadhanuṣ.	40.	Kauravya.
22.	Ambarīṣa.	41.	Duḥṣeṇa.

42—43. A general description of the disturbance created.

IV. 1—4. Description of the Assembly.

5—41. Subāhu's speech: He asks the King to prepare for battle and mentions individually the members of the audience, viz., Suśarman, Dṛdhadhanus, Bala, Nala, Gada, Pāṇdya, Protha, Kirmīra, Kaṅka, Kṛpa, Yavana, Surāṣtra, Āndhrā, and Indu.

42. The poet brings in again the mention of Yavana, Satadhanus, Babhru, Jṛmbha, Ambarīṣa, Pradyota, Protha, and Pāṇdya.

V. 1. The Council of War is still sitting after the speech ef Subāhu, and the Kings are again mentioned by name:—

44—70. Kapphiṇa routes the forces of Prasenajit.

71—75. Prasenajit is unable to withstand the attacks of Kapphiṇa's forces. He prays to the Buddha for help.

76—80. The Buddha appears and subdues Kapphiṇa, who is rendered helpless on account of the miracles worked by the Master. King Kapphiṇa acknowledges his need for the help of the Master and entreats him.

XIX. 40. King Kapphiṇa receives the instruction of the Buddha.

XX. 1—19 ab. The teaching of the Buddha continues.

19 cd—22. King Kapphiṇa requests the Buddha to initiate him as a monk.

23—32. The Buddha advises that King Kapphiṇa should wait until the time for him to renounce the world has come, and that he should, till then, continue to rule his kingdom for the benefit only of the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Saṅgha.

33. The Buddha vanishes.

34. King Kapphiṇa retires to his capital and continues to rule there according to the advice of the Buddha.

35—38. The Praśasti.

ABSTRACT OF THE POEM.

I.

Śivasvāmin, the author, opens his poem invoking the blessings of the Buddha, possessed of the ten powers, with the description of a town Līlāvatī by name, situated on the banks of the Narmadā in the Vindhyas. The prosperity of this town was

obvious from its many beautiful buildings whose silken banners kissed the sky. From the grandeur of its crystal palaces with golden domes and jewelled windows one could imagine that it was either the goddess Kāli or the royal Goddess of Glory incarnate. Sublimity, grace and strength were combined in its architecture.

Its ruler, King Kapphiṇa, was tall, brave and adventurous, and had a large following of vassal chieftains. He was Śiva personified, who by the mere sound of his voice could put his enemies to flight and whose fame had spread in all directions. His skill in wielding his sword was known to his enemies whose cities lay in ruins. He governed his kingdom according to the rules laid down in the books of Politics and employed spies to enquire into the state of affairs both at home and abroad.

II.

Once a spy, who had been sent to the North, returned to the Royal Assembly of King Kapphiṇa reporting that there was a king by name Prasenajit, who ruled over the thriving kingdom of Kosala. "Prasenajit" he said, "is loved by his subjects as he possesses all the virtues of a noble ruler, glories in his powers, and entertains a feeling of enmity towards you."

The poet gives an impressive description of Prasenajit, a contemporary of the Buddha, and his capital Śrāvastī, a favourite resort of the Buddha. When the messenger reaches Srāvastī (XVI Canto) the poet's description of the town and of the King bears witness to his love for both.

III.

On hearing from the messenger of the hostile attitude of Prasenajit the whole assembly becomes greatly enraged. Thirty-eight Chieftains are mentioned, all exhibiting their fury—tearing off their bracelets, wringing their hands, perspiring, and uttering menacing words. Of these Subāhu, Darśaka and Bhīṣmaka are of importance for their part in the later story, while the names of

Pāṇḍya, Surāṣṭra, Āndhra, and Utkala refer to the territories over which they ruled.

IV.

The poet describes the great tumult in the assembly hall. In this atmosphere of great tension Subāhu begins a fiery speech which shows that he was well versed in the science of politics, as he points out with sound arguments that the only course of action left for King Kapphiṇa is to wage war at once against the enemy. To add weight to his arguments, he points to the members giving an epithet to each. He says that formidable Suśarman, furious Dṛḍhadhanuṣ, powerful Bala, and others can brook no further humiliation. Finally he taunts them by saying 'Do you stay here. I will fight the enemy alone.' This rouses their enthusiasm. At the close of his speech he is loudly applauded.

V.

Before the Council of War adjourns another Chieftain, Bhīṣmaka, stands up and supporting the motion proposed by Subāhu suggests sending a messenger to Prasenajit, the hostile King, as a necessary measure before actually going to war. The anger of King Kapphiṇa, who was very much enraged, is assuaged and he gives his approval to the idea. Darśaka, another member of the audience, is selected as messenger to Prasenajit. The import of the message is not given, but it is implied that the hostile king must either pay homage to King Kapphiṇa or suffer an invasion. It is an ultimatum. The King by a gesture orders the messenger to proceed on his errand and he at once sets out on his journey to the North

So far the poet has been following the traditional Avadāna of Kapphiṇa current in his time- At the same time, since he claims to be a writer of a Mahākāvya, he must describe mountains, seasons, etc. He, therefore, introduces a demigod, or a Vidyādhara, Vicitrabahu by name, a friend of King Kapphiṇa, who invites the latter to his abode in the Malaya mountains. The

king agrees to the proposal and follows his friend with all the paraphernalia of a King of India of the 9th century, including the harem and the army.

VI.

The description of the mountain Candanācala in this canto is consistent with the vast grandeur and the majestic scenery of the Himalayas which this poet knew very well. The poet's imagination nurtured in that abundant luxuriance of nature takes in long vistas and covers vast regions. Each stanza has one theme to describe and the poet each time exercises his imagination to such an extent that the description to the Western mind appears exaggerated and too artificial. The poet focuses his attention on one subject which he is going to describe and tries to see it from different angles of vision.

This scheme runs throughout the Canto and the metre changes with the shifting of the scene and the its dignity (of the metre) varies according to the loftiness of the subject.

The glowing mountain appears to the poet as a huge mass of fire fanned by fierce winds. It has ravines and precipices where the trees are alive with the warbling of delighted birds. The lofty snow-clad peaks remind the poet of the ocean rising to clasp the moon. The arbours and the elephants, the gold coloured peaks at sunset, the verdant plateaux attract his attention. He fancies that the sun seems to rest there for a while to cool itself.

Then the King's friend, Vicitrabāhu, who is more familiar with the place begins to describe its particular features. Here we are told of its richness in flowers and the brilliance of its outcropping minerals. Then follows a description of the wild animals roaming about the penance groves, of ascetics, of cowherds and their huts, of lotus ponds, and of chirping birds. In Stanza 23, the Vidyādhara compares the mountain to the sublime and calm image of the Buddha with the right shoulder covered.

The king's friend then proceeds to describe the crystalline walls used as mirrors by clestial ladies, the sweet smelling grass, fragrant flowers, sandle-woods, music of Kinnara Ladies, and the calls of cuckoos. A reference is made to the Buddha; and the mountain is compared to the Indra and the Bodhisattva (Stanzas 46, 57, 59.) The heaps of bones of Nāgas are pointed out in Stanza 61. • The Ideal of an Arhat with the several methods of attaining it form the subject of the 65th verse while Bodhi is mentioned in verse 69.

VII.

The king with an army consisting of elephants, horses, chariots and soldiers, and accompanied by the ladies of the harem, wishes to pass some time on the Mountain Candanācala. All preparations for laying out the camp are made with the help of the Vidyā-dharas. Tents are pitched, huts are built, arrangements for the kitchen are made, and the ladies of the harem are well housed.

The elephants and horses are taken to ponds to bathe and the camp looks delightful.

VIII.

The six seasons simultaneously appear on the mountain to honour King Kapphiṇa. There is spring, when mango groves, Vakula trees, saffron plants, and Navamālikā creepers put forth sweet fragrant flowers. There is summer when peacocks hide themselves under their plumage, and when the men in the camp enjoy the breeze of fans in pleasure huts. There is the rainy season which depresses the ladies whose husbands are abroad as the sweet but melancholy notes of peacocks reach their ears and the rumbling noise of the clouds rends their hearts. There is autumn when the water in the ponds becomes limpid and lilies smile brightly. There is dewy autumn when the nights are clear and the moon shines pleasantly. That is the time when Ketaka plants blossom and paddy fields ripen. There is the winter season when snow

destroys the charm of lotus ponds. Everywhere it is desolate and
dreary, and the Nameru trees with leaves yellow and sere are seen
here and there.

IX—XV.

Men and women in the King's camp on the mountain are
tempted by the abundance of flowers and the charm of the
seasons to pluck flowers and enjoy the company of their be-
loved in that pastime. When they are tired and overcome by
the heat they bathe in the cool ponds and streams which are
full of lilies and lotuses. They frolick about in the water. The
waters of these streams are tinted with the toilet powders of
these ladies. People say their evening prayers as the lotuses
close. The parties of men and women retire to their rest-houses
as the moon rises. Preparations are made by the ladies for the
drinking parties which are attended with great mirth. The
ladies wear ornaments to add beauty to their lovely limbs.
Messengers move about carrying news from the lover to the be-
loved. Then begin the amusing scenes of enjoyment as the
goblet passes from one to another, each vying with the other to
excel in coquettish behaviour. When drunk they retire to rest.
The poet here indulges in amorous and erotic descriptions.
When it is morning and the sun begins to chase the gloom of
darkness, when stars begin to disappear, and lotuses begin to
bloom, when the bees again buzz about in the lotus ponds, when
Brahmans begin to perform their morning ritual, and the sacri-
ficial fires rise up to the sky, the bards sing the praises of King
Kapphina to awaken him.

King Kapphina wakes up and having fully enjoyed the hospi-
tality of his friend, Vicitrabāhu, retires to his capital, Lilāvati,
where he has been long expected.

XVI and XVII.

Here the poet takes up the story which he had left unfinish-
ed at the end of the Fifth Canto.

Darśaka, who had been sent as an envoy to Prasenajit, reaches Śrāvasti, where he sees that the houses are made of precious stones, that the people practise righteousness and that Māra has no influence over them, and that the evil influences of the Kali age are no longer to be felt, and that there are many Buddhist monasteries, Vihāras and Caityas. The city indeed looks as if it were presided over by the Buddha himself.

He is received by the Chamberlain as he enters the Palace, and is introduced to Prasenajit who in a scornful tone enquires the object of his visit. Darśaka delivers the message of King Kapphiṇa which provokes Prasenajit very much. Prasenajit is furious and declares that he will not submit to Kapphiṇa and that the proper reply to his message would be an army ready for battle. Darśaka gives his parting advice to Prasenajit and withdraws to his own city. When he conveys the reply from Prasenajit to the allies of Kapphiṇa their anger is unbounded. Great confusion and a spirit of high tension are evident as was the case when Darśaka was sent to Prasenajit. Preparations for war are soon undertaken and the warriors arm themselves and march against Prasenajit. The chariots, the cavalry, and the elephants are at once arrayed to march against the enemy.

XVIII.

A dreadful battle ensues in which the army of Pāasenajit is put to flight. He finds himself helpless and prays to the Buddha for help. He appears and by means of a miracle changes the mind of Kapphiṇa.

XIX—XX.

King Kapphiṇa hears a sermon of the Buddha and expresses his desire to enter the order of the Buddhist monks. The Buddha advises him not to renounce the world but to practise selflessness in the discharge of his duties as the ruler of his kingdom. The Buddha disappears and King Kapphiṇa retires to his kingdom.

THE AUTHOR.

His name : Kāśmrīabhaṭṭa Śivasvāmin.

Bhaṭṭa [1] in modern Kashmiri is 'baṭa', a brahmaṇ, a Kashmiri Pandit, all of whom are Brahmans. It is derived from the Sanskrit word 'bhartṛ' which in Prakritic form gave Bhaṭṭa. The latter has been retained by the Sanskritists, and appended to the proper names in the beginning or at the end. It was used in the sense of 'learned'. Some of the important instances are Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, the author of the Veṇīsaṃhāra, Mammaṭa Bhaṭṭa, the author of the Kāvyaprakāśa, Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, the learned philosopher of Southern India. But mostly it is found affixed or prefixed to the names of writers from Kāśmīra, as a title given to a learned Brahman or a great teacher.

In the Kapphiṇābhyudaya (XX,36; 37) the author has written Sriśivasvāmin and Śivasvāmin as referring to himself. Both of these names with and without the Śrī are found in the Anthologies.

The Name of the Poem.

Śivāsavāmin probably chose the name of his poem on the model of his predecessor Saṅkuka's work the Bhuvanābhudaya [2], now lost to us. The title [3] 'abhyudaya' has been often used to name the works which celebrate the deeds of great heroes, viz. Puṣpa sena's Dharmaśarmābhyadaya, [4] Jinasena's Pārśvābhyudaya, and Vēṅkaṭeśa's Rāmābhyudaya. [5].

His date and Contemporaries.

Ancient Kāśmīra was known among the Pandits of Northern India as the abode of śaradā, the goddess of learning and this

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1. See Monier Williams' Dictionary and Grierson's Kashmiri Dictionary, P. 137.
2. Rajatrangini IV, 703 4. Bühler's Report 1877, P. 42.
3. Aufrecht's Catalogus Catalogorum.
4. A descriptive Catalogue of the ' Sanskrit MSS. in Madras Govt. Oriental MSS. Library, Vol. XX.
5. See 3,

belief was not groundless in that it contributed very much to the mass of Sanskrit learning. Among the outstanding poets and writers on poetics one may refer to Rātnākara, Anandavardhana, Mammaṭa, Bilhaṇa, Kṣemendra, and Kalhaṇa. In the famous Rājataraṅgiṇi of Kalhaṇa, edited and translated by Stein, one finds the names of other writers whose works are lost, such as Śaṅkuka.

Ratnākara lived under two kings, Jayāpīḍa and Avanti-varman. Avantivarman (855-83 A. D.) was a great patron of of learning. In the Rājataraṅgiṇi [1] Chap. V we have :—

" The Minister Śūra by honouring learned men with a seat in the King's Sabhā, caused learning, whose flow had been interrupted, to descend again upon this land (32) ".

" The Scholars who were granted great fortunes and high honours proceeded to the Sabhā in vehicles (litters) worthy of Kings" (33).

" Muktākaṇa, Śivasvāmin, the poet Anandavardhana, and Ratnākara obtained fame during the reign of Avantivarman" (39).

" In the time of Avantivarman the illustrious Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa and other holy men (siddhas) descended to the earth for the benefit of the people" (66).

Ratnākara wrote his voluminous Mahākāvya, the Haravijaya, in fifty Cantos. In that work, his exquisite language, his command of style in all its varieties, his ability to use various metres, his art of making the sound correspond with the sense, his full knowledge of Śaivā philosophy, and his mastery of Nītiśāstra, Kāmasūtras, Epics, and the Purāṇas, make him stand unique among the writers of Kāvya and testify to his being a true successor of Kālidāsa, Bhāravi, Māgha, and Bāṇa.

1 See Stein's Translation of the Rajataraṅgiṇi.

Anandavardhana belonged to that school of poetics which held that suggestion was the soul of poetry. As a matter of fact by writing the Dhvanyāloka he put that theory on a firm footing.

Kallaṭa[1] wrote commentaries on Spanda and Śaiva-sūtras.

To this galaxy of writers in the times of Avantivarman belonged Śivasvāmin, the writer of the Kapphiṇābhyudaya.

To write a Mahākāvya, by Śivasvāmin's time, had become the indispensable condition of greatness of a poet and that Śivasvāmin, from all evidence a Śaiva, should have delved deep into Buddhist tradition and thought and should have celebrated a Buddhist Legend in a work of such a major importance is evidence not only of the influence exerted over him by his preceptor Candramitra, nor only of the tendency to incorporate the Buddha in the hierarchy of 'avatāras', but also of the receptive nature of the poet's mind which refused to be hide-bound by narrow orthodox Brahmanism but thirsted to explore fresh fields and pastures new.

Ratnākara, a 'Śaiva' to the core, had celebrated the exploits of Śiva, Ś.vasvāmin's own ideal; Māgha a Vaiṣṇava in thought and spirit had sung the overmastering triumph of Lord Kṛṣṇa over his arch-enemy, Siśupāla; but Śivasvāmin, with a boldness characteristic of him, hit upon a theme entirely new in thought and spirit, and surpassed them by celebrating not so much the heroism of the victor or the degeneration of the vanquished as the triumph of the very soul over life's ambitions. And to do this he turned for inspiration, light and guidance to the core of a religion where reason and devotion are mingled in such a pleasing and appealing combination.

1, Kashmir Śaivism by J. C. Chatterjee, 1914.

Śivasvāmin, Ratnākara and their predecessors.

Śivasvāmin, as he was a successor of the great writers of artificial Sanskrit poetry, has combined in him all the merits and demerits of such writers, chiefly Bhāravi, Bhaṭṭi, Māgha, and especially Ratnākara. The opening of his poem is after Haravijaya, the introduction of a spy from the north follows that in Bhāravi, the description of the mountain is common to them all, the appearance of a Vidyādhara resembles that of a Yakṣa in Bhāravi and Dāruka in Māgha. In the Sixth Canto he very closely imitates Māgha even in the scheme of metres. Māgha has in the beginning of the Fourth Canto, eighteen upajāti verses. These are followed by verses every third of which is a Yamaka; while Śivasvāmin has the first twelve verses of the Sixth Canto in Upajāti metre, these being followed by other in which every second verse is a Yamaka. In the nineteenth Canto, which can be read as Sanskrit as well as Prakrit, he has followed Bhaṭṭi.

Bhāravi employed the word Lakṣmī, Māgha used the word Śrī, Ratnākara has Ratna and Śivasvāmin Śiva in the last verse of every Canto. The Praśasti is found at the end of the works of Māgha, Ratnākara, and Śivasvāmin.

Comparative analysis of the important epic poems which were imitated by Śivasvāmin.

Bhāravi.	Māgha.	Haravijaya.	Kapphiṇābhyudaya.
I—I.	I—II.	I, VII—XVI.	I—V. The assembly.
V. The Himalayas.	IV. Raivataka.	IV, The Mandara.	VI. The Malaya.
	V.	—	VII. The Camp.
X.	VI.	III. V.	VIII. The Seasons.
VIII.	{ VII.	XVII.	IX. The plucking of flowers.
	{ VIII.	XVIII.	X. The water-sports.
	IX.	XIX. XX—XXV.	XI. The sunset. XII. The rise of the moon.
IX.	X.	XXVI. XXVII.	XIII. The drinking parties. XIV. The amorous sport.
	XI.	XXVIII—XXIX.	XV. The Dawn.
XIV—XVIII.		XXX—L.	{ XVI—The message. { XX. Battle.

A Comparative Analysis of the Scheme of the Haravijaya and the Kapphiṇābhyudaya.

Haravijaya.	Kapphiṇābhy.
I. 1—3. Invocation to Śiva. 4—33. Description of Jyotsnāvatī. 33—64. Description of Śiva, Lord of Jyotsnāvatī.	I. 1. Invocation to the Buddha. 2—22. Description of Līlāvatī on the Vindhyācala. 23—44. Description of Kapphiṇa, master of Līlāvatī. II. A spy from the north comes to the Court of Kapphiṇa. In this Canto the narrative resembles the opening of the Kirāta.
VII. Description of the agitation in the Assembly of Śiva on hearing that Andhaka had harassed the Gods and driven them out of heaven. Several attendants of Śiva are individually referred to, viz., Vīrabhadra, Kālamusala, Meghanīla, Vajramuṣṭi, Jiṣṇu, Sunandaka, Ketu, Āmardaka, Jyotiṣmat, Agnimukha, Caṇḍānana, Nīlavajra, Nandī, and others.	III. Description of the agitation in the Assembly on hearing from the spy that Prasenajit was hostile towards Kapphiṇa. The latter's vassal kings are named, viz., Subāhu, Darśaka, Subandhu, Jiṣṇu, Bala, Pāṇḍya, Suketu, Surāṣṭra, Āndhra, Ambarīṣa, Indu, Nala, Śalva, Pradyota, and others.

VIII—Kālamusala, who advises
XVI. that Andhaka should be
attacked at once, is fol-
lowed by Prabhāmaya
(IX), Vahnigarbha (X),
Agnidaṁṣṭra, (XI),
Aṭṭahāsa (XII) Caṇḍeś-
vara, (XIII), Puṣpahāsa
(XIV) and Nandiṣena
(XV) who express their
opinions on the matter
and it is finally decided
(XVI) that Kālamusala
should be sent as an am-
bassador to Andhaka to
persuade him to give up
the Svarga.

IV—V. Subāhu advises that
Prasenajit should be
attacked without los-
ing any more time,
but Bhīṣmaka advises
that an ambassador
should be sent to
Prasenajit to ask him
to submit to the so-
vereignty of Kap-
phiṇa. Darśaka is
sent on that errand.

XXX—Kālamusala's journey from
XXXI. Jyotsnāvatī to Svarga and

the description of Andh-
aka (XXXI).

XXXII. Kālamusala's reception. Kāl-
amusala delivers his mes-
sage, 69—118, XXXII.
The reply of Uśanas
(XXXIII). Kālamusala's
angry retort (XXXIV).
Speech of Andhaka
(XXXV). Speech of Kana-
kākṣa (XXXVI). Speech
of Vajrabhānu (XXXVII).
Kālamusala's angry part-
ing words (XXXVIII).

XVI. 1. Darśaka's journey to
Śrāvastī.

2—10. Description of the
town.

12. Darśaka's reception.
24—39. Darśaka delivers his
message.
43—53. Prasēnajit's reply.
53—63, Darśaka's reply.

XXXIX. Return of Kālamu-
     sala.

64. Darśaka returns and delivers
the scornful reply of Para-
senajit to Kapphiṇa's com-
mand.

XXXIV-XXXVII
     Bear close resemb-
     lance to :—

65—85. Description of the effect
which the reply of Parasenajit
produces on the vassal kings
of Kapphiṇa. Several of
them are again named indivi-
dually.

XL. 57—64.

86—92. The wives of these prin-
ces are introduced in a very
dismal mood because they feel
the separation from their lords
who prepare to go to war.

    65. Army marches.
XLIsqq.

93—95. Army marches.
XVII—XVIII.

Author's Motive in writing the poem.

Śivasvāmin wanted to write a Mahākāvya, and in doing so he
has very closely followed the instructions of Daṇḍin, the
writer of the Kāvyādarśa[1] who probably wrote in the 6th
century.

The subject of the poem is taken from an old narrative. The
hero is noble and adventurous. Ministers assemble and spies
take part in discussions on state affairs. Descriptions of
mountains, of the seasons, of the sunset and of the rising of the
moon, of drinking and amorous dalliance, have their due place.
The hero's campaign, his war with the enemy, and his final
triumph bring us to the end of the poem which is full of senti-
ments, emotions and effective transitions. In the use of metres
the poet follows the rules. Each Canto is written in a single
metre with a change of metre in the last one or two Stanzas.

(1) See Kāvyādarśa 1, 14—49.

As a matter of fact our poet has taken the word **Abhyuda·yam** from the text of the Kāvyādarśa, [1] which he very closely follows in his illustration of the "citra kāvya" in VI and XVIII Cantos.

It also seems that the poet meant to narrate allegorically the story of the human soul which has been slumbering and has been allured by the temptations of the world and which is at last awakened by a sudden shock or some outstanding event, as it was in the case of Aśoka and the Buddha himself.

We might say that the conversion of Kapphiṇa represents the enlightenment of such a soul. Here this Mahākāvya may be compared with the Buddhacarita and the Śaundarānand of Aśvaghoṣa.

The poet's account of himself.

From the "praśasti" which comes at the end of the Kap'phiṇābhyudaya we gather the following information:—

i. Śivasvāmin was the son of Bhaṭṭācāryasvāmin and he wrote this poem, the Kapphiṇābhyudaya, which he calls 'Sūktāsūktiḥ' at the instance and encouragement of the Budhist preceptor, Candramitra. He talks of him in the past tense (aorist past "abhūt"). He might have come in contact with this religious teacher who asked him to show his talents as a poet in writing the poetic version of the Avadāna of Kapphiṇa (XX. 35, 36.)

ii. The poet dedicates the whole poem to Śiva (XX. 37) which fact shows that he was not a Buddhist by faith, but that he was well versed in that Religion and could write on that subject. At the same time, from a religious point of view, he presents a state of affairs which is a compromise. His poem serves to show the process of absorption of later Buddhism by Śaivism and Vaiṣṇaviṣm.

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1. See Kāvyādarśa, I, 14—19.

iii. In the last verse (XX. 38) he glories in his work which he says is a lamp lit to remove the darkness of ignorance and which is also meant to stop the prattling of the poetasters.

"Śivasvāmin of noble deeds, the mere hearing of whose muse produced wonder in the hearts of the wise and stopped his opponents' eagerness to speak, lit the lamp of this poem for the benefit of the righteous to remove the darkness of ignorance". (XX, 38).

He does not mention that he flourished at the Court of King Avantivarman, like his contemporary Ratnākara, but this much is certain that he does allude to his contemporaries when he mentions 'Virodhinām'—opponents in the field of poetry.

Śivasvāmin and Buddhism.

In the Kapphiṇābhyudaya (XX, 15) the Buddha preaches a sermon on the Hetumālā or [1] the chain of twelve links which ties a person to bondage, and lays stress upon the achievement of salvation by detachment from the things of this world (XX, 18 cd.) (rāgatyāgānmuktirahnāyakāryā). Here the author has followed the Avadānaśataka and at the same time tried to harmonise the spirit of Buddha with the Hindu view.

King Kapphiṇa having heard the sermon of the Buddha at once exclaims :—

ग्रोचे राजा आतचित्तप्रसादो
दीचादच्चोदच्चिणोदाक्षिणात्यः
ग्रत्रोदीर्ण दीर्घमान्यं ममाक्ष्णो:
ग्रप्याकस्मादस्मि सुप्तप्रबुद्धः
ग्राभिर्मंदुर्भारतीमिस्तवाहं
मग्नोन्मग्नः सम्यगम्युद्धतोऽस्मि २०,१९,२०.

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(1) cf. Ye dharmāḥ hetuprabhavaḥ hetum teṣāṃ tathāgato hyavadat, teṣāṃ ca yo nirodha evaṃ vādī mahāśramaṇaḥ.

The courteous Southern King whose mind was calmed, spoke, 'With this speech of yours the blindness of my eyes is gone. I am awakened suddenly from sleep. By these words of the Master I who was deep drowned am absolutely saved.'

If we compare these words of King Kapphiṇa to those of Arjuna in the Bhagavadītā (18.73), we find a very close resemblance.

Arjuna says—

नष्टो मोहं: स्मृतिलब्धा

त्वत्प्रसादान्मयाच्युत

स्थितोऽस्मि गतसंदेह:

करिष्ये वचनं तव

"Delusion is destroyed. I have obtained Memory by thy grace, O Imperishable. I am firm and all my doubts have passed. I will do your word."

King Kapphiṇa expresses his desire to adopt the life of a monk, but the Buddha says—

सत्यं सत्यासत्यदृष्टी सुदृष्टि:

पात्रं पुत्र त्वादश: भिक्षुवृत्ते:

कालस्त्वस्यास्ते प्रतीत्यः किया-

नायातीह प्राप्तकाला हि सिद्धि:

"It is true, my son, that you should desire to be a Bhikṣu having realised what is true and what is false. But you should wait for that stage of life. That accomplishment comes at its proper time".

Does not the poet refer to the four stages in a man's life according to Manu? He does not want the King to enter a monastery but makes the Buddha ask him to wait for some time.

But great emphasis is laid upon leading a life of selflessness as we find in the Gita. The Buddha asks him to rule his

kingdom for the three Jewels, the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Saṅgha.

मा भोगेभ्यो भट्टुरेभ्यः प्रकृत्या

मा प्राणेभ्यो मा श्रिये मा यशोभ्यः

श्राद्धः शुद्धः श्रद्धया याधि साधो

पृथ्वीरत्नं प्राज्यरत्नत्रयार्थे ॥ २०,२६

धर्मे श्रद्धा सम्मतिः सत्यसारे

दान चोर्ये सन्धानं दयायां

क्षान्तौ चोभः प्रेम पुरये च येषां

नूतं मुक्तास्ते ग्रहस्थाश्रमे ऽपि २०-३२

'Neither for enjoyment which is transitory by nature, nor for your own life, nor for glory, nor for fame, must you govern the Jewel of the Earth, but with faith, purity, and devotion for the benefit of the three Jewels—the Buddha, the Dharma and the Saṅgha.'

'Those who have faith in the Law, who follow truth, who have courage in generosity, who have eagerness for compassion, who desire to be patient, and have love for Righteousness, achieve Salvation even though they are householders.'

These verses point towards the doctrine of Anāsaktiyoga of the Bhagavadgītā where the belief in leading a selfless life is preached.

This shows how much the later Buddhism was influenced by the rise of the Orthodox Hindu faith and shows the reason for the Kashmir compromise between Hinduism and Buddhism.[1]

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(1) See Stein, Rājataraṅgiṇī I, 9, 76, 92; II, 355.

Did Sivasvāmin write any other work besides the Kapphiṇābhyudaya ?

As referred to in the Kavīndravacanasamuccaya, Bhandārkar's Report, (1897) on p. xi, has the following anonymous verse in praise of Ṡivasvāmin :—

वाक्यानि द्विपदीयुतान्यथ महाकाव्यानि सप्त क्रमात्
न्यच्चप्रत्यहनिमितस्तुतिकथालचाणि चे क्षादश
कृत्वा नाटकनाटिकाप्रकरणप्रायान् प्रबन्धान् बहून्
विश्रामत्यधुनापि नातिशयिवता वाणी शिवस्वामिनः

"Not even now does Ṡivasvāmin's unsurpassed Muse find rest though he has composed seven Mahākavyas which have dvipadḷs; has written eleven lacs of hymns to Siva every day, and several other works, Nāṭakas, Nāṭikas and Prakarṇas.

This verse is also found quoted in a footnote on p. 132 of the kavikanṭhābharaṇa (Kāvyamālā, 4).

In view of this eulogy Ṡivasvāmin seems to have written many works. But the ravages of time have left to us only the Kapphiṇābhyudaya and the verses in the Anthologies, which are attributed to Ṡivasvāmin. Let us hope that further search for manuscripts in India may bring to light some more of his works.

But on p. XXIX of Bühler's Report 1877 we have a reference to Ṡivasvāmin who enlarged kalādikṣā, a treaties on Ṡaiva philosphy. On p. 620 of J. R. A. S. for 1912 the authorship of the Ms. No. 67 of Stein's Collection deposited at the Indian Institute, Oxford, has been ascribed to Ṡriṡivasvāmin. On examination of this Ms. with the kind permission of Sir Aurel Stein it was discovered that the compiler of the Catalogue had misunderstood the statement in the colophon of that Ms. which runs:

iti śrīnandīśvarāvatāre śrīśivasvāminoktaṁ Sandhyāmāhat-

myam iti bhadraṃ (in Śāradā characters). The book is in the form of a dialogue between Devī and Bhairava, which words are synonymous with Pārvatī and Śiva. In the colophon the writer means 'here ends the Sandhyāmāhātmya as told by Śri Śivasvāmin (*i. e.*, by Lord Śiva) to Devī. This Śivasvāmin has, therefore, nothing to do with the author of the Kapphiṇābhyudaya.

THE SOURCES OF THE POEM.

The story of Kapphiṇa, or Mahākapphiṇa, or Kapphiṇa the Great, or Kapphiṇa the Elder, is found in the Avadānaśataka[1] in the Manorathapūraṇī,[2] which is a commentary on the Aṅguttara Nikāya, and in the commentary on the Dhammapada[3]

Synopsis of the Three Stories.

(1)

The Avadānaśataka.[4]

Kapphiṇa in one of his previous births was contemporary with Vipaśyī and built a Vihāra. He was, then, known as Brahmadatta, King of Benares, when he served a Prateyaka Buddha, and, in the time of Kaśypa, he achieved complete control of his senses. In the time of Sākyamuni he was known as the son of Kalpa, a King in Southern India. When he was in power he sent an insolent message to the rulers of six cities, Śrāvastī and others, in Northern India, that they must submit to his rule. The rulers of those cities took refuge under the Buddha who appeared on the scene and converted King Kapphiṇa who had come there under the command of the Buddha. He was then raised to the status of an Arhat.

(I) Bibliotheca Buddhica III.

(2) P. T S. Manorathapūraṇī Vol. I.

(3) P. T. S. The Commentary on the Dhammapada, Vol. II.

(4) Les Annales du Muse Guimet, Tome 18, pp. 336f and 459.

(2)

The Manorathapūraṇī.

In the days of the Padamuttarabuddha, Kappiṇa, in a previous birth lived at Haṃsavatī, and in the time of the Kassapasammāsambuddha wasb orn at Bārānasī.

In the time of the Buddha he was born at Kukkuṭavatīnagara as King Kappiṇa and his wife Anojā who had desired earnestly in her previous birth when she was the wife of King Kappiṇa, (who was then the chief householder in Bārānisi), to be so named.

King Kappiṇa heard of the Law, the Buddha, and the Saṅgha from merchants who visited his country. He renounced his kingdom and went forth to meet the Buddha, who foreseeing Kappiṇa's attitude had stationed himself on the bank of the Candabhāgā. King Kappiṇa with his followers crossed the Gaṅgā and another river before he came to the Candabhāgā, where he met the Buddha, who converted him to Buddhism. His queen, Anojā, when she heard of her husband's renunciation followed in his footsteps and came to the Buddha who converted her as well. One day Mahākappiṇa was heard saying, 'Oh happiness! Oh happ'ness!' The monks concluded that he was thinking of the happiness of his kingdom, but the Buddha told the monks that it was the happiness of drinking of the Law and he recited the 79th verse of the Dhammapada.

'He who drinks of the Law lives happily with a serene mind In the Law preached by the noble, the sage ever finds his joy'.

The Dhammapada Commentary (¹).

Kappina, in his previous birth, was a contemporary of the Buddha Padmuttara. In another birth, as a head weaver

(1) See 'Buddhist Legends' by E. W. Burlingame (H. O. S.), Vol. 28, P. 101, Vol. 29, P. 167.

he served a thousand Paccekabuddhas.   In the time of the
Buddha Kassapa he was the senior householder at Benares where
he and his community presented a monastery to the monks.   His
wife presented Anojā flowers to the Buddha.

This Community of householders is born in Kukkutavatī
and their senior is King Kapp na whose wife is Anojā.   King
Kappina and the courtiers, Queen Anojā and her ladies-in-waiting,
hear of the Buddha, the Law, and the Order, and they set out to
visit the Buddha. They cross three rivers the Aravacchā, the
Nīlavāhanā, and the Candabhāgā before they meet the Buddha
who expounds to them the Law and they retire from the world.

The elder Kappina is found rejoicing and   saying ' Oh
happiness?' The monks think that he is reminded of his former
happiness as King. The Buddha tells them that it is the happiness
of the Nibbāna and recites the 79th Stanza of the Dhamma-
pada.

The same story with very minor differences from the one
given above is translated by T. Rogers in his Buddhaghoṣa's
Parables, pp. 78—85. Its summary may be given as follows:—

There lived near Benares a thousand weavers who served
a thousand Pacceka-buddhas with food and drink and built
monasteries for them. They were reborn in Benares in
families of wealthy men and pleased Kassapa who was then
preaching the Law. Afterwards they appeared in the Nat
country, and in the time of the Gotama they were born in
the country of Kukkuvatī. The head weaver's wife was the
daughter of the great king of the Sāketa country. Five
hundred merchants came from the country of Sāvatthi and
informed the King of the ' Three Jewels', the Buddha,
the Dharma, the Saṅgha. The King was filled with devotion
and joy when he heard of the ' Three Jewels'. He renounced
his kingdom and set off on his journey to the place where ' The
Jewels' were found. He crossed the Avarakka, the Nīlavāha

and the Kandāpa rivers. On the other side of the Kandāpa river he met the Buddha who expounded the Law to him and made him a Sōtāpanna. The Queen also, with her attendants, was admitted into the Order.

Thus we possess two versions of the legend of Kapphiṇa as preserved in the Sanskrit Avadānaśataka and the Pāli commentaries. In the former King Kapphiṇa is said to have ruled in the Dakṣiṇāpatha and in the latter at Kukkuṭavatī, whose geographical position has not yet been ascertained. In the Avadānaśataka Kapphiṇa invades Śrāvastī, when he is converted to Buddhism by a miracle; while in the Pali versions he voluntarily renounces his kingdom.

Sivaśvamin following the version of the Avadānaśataka in writing his Kapphiṇābhyudāya has introduced many changes and that with evident reason. The deviations from the legend in the Avadānaśataka are:

(i) King Kapphiṇa is informed by a spy that Prasenjit, ruler of Srāvastī is hostile towards him. He holds a Council of his allies who decide that an embassy should be despatched to Prasenajit asking him to make submission to him. Otherwise war will be declared. (Kapphiṇā. 1-V).

(ii) The digression which follows is introduced to conform to the rules of writing a Mahākāvya.

(iii) The envoy goes to Prasenajit who refuses to submit.

(iv) War is declared and the two opposing armies engage in a fierce battle.

(v) The Buddha appears on the scene as the result of the prayers of Prasenajit who is unable to withstand the advance of the enemy. The Buddha changes the mind of King Kapphiṇa with a miracle. He preaches to

him the Law, but when requested by King Kapphiṇa to initiate him into the order, he refuses to do so but admonishes him to practise selflessness in the discharge of his duties as the ruler of his kingdom.

(*vi*) Queen Anojā is not mentioned by Śivasvāmin.

The first four of these departures from the original, are due to the regulations for writing artificial Sanskrit poetry of high standard, while the fifth one shows the influence of the Hindu ideal of life as found in the Laws of Manu. The doctrine of ' Non-attachment' in the pursuit of one's duties finds full adherence by Śivasvāmin. The Buddhist ideal of monkhood is replaced by that of a householder, who seeks salvation by doing his duties in a spirit of self-renunciation. Silence about Anojā also shows the tendencies of the time which preferred a honoseholder's life to that of a monk.

The Name Kapphiṇa.

M. Burnouf in the Lotus [1] suggested Kāmpilya as the locality which gave rise to the name, He gives various readings of the name as found in the Buddhist Sanskrit works.

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(1) Le Lotus de la Bonne Loi. pp. 1, 294.

The readings are "kapphilla", "kaphiṇa", "kaphin". "kamphilla", "kaphina", and "kachphila".

A bibliography for the name and Story of King Kappiṇa.

(1) The Avadānaśataka, Bib. Buddhica III.

(2) Saddharmapuṇḍarīka ed. H. Kern and Bunyiu Nanjio, 1912, pp. 2. 207.

(3) The Saundarānanda ed E. H. Johnston, 1928, (XVI.90).

(4) The Lalitavistara—Bibliotheca Indica 1877, p. 1.
(5) S. B. E. Vol. XXI, 2, 2 n, 198; vol. XLIX (ii) 2, 90.
(6) Rgya Tchèr Ral Pa-tr. par Ph. Ed. Fouceaux 1848.
(7) J. R. A. S. 1880, p. 25.

The Pāli Text Society Publications, 8—25.

(8) The Apadāna II, p. 468.   (continued.)

In Chinese Kapphiṇa or Kamphilla has come to be associat-
ed with the Constellation Scorpio and is suggested that Kappiṇa
was so ca'led because he was born in answer to prayer address-

(9) Manorathapūraṇi Vol. 1. p. 318.

(10) Samyutta Nikāya I, pp. 145, 146; II, pp. 284—5; V, p. 315.

(11) Aṅguttara Nikāya I, p. 25; III, p. 299.

(12) The Thera and Therigāthā (1883) I. p. 61.

(13) Udāna I, p. 5.

(14) Sumaṅgalāvilāsini p. 240.

(15) Parmaṭṭhadipani Part III, pp. 78, 81.

(16) Mahābodhivaṃśa p. 83

(17) Nettiprakaraṇa p. 151.

(18) The Comentary on Dhammapada Vol. II. pp. 112—127.

(19) Paramatthajhotikā I, 1333; II, 440.

(20) The Visuddhimagga of Buddhaghoṣa p. 393.

(21) Gradual Sayings, Vol. I. p. 20.

(22) Psalms of the Brethren pp. 254, 366.

(23) The Path of Purity, p. 455.

(24) Kindred Sayings, Vol. I. pp. 183, 194; Vol. II, pp. 193—94; Vol. V, p. 279.

(25) J. P. T. S. 1888, p. 66.

(26) The Jātaka, Vol. IV. p. 112.

(27) Further Dialogues of the Buddha (S. B. B.) Vol. V, ii, 199.

(28) H. Kern, Manual of Indian Buddhism, p. 82.

(29) Nariman, Literary History of Sanskrit Buddhism, pp. 45, 164.

(30) Rajendralal Mitra—Napalese Buddhist Literature, p. 38.

ed to the Regent of Scorpio. (2) M. Sylvain Lévi (3) has
given Kosala and Kipin under the Nakṣatra Rohiṇī.

With regard to the association of the word Kapphiṇa with
Kipin or Kapin or Kophene I have to make one suggestion :

    i. In the Pāli texts (4) the King is said to have crossed
       the Candrabhāgā before he met the Buddha. This
       shows that he must have came from the North if the
       Candrabhāgā is the modern Chenab of the Punjab.
       His personal features, especially the Aryan nose, also
       resemble that of a man from the North. (5)

cf. 'Do you see that monk coming to us, pale, thin, with
prominent nose.'—Kindred saying II. pp, 193—4.

    ii. Kipin or kapin may denote the kingdom of Kāśmīra
       (6) and the poet Sivasvāmin may have chosen a theme
       by which he could sing the glories of Kāśmīra as well as
       that of Kapphiṇa, one of the twelve great disciples of
       the Buddha.

Derivation of the word Kapphina.

    Akamuna, a dictionary of Buddhist names, gives
Mahākappina (Skt. Mahākalpina). In the Avadānaśataka he is
said to be the son of King Kalpa (lit. a cycle of time). Kalpin
will therefore mean 'one lasting an aeon.' Kalpa also means
'competent'. It is befitting that one of the foremost disciples
of the Buddha should be so named, unless we take the name
to refer to his kingdom Kophene or Kipin or Kapin. (7) The
Lalitavistara has Kaphila and Kashphila. (8)

    (2) Handbook of Chinese Buddhism by Eitel (1904).

    (3) The Bulletin de L 'Ecole Francaise d' Extreme Orient,
Tome V, 1905, pp. 263, 27ı.

    (4) See the Commentary of the Dhammapada in P. T. S.

    (5) See Mrs. Rhys David's 'Sākya or Buddhist origins' p.
59. 14ʼ f.

    P. T. S. Gradual Sayings I. 20.

        ,, Psalms of the Early Buddhists, p. 256 n.

    (6) ,, See Max Müller, S. B. E, XXI 2 n.

        Stein—Rājataraṅgiṇi II, 354.

        Lévi—Journal Asiatique 1895, ɪi. p. 371.

        Przyluski—La Légende de L' Empereur Aśoka
        under Kipin'.

        Watters—On Yuan-Chwang i, 259, 278 289 290.

    (7) See V. A. Smith, Early History of India (3rd edition)
pp. 266 n, 374 n.

    (8) See The Lalitavistara ed. Lefmann (1902) p. 1.
                       Mitra (1877) p. 1.

In later Sanskrit Literature when the Kapphiṇābhyudaya was referred to we find many variants for the name Kapphiṇa.

    i. In the footnotes on page 202 of the Vyākhyāsudhā, a commentary on the Amarrkośa, we have 'Kathitābhyudaye', due to the ignorance of the exact word.

    ii. In the Ṭīkāsarvasva we have 'Karpi', 'Kacchi' and 'Kalpi' on pages 18, 132, 132 respectively.

    iii. In one of the India Officie Manuscripts, No. 541, p. 118, of the Padcandrikā of Rāyamukuṭa it is written as Kaṣphina.

    iv. In the Manoramā of Rāmānātharai we have Kaphila.

If we derive it from klrp, the aspirate in 'Kapphiṇa' is inexplicable, unless there were such a word as 'kaṣpiṇa', which would give Kapphiṇa like 'puppha' 'nipphala from 'puṣpa' and 'niṣphala.'

King Kapphiṇa and Barabudur.

In Professor Krom's 'Barabudur' one finds that the reliefs on the second main wall of the Barabudur temple in Java follow the text of the Gaṇḍavyūha, a Buddhist Sanskrit work. Mr. B.C. Shastri, M. A., M. O. L., in his article in Bijdragen tot de Taal., Land—en Volkenkunde Van Nederlandsch—Indie, Deel, 19, Afl. 1, pp. 173-81, has tried to supplement Professor Krom's identification of this text. According to him the following text of the Gaṇḍavyūha is carved on the Second relief:—

न च ते महाश्रावकाः शारिपुत्रमौद्रल्यायनमहाकाश्यप-

रेवतसुभूत्यनिरुद्धनन्दिकप्फिणकात्यायनपूर्णे-

मैत्रायणीपुत्रप्रमुखा जेतवने तथागतविकुर्वितमद्राक्षुः

The Śrāvkas headed by Śāriputra, Maudgalāyana, Mahā-kāśyapa, Raivata, Subhūti, Anirudha, Nandika, Kapphiṇa, Kāt-

yâyaṇa, Pûrṇa, and Maitrâyaṇîputra did not see the miracles of Tathâgata.

The Haravijaya, Magha, and the Kapphiṇâbhyudaya.

In the following pages a comparison of the poem with Mâgha and the Haravijaya has been made and it will be noticed how common stray phrases and even single lines in stanzas in the three Kavyas so closely resemble. These twenty-four groups of stanzas will give the reader an idea of the influence exerted by Mâgha and Ratnâkara (¹) on Śivasvâmin in the choice of language, thoughts and feelings.

But the similarities which exist in thought or in language in certain cases do not necessarily mean that there was actual plagiarism practised by Sivasvâmin. In the works of two inspired poets especially where they (the works) belong to the same class of poetry following the same set of rules, descriptions of the similar objects may correspond and the language they choose to express their common ideas may turn out to be more or less similar.

Moreover, in the training of a Sanskrit poet it was essential that he should set up a model for the exercise of his poetic talent and then attempt to equal and excel it. Śivasvâmin sometime does not merely borrow phrases or poetic expressions from Mâgha and Ratnâkara, but improves upon their ideas and expressions.

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1. See i. For Mâgha and Ratnâkara see Jacobi W. Z. K. M. IV, p. 236 ff.

    ii. Kâvyamimâsâ of Râjaśekhara, Chap. XI.

    iii. Thomas in Bhandârkar Commemoration Volume.

Haravijaya

अस्त्युन्नते सुरसरिज्जलधाव्यमान-
भाभ्मे क्वार्करुचिमन्दरशैलश्रृङ्गे ।
ज्योत्स्नावतीति नगरी भुवनत्रयैक-
भूषा यशाङ्कगिरसीव यशाङ्कलेखा ॥ १,४

Kapphiṇābhyudaya

अस्ति प्रथा परमदैत्यसुखायनामि-
स्यूता गजाननगुहावासिताधिविन्ध्यम् ।
लीलावतीति नगरी कलितापदाना
दुर्गेव भावितरणा हरिषाङ्कनेन ॥ १,२

'There is on the lofty peak of the Mandara Mountain, whose region is washed by the celestial Ganges and which has the glow of the morning sun, a town, Jyotsnāvatī by name, an ornament of the three worlds, like the digit of the moon on the head of the bull-marked God.' I. 4

'There is on the top of the Mountain Vindhya near Ganesh caves a town, the happy abode of gods, shedding lustre, Līlāvatī by name, well known in the Apadānas, like Durgā born on the mount Vindhyā, source of trouble to the great demon, unaccompanied by Ganesha and Skanda, taking delight in battle and followed by Śiva. I. 2

II.

यस्याष्टहं सुरतकेलिविमर्दशीर्य्य-
कर्णावतंसविकचोत्पलपत्रखण्डः ।
यत्राङ्गना दलयतः कुसुमायुधस्य
भग्नेः कृपाणशकलेखिकीर्य्यांशयेत् ॥ १,१६

शय्याक्रमेष्वचितपङ्क्तघराणिः
यस्यां रराज रमशेरुपभुक्तमुक्ता ।
उद्गमम्मथमहेमणिकीर्णरीर्न-
वेक्षसृकलतस्फुटविश्रुखलश्रृजलश्रीः ॥ १,१४

'Where the bed chamber was scattered over with bits of the petals of blossomed lotus flowers used as ear ornaments which were broken in the amorous sports and which looked like pieces of the broken daggers of the flower-weaponed god who had been molesting women.' I, 16.

'Where in bed chambers shone a line of blue lotuses used as ear ornaments thrown away by the gallant after enjoying them, closely resembling a loose chain of the untamed elephant, Kāma, which (the chain) was broken and loosened in his sport.' L. 14

III.

रोषारुणीकृततदश्यो नडकूबरस्य
हुङ्कारधूमपटली मुखरन्ध्रभागात् ।
दैत्याधिराजकवलीकरणादरेण
कृत्यामिवेक्षत जनः सहसोत्पतन्तीम् ॥ ७,१३

तत्रत्यैरधिकिततरं निरीक्षमाणा
सम्भाव्यत्रिभुवनघस्मरोग्रशक्तिः ।
कृत्येवभ्रकुटिरतिस्फुटा ललाटे
शाल्वस्य प्रसरदमर्षमुल्लास ॥३,२८

'The people saw the mass of smoke of "humkāra," coming out of the cavity-like mouth of Nadakübara, whose eyes were red with anger, as if it were the goddess Kṛtyā springing up suddenly to swallow the lord of demons.' VII. 13

'Observed with great surprise by those who were present there a distinct frown appeared on the forehead of śālva as his anger increased, which (frown) was like Kṛtyā of terrible power, eager to devour the three worlds.' III. 28

IV.

फ्लोषाक्लग्रस्य वपुष्युदम-
ज्वालाजटालस्य विलोचनाग्नेः ।
प्रयान्तिहेतोरिव सम्भ्रमेण
निर्यान्ति धर्मोदकणीकरोघाः ॥ ९,६३

अन्तःस्यस्फुरदुरूमन्युवह्निसृष्ट-
स्पृष्टेाष्म्यं कथनविशेषशङ्क्येव ।
भीमस्य द्रुततरविद्रुतं निलीय
स्वेदाम्भो बहु बहिरानये शरीरम् ३,१९

'The drops of perspiration
came fast out of the body in
order to extinguish the fire of
intense flames issuing from the
eyes and burning the whole
body.' IX. 63

'Profuse water of perspiration
immidiately covered the exterior
of Bhima's body which was ex-
tremely heated by the huge fire
of anger blazing withina s if it
were afraid lest the latter should
burn it more.' III. 13

V.

निरूपयामो नयवर्त्म केवलं
यथाभिलाषास्तु परस्य वृत्तयः ॥ १२,१९

वचो हि वाच्यं हितमायतो चेरः
स्वतः प्रमाणां परतस्तु भूपतेः
स्वतन्त्रवृत्ता विधयो विधेरिव ॥ २,२४

'We shall only deliberate upon
the policy; beyond that your
own sweet will shall be the guide
in the course of action-' XII. 19

'The spies have to tell wha
will be beneficial in the future.
After that, the King's ordinances
proceeding independently like
those of fate are authority in
themselves.' II. 24

VI.

Haravijaya

विभर्ति पारिप्लवतामुदन्वतः

तदूर्मिसंसर्गकृतामिवेत्थिता ।

अवैमि लक्ष्मीर्नियवर्मनागता

स्थिरं निवध्नाति नृपे पदं पुनः ॥ १२, ३३

'Lakṣmī arising out of the ocean carries with her the fickleness due to her association with the waves, but I know, when she is acquired by a King through policy, she fixes her abode.' XII. 33

Kapphinā blegudaya.

गुरुतरगिरिमन्थक्षोभितक्षोम्यसिन्धु-

व्यतिकररसभोग्या वासनावासितेव ।

समभिमतविमर्दी रौद्रकर्मप्रियेषु

प्रसरति रममाणा तादृश्ष्वेव लक्ष्मीः॥ ४,३१

'The Goddess of Fortune (Lakṣmī), as if permeated with a liking for enjoying the play of the waters of the restless sea which is disturbed by churning with the lofty mountain, is fond of strife and delights in moving among such people as like violence.' IV. 31

VII.

अभ्येयुषां विरचिताञ्जलिबन्धमुर्वी-

तृष्णा दर्याद्रमनसा परिरक्षतासून् ।

येनोपिताः समनेकरसेनखड्ग-

धाराजलैः शममनीयत शात्रवाणाम् ॥१६,३९

फूत्कारपावकशिखानिकरो दिधक्षु-

राक्रान्तकालियफणानिकुरम्बमुक्तः ।

निर्वापितः सपदि यस्य शिखरडमूल-

निष्यन्दमानयमुनाजलनिर्झरौघेः ॥ १६,७४

'Who, with a compassionate heart and with the one aim of alleviating suffering, spared the lives of his enemies, who approached with folded hands, and quenched their thirst for territory with the water of the edge of his sword.' XVI 39

'The mass of flames, blown out by the numerous hoods of Kāliyanāga who was subdued, was at once extinguished, the moment it was ready to burn, by the current of the water of the Yamunā flowing below his crest.' XVI. 74

उल्लास्य कालकरवालनवाम्बुवाहं
देवेन येन नरठोर्जितगर्जितेन ।
निर्वापितः सकल एव रणे रिपूणां
धाराजलेब्रिजगति ज्वलितः प्रतापः ॥ १,१४

This verse combines XVI, 39
and 74 of the Haravijaya.

'Raising the fresh clouds of
swords dreadful like death, this
King, with his terrible thunder
has totally extinguished the blaz-
ing prowess of his enemies in the
three worlds with the waters of
the flashes(of his swords), just as
raging heat is brought to an end
by showers of rain poured by
God Indra amid thunder.' I. 24

VIII.

तत्तस्य कश्चिदुपयातु समीपमाशु
सन्देशदानचतुरो दितिजस्य दूतः ।
भिन्नेतरप्रकृतिमण्डलकार्यतत्त्व-
बोधे यतः प्रणिधिरेव रिपांस्तमाहु: ॥ १६,७९

तदुपान्तमियातु कश्चन
द्विषदोकस्तवशासनात्पुरः ।
रिपुसंप्लवजिष्णु भूभुजां
परमास्त्रं खलु दूतभारती ॥ ५,३९

'Then let some spy clever in
conveying messages at once go
to him, the descendant of Diti;
for the emissary is said to be
the only means of knowing the
truth about the affairs of an
enemy's kingdom, his allies and
his foes.' XVI. 79

'Let some one by your com-
mand first go to him in the
country ot the enemy. In deed'
the words of a messenger serve
as a weapon for Kings who
desire to conquer a host of
enemies.' V. 39

विश्राणविकरुचेवमङ्कनानां
हस्ताग्रैः प्रसभमकारि पल्लवानाम् ।
प्रत्यप्रोज्ज्वलनिजयोभया सरागे :
भग्नानामपि पुनरुक्त एव भङ्कः ॥१७,५२

विषानया कर्कमलस्य खरिडते
दधासि किं मयि पुनरुक्तखरडनाम् ।
समालपन् मधुरमधुव्रतारवै-
मृगेचराणामिदमिव बालपल्लव: ॥ ९,१६

'The fingers of ladies, which were possessed of greater excellence and which were red, rendered the impetuous plucking of petals superfluous, for they (the petals) had already been vanquished by their fresh brilliant lustre.' XVII. 52

'Why do you cause (by pluck ing) an unnecessary wound to me who have already been hurt by the lustre of your lotus-like hands'—thus did the young sprout seem to address the fawn-eyed one through the sweet hum of the bees.' IX. 16

X.

वीचिचिोभाविर्भवतृसम्भ्रमवात्
कान्तं कान्चित् सस्वजे जातसौल्या ।
प्रायेणोत्थं श्रेयसे विक्रियापि
प्रादुर्भूता कल्पते कोमलानाम् ॥ १८४१

प्रतिनवत्रनितानितान्ततान्ता
जलममतीर्य ततस्तरङ्गभीरुः ।
अगलितमलगद् गले स्वभर्तु-
र्विपदपि कुत्रचिदावहत् फलाग्र्यम्॥१०,२१

'Another (lady) embraced her beloved when' she became restless on account of the disturbance caused by the waves; and she was delighted. It often happens that even an apparent calamity turns out to be a source of happiness for the delicate ones.' XVIII. 41

'The young lady who was much vexed by her new rival entered the water and, when afraid of the waves, clung close to the neck of her husband. Even calamity at certain times may bring about the best of results.' X. 21

XI.

व्यक्तोपकारमधुना स्थगितासु दिक्षु
प्रेयोगृहं सुखमलक्षितमेव याम: ।
धम्मिलबन्धरुचिरैरभिसारिकाभि:
प्रेम्णा तमांश्रिरमितीव शिरोभिरूह १९,४३

प्रियवसतिप्रयाणसमये पिद्धत्पदवी-
मिदमुपकारि न स्तम इतीव विनम्रगमा: ।
अलिमलिनस्य वेणिवलयस्य रुचां निचये-
रभिसरणोत्सुका: प्रियतमा: पुपुषु: सुदृश: ॥
११,३५

'Now that the quarters have become obscure, we shall easily go unnoticed to the dwellings of our lovers. The ladies going to their lovers seemed for a long time to bear lovingly on their heads the darkness as a bene factor in the form of beautifully braided tresses.' XIX. 43

'This darkness is our well-wisher for it conceals our path at the time of our going to the dwellings of our lovers,' so the loving ladies of beautiful eyes walking softly fostered it by the 'masses of gleam' of their braids, blackened by bees, when they where eager to set out to their rendezvous.' XI. 35

XII.

स्रस्तान्धकारवसनां रजनीपुरन्ध्री-
मालिङ्गति प्रियसुधास्ति दिक्सखीभि: ।
दूरं मृणालशकलामलतन्मयूख-
हासच्छटाञ्चितमुखीभिरिवापसस्ते ॥ २०,४७

श्यामां समाश्लिष्य सरागमिन्दौ
नभ: स्थलं तल्पमिवाधिरूढे ।
तमोमुच: सख्य इवोल्लसन्त्यो
दिश: शनै र्दूरमिवापसस्रु: ॥ १२,१९

'When the moon (emitter of delightful ambrosia)' had embraced the damsel of the night who had thrown off her garment of darkness, then withdrew her friends, the quarters, whose

'When the moon who embraced the night out of love ascended the terrace-like sky, the quarters which were delighted, moved gradually away as if

faces were brightened with smiles denoted by the rays, white like bits of lotus-stalks.' XX. 47

they were the friends (of Night).' XII. 15

XIII.

श्राह्लादेहेतुनिरवद्यशरीरयष्टि—

लावण्यकान्तिकलुषीकरणेन तासाम् ।

श्रासीत् कुशशयटश्यामयथार्थतैव

पर्यस्तमास्वररुचामपि भूषणानाम् ॥ २३,४६

'The ornaments, which scattered billiance all round, did not serve their purpose in the case of the lotus-eyed ones for they defiled the beauty of the slender limbs which were spotless and a source of delight.' XXIII. 46

मृगीदृश्यामङ्गलतानुषङ्गि—

लावण्यलक्ष्मीपिहितप्रभेण ।

यथावदप्याकलितेन तासां

स्फुटा न लेभे प्रतिकर्मणा श्री: ॥ १२,३६

'The toilet of the fawn-eye ladies, even though carefully done, did not attain any grace, for its beauty was overshadowed by the natural loveliness of their tender, creeper-like bodies.' XII. 36

XIV.

उदयशिखरिश्रृङ्गवेदिकायां

नवरुधिरारुणकान्ति भानुबिम्बम् ।

अनुकृतदिवसप्रवेशलक्ष्मी-

प्रसवविशङ्कटगर्भशय्यमासीत् ॥ २८,८०

'The orb of the sun, whose brightness was like the redness of fresh blood, appearing on the altar of the top of Udayācala, was like the embryo from which was to emerge the glory of the day.' XXVIII. 80

प्राचीश्वासोपममरुदभिप्राच्यशैलाश्मशय्यं

संप्राप्तायां दिवि नवनवां वासरस्य प्रसूतिम्

श्राविर्भावो भवति रुधिराचारमिश्रस्य सद्यः

साङ्क्रदन्यां ककुभि कलभस्येव सन्ध्यातपस्य

॥ १९,१८

'At the time of the birth of the day on the bed of Udayācala, the breeze seeming to be the sigh of the Eastern quarter, there appears in the Eastern direction the twilight sun as if it were the young one of an elephant besmeared with blood.' XV. 18

XV.

इति गिरमुपकर्ण्य प्रेयसीबाहुबन्ध-
व्यतिकरक्कतरत्नावापकव्यक्तचिह्नम् ॥ २९,६३

'Having heard these voices
(Śiva), showing (on his neck)
the marks of golden bracelets
which were tied to the arms of his
beloved (left his bed).' XIX. 63

इति गिरमुपकर्ण्य मागधीयां
श्लथशयन: सुहृदोगृहेऽभिरत्य ॥ १६,३५

'Having thus heard the pane-
gyrics of the bards, (the King),
after enjoying himself at the
house of his friend, left his bed.'
XVI 35

XVI.

स श्रृवन्नात्मनोऽभिख्यां
राजमार्गनलङ्घयत् ॥ ३२,३१

'He hearing his own praise
passed along the main road.'
XXXII. 31

अगाहेडविरलां राजद्वारं दूतोनितद्विष:॥१६,११

'The messenger of him who
had conquered his enemies
entered the gate of the palace
which was thronged with people.'

XVII.

क्रूरेऽपि मार्दवोपेता वामाचारेऽपि दक्षिणा: ।
पापेऽपि शुद्धमतयस्त्वादृश्या भुविदुर्लभा:॥३२,७९

'People like you who are soft-
hearted towards the harsh,
straightforward towards the
crooked, and pure-minded to-
wards the sinful are scarce in
the world.' XXXII. 79

वैभवे ऽप्यनहङ्कारा: शक्तावपि मृदुक्रिया: ।
सौम्यास्तेजस्यपि स्यु: के द्विन्रा अपि भवादृशा:॥
१६,२८

'There are but two or three
persons like you, who are humble
even in wealth, gentle in deeds
even in power, and modest even
in authority.' XVI. 28

XVIII.

शौर्यद्रुमो भुवनकाननसीम्न्यराति-
सीमन्तिनीजनजटाहढमूलबन्ध: ३३,६

शौर्यद्रुम: समाधित द्विषदां गृहेषु
शाखाशिफानिबडतीनमयीमवस्थाम् १,३१

'The tree of valour, in the border forests of whose king-dom, had its roots firm in the matted hair of the matrons of the enemy.' XXXIII. 6

'The tree of valour grew stronger in the dwellings of his enemy taking a firm hold with thick fibrous roots and bran-ches.' I. 31

XIX

Māgha

प्राग्भारतः पतदिहेदसुपल्यकासु
श्रृङ्गारितायतमहेभकराभमम्भं ।
सलच्चते त्रिविधरत्नकरानुविद्ध-
मूर्द्धप्रसारितसुराधिपचापचारु ॥४,४९

'Here on the foot of the hills comes down from the top the water-fall, resembling the long and decorated tusk of an ele-hant; and as it is pierced by the rays (of colour) from the jewels it looks like a rainbow shooting upwards., IV. 49

Kapphiṇābhyudaya

प्राग्भारदीर्घिषदुत्थितनिर्करम्बु-
लाम्बिप्रवाहविकरालकरः करोति ।
सिन्दूरसुन्दरपरागपिशङ्गमूर्धा ।
रम्भाविजृम्भितरदोयमिभानुकारम् ॥६,९९

This mountain looks like an elephant, who has a prominent trunk in the form of a long torrent of water which pours out from underneath the big rock on its top, who has its head made yellow by the pollen of the Sindūra flowers, and who has the plantain trees for its long tusks. VI. 55

XX.

श्रवणितमधुना तवाहमक्ष्णो-
राचिरतयेत्यवनम्य लज्जयेव ।
श्रवणाकुवलयं विलासवत्याः
अमरुलैरुपकर्णमाचचक्षे ॥७,६०

तनुत्विषा गुणगणाशालिनःपुरः
चमा स्थितिर्न सुतनुलोचनस्य ते ।
श्रुतिसपृशोऽसितनलिनस्य षट्पदः
क्वखान्निति व्यधित विगर्हणामिव ॥९,३९

'Now I am vanquished by the lustre of your eyes', thus the lotus as if drooping in shame, whispered into the ears of the playful one by means of the humming of the bees'. VII. 60

'It does not become you of feeble lustre to enter into rivalry with the splendid eyes of the fair-limbed one: thus the bee by its humming seemed to reproach the ear-lotus which touched her eyes.' IX. 35

XXI.

आघ्राय श्रममनिन्द्यगन्धनं
निश्वासश्वसनमत्त मङ्गनानाम् ।
आरण्याः सुमनस ईप्सिर न भृङ्गे-
रोचिरयं गणयति को विषयकामं ॥८,३०

मुखपतितपुरन्ध्रिगौरमौक्तिः
नलिनकुलेऽलिभिः कृतायलीलाम् ।
कलयितुमलसत्त्वाललम्बे
भवति दृढा मधुपायिनां क वृत्तिः ॥ १०,१४

'Having freely smelt the sighing breath of the ladies, which was pure and fragrant and which arose from weariness,) the bees (no longer) had (any desire for the wild flowers. Who having an intense passion cares for propriety'? VIII.' 10

'The bees eager for the fragrance emitted by the mouths of the married women became indifferent to the art of making their abode in beds of lotuses. Those who drink wine have no strength of purpose.' X, 14

XXII.

व्यसरन्तु भूधरगुहान्तरतः
पटलं बहिर्बहलपङ्कुरुचि
दिवसावसानपटुनस्तमसो
बहिरस्य चाधिकमभक्तगुहाः ॥ ९,१९

किमलम्बताम्बराविलग्नमग्रः

किमवर्धतोर्ध्वमवचीतलतः ।

विससार तिर्यगथ दिग्भ्य इति

प्रचुरीभवन्न निरधारि तमः । ९, २०

दिव इव निस्सृते गिरिनदीभ्य इवोच्छसिते-
र्भुव इव सम्भृतैः क्षितितलादिव चोल्लसितैः
जलधितलोर्मिवैरिव ककुभ इवोत्फलितैः
तिमिरकुलैरनीषदुदमेषि मसीमलिनैः ॥११,३०

'Did the mass of darkness, thick like mud, issue, at the close of day, out of the mouths of the mountain caves, or did it, arriving from the outer regions, establish itself there; did it suspend itself from the sky or shoot up from the surface of the earth; or did it proceed sideways from the quarters? Thus as the darkness gathered in, it became difficult to ascertain (where it came from).' IX. 19-20

'Masses of darkness, black as ink, appeared in great abundance, and it seemed as if they had issued forth from the sky or heaved up from the mountains and rivers or sprung up from the ground or shot up from the nether regions or burst forth from the surface of the ocean or had been wafted from the directions.' XI. 30

XXIII.

रजनीमवाप्य रुचमाप शशी

सपदि व्यभूषयदसावपि ताम्

आविलाम्बितकममहो महतः-

मितरेतरोपकारकृतिमच्चरितम् ९,३३

कृतोपकारे हि निवेशयन्ति

प्राणैरपि प्रत्युपकारमार्याः

तथा हि लब्ध्वा ऽभ्युदयं समुद्रा-

द्वीतृधत्तं यश्शभृत् स्वधाम्ना ॥ १२,१८

Kapphiṇābhyudaya XII, 18.

The moon, coming in contact with the Night, attained brightness and instantly adorned her (the night) as well. Oh, it is the demeanour of the great that they look to mutual good without any delay. IX. 33

'The noble return the good done to them even at the cost of their lives; therefore, the moon having got her glory from the ocean swelled it by her own lustre.' XII, 18

XXIV.

अकृत्वा हेलया पादमुच्चैर्मूर्धंसु विद्विषाम्
कषङ्कारमनालम्बा कीर्तिर्व्यामधिरोहति ।२,५२

'How can glory ascend the sky
unsupported without stepping
sportively on the lofty heads of
the enemies?' II, 52.

पलायमानं पुरुषं रक्तपङ्कप्लुते पाथि
अतिकोमलया गत्या कयं श्रीरनुयास्यति १७,३

H,ow can the Goddness of
Fortune, treading with soft step
in the road flooded with the
mire of blood, follow a person
who is taking to flight (from the
battlefieled).' XVIII.

Style of Śivasvāmin and his thought.

Śivasvāmin has shown his skill in his choice of language,
in his use of poetic imagery, in his mastery in using *double enten-
dre* and in his effective employment of word-figures. At times he
improves upon the idea expressed by his predecessors, especially
Māgha and Ratnākara (see the comparison), and in some cases
he brings into play his powers of concise expression and charm-
ing style to such an advantage that he even excels Ratnākara:

शोकं कोकाः कुमुदमलयः सान्द्रवाता दिगन्तान्

दीपावर्तीरभिमतभुजाभ्यन्तरं चाभिसर्यः ।

ज्योत्स्नाः काष्ठा निषदनमिना वर्हिणो वासयष्टी

व्योमापान्तास्तिमिरपटलीस्तुल्यमेव त्यजन्ति ॥ १५,२१

'The ruddy geese give up their sorrow, the bees the lotus
flowers, the moist breeze the ends of quarters, the lamps their
flames, the ladies the clasp of their lover's arms, the moonlight the

directions, the lords their homes, the peacocks their roosts, and the darkness the remote parts of the sky—all simultaneously (with the rising of the Sun)'.

The same idea is expressed by Ratnākara in ten stanzas in the Haravijaya, XXVIII, 108-118.

For conciseness we may quote :

दशनवसने लौहित्येन स्तने च तथोष्मणा

मधुपपटलीभूते धूमश्रिया कबरीभरे ।

स्रापि हृदये तासां ज्वालाकुलेर्दृष्टि कज्जले-

रिति परिणमन् कन्दर्पाग्निर्विभक्त इवाभवत् ॥ १४,२२

'The fire of love was, as it were, apportioned while being transformed—its redness was in the lip, its warmth in the breast, its smoke in the braid which was covered by bees, its flame in the heart, and its soot (in the form of collyrium) in the eye.'

समजानि न तत्प्रेम त्यक्तं यदीषदपीर्ष्यया

स्मरसुखसखी नासावीर्ष्या विना कलहेन या ।

न खलु कलहः सो ऽन्योन्यं यः प्रसादनवर्जितः

प्रसदगविधिनीसौ यूनो नै येन विलिल्यिरे ॥ १४,७

'There was no love engendered by young people which was untainted with jealousy howsoever small, and jealousy a friend of Kāma's mirth unaccompanied by bickerings was not genuine. These bickerings which lacked mutual conciliation did not serve their proper purpose, and that conciliation was useless which did not melt (the hearts of) young people.'

How close is the sequence of emotions in:

समाधित न या रागिद्वन्द्वं बभूव न सा सखी

न मदनवशे यावस्थातां न तावपि रागिणौ ।

मिथुनीमधुभिर्विव्याध क्रमेण न स स्मरो

न्यविशत न यन्मांसग्रन्थिनिविद्धमभूच्च तत् ॥ १४,४

'She who did not bring about the meeting of loving couples was not a true friend, and they were not true lovers who were not swayed by Kāma. He was not Kāma who did not pierce the couples with arrows and that was no piercing which did not enter into the vitals.'

The use of the word 'muhuḥ' in the following stanza adds force and beauty to the expression:—

मुहुरविशदा विश्रम्भार्द्रा मुहुः स्मृतमन्यवो

मुहुरसरलाः प्रेमप्रह्वा मुहुर्मुहुरस्थिरा

वितथशपथोपालम्भाज्ञा मुहुर्मधुरा मुहुः ।

परिखिवृधिरे निष्पर्यन्ता मिथो मधुरोक्तयः ॥ १४,१२

'Now indistinct, now moistened with confidence, now reminding of past bickerings, now cunning, now full of affection, now unsteady, now full of false oaths, promises, taunts and commands and again sweet—thus did the mutual pleasant talk prolong endlessly.'

His play of fancy ('utprekṣā') is clear from the following:—

चषकाभिमुखं यदा ननाम

प्रमदा भर्तरि भाषितान्यगोत्रे ।

प्रतिबिम्बपदेन जातलज्जा

मधुनीव प्रविवेश तेन नूनम् ॥ १३,३६

'When the young lady leaned on the goblet as her husband called out her rival's name, she was ashamed and seemed to enter the wine, indeed, by means of her reflection.'

रुरुचे चषकार्पिताननाया

युवतेरुत्पलषट्पदोऽग्रवर्ती ।

समदादिव निर्गतस्तदानीं

मनसो मानमयो महान्धकारः ॥ १३,२४

'The lotus-bee in front of the lady's face which was reflected, was like the darkness of pride which had come out of her heart that was full of exhiliration.'

The sunset causes a dismay in the heart of Cakravāka birds and the lotus ponds that were so gay and charming look dreary and desolate. Mark the pathos in the following:—

श्लथजलवेणयः पतति वारिणि तिग्मकरे

वपुरनमप्रभवदनाः शतपत्रभुवः ।

वियुतरथाङ्गनामपृथुपङ्कतिनिधूतिभिः

करतलपीडनाभिरिव जघ्नुरथ व्यथिताः ॥ ११, ६९

'The afflicted lotus ponds, with their listless watery braids and drooping lotus faces, smote their body with the palms of their hands as if with the flutterings of the separated 'Cakravāka' birds, when the Sun plunged into the water.'

स्फुरति तदेव मरन्दनविधौ मधुपायिकुलं

विकसति सैव सान्द्रमकरन्दरसोज्ज्वलता ।

अथ च गतेऽस्तमंशुमति नैव वमौ नलिनी

ध्रुवमनुपात एव दयितच्युतिरेताद्दशाम् ॥ ११,२४

'The same swarm of bees hovers round to decorate it and the transparent flower juice glitters as before, but lotus never did bloom when the Sun had set. For such persons separation from their beloved means death.'

हसितेन जितेव तर्जितेन

क्षयितेवोन्मथितेव निर्धुतेन ।

मधुपानमदेन मानिनीनां

मनसः क्वापि जगाम मानवृत्तिः ॥ १३,१८

' As if vanquished by jokes, weakened by taunts, shaken off by frolics, the pride of high-minded ladies disappeared somewhere from their heart,'

प्रतिमाहिमरश्मिरासवस्थः

परिपीतो हिमशीतलस्वभावः ।

कुरुते मम कम्पमेष शैत्या

दिवि मुग्धा मदघूर्णीनं विवेद ॥ १३,८

'The bashful lady thought that the shiver of intoxication was the result of the drinking in of the moon reflected in the wine, who, being naturally cool like snow, causes trembling on account of her coldness.'

Simple language combined with clearness of thought is seen in the use of *yad*:

यदानिष्ठितवस्तु यत्सहासं

यदकारडोद्धति यत्स्वभावमुग्धम् ।

यदसाधुपदं स्खलत्पदं यत्

तदुदेत क्षीबधियां नवं कथासु ॥ १३,१७

'Whatever was of unsteady purpose, ridiculous, irrelevant, naturally absurd, and out of etiquette, was found afresh in the talks of drunken ones.'

अलसं वचनं दृशो विलोलाः

स्थिरविश्रम्भरसानि चेष्टितानि ।

कलहे ऽपि रतिं व्यतन्वतासां

मैधुना सूपकृतं मनोभवस्य ॥१३,२०

'Lazy talk, tremulous eyes, and a behaviour full of confi-dence, were a source of pleasure even when they quarrelled. Wine rendered a great service to Kāma.'

The description of the rising of the moon is full of fine ideas put in graceful language (it will be found in the comparison with Ratnākara given elsewhere). At the same place will be found the description of the appearance of the masses of darkness which, when compared with the two verses from Māgha is more concise and effective.

चित्रैर्यस्य पतत्रिभिर्दशदिशोभ्रान्त्वा समेतैः सुखं

विश्रान्तं शयितं प्रभुक्तमुषितं स्कन्धे फलैः प्राश्रिते ।

तस्येवोन्मथितस्य दुष्टकरिणा मार्गद्रुमस्याधुना

कारीषाय कषन्ति शोषपरुषां गोपालबालास्त्वचम् ॥ सुभा. ८१०

' The dried hard bark of the wayside tree which has now been uprooted by a wretched elephant, (but formerly) on whose trunk laden with fruits various birds having roamed in ten quarters happily used to rest, sleep, eat and dwell together, is being peeled by the cowherd-maids to be used as fuel.'

गतो ऽस्तं घर्मांशुर्व्रजसहचरीनीडमधुना

सुखं भ्रातः सुप्याः सुजनचरितं वायस कृतम् ।

मयि स्नेहाद्बाष्पस्थगितनयनायामपघृणो

रुदत्यां यो यातस्त्वयि स विलपत्येष्यति कथम् ॥ सुभा० ११४०

' The Sun has set. Now go to the nest of your mate, brother, sleep well. Crow, enough of the conduct of that good fellow. How can that pitiless creature, who went away even when my eyes were obstructed by tears, which came out of affection, come at your bewailing ?'

मधुलिहः प्रविलोक्य हिमाहतां

परिचितामपि पङ्कजिनीं जहुः ।

क सुचिरं क्रियते मलिनात्मभिः

ध्रुवतरा बत रागमयी मतिः ॥८,९२

'The bees when they saw the lotus pond made desolate with snow forsook it even though (they were) so familiar (with it). Alas, where can the foul-minded people have a steady and enduring affectionate attitude?' Kapphiṇābhyudaya VIII, 52

Alliteration, when it adds force to expression and avoids the intricacies of meaning is very carefully employed in the eighth canto, where the last part of every verse is a 'yamaka:'

समुदिते सुरभौ पथिकाः पथि

स्थिरधृतिक्षति चुन्तुभिरे क्षणात् ।

यशभूतीव समीयुषि सिन्धत्रो

वितिमिरे तिमिरोचितवीचयः ॥ ८,९

'When the spring season set in, the travellers on their way losing their courage for a moment, were disturbed, just as at the rise of the bright moon the oceans become agitated with their waves disturbed by fish.' Kapphiṇābhyudaya VIII, 9

Some of the verses attributed to Śivāsvāmin in the Anthologies are written in the style of the Kapphiṇābhyudayam, viz.

भोक्तुं भङ्क्त्वा न भुङ्क्ते कुटिलविसलताकोटिमिन्दोर्वितर्कात्

ताराकायास्तृषार्तो न पिबति पयसः स्थूलबिन्दून्दलस्थान् ।

छायां सभ्रान्तसन्ध्येतलिकुलशबलां वेत्ति चाम्भोरुहाणां

कान्ताविश्लेषभारार्दैनमपि रजनीं मन्यते चक्रवाकः ॥ सुभा० १८२६

'The 'cakravāka' bird having broken it to eat, does not eat the crooked bit of lotus-stalk, thinking it to be the moon. It does not drink, even though thirsty, the big drops of water looking like stars on the lotus leaves. It takes the lustre of the lotuses dappled by bees to be the twilight accompanied by darkness,

(Thus) overtaken by the cowardice of separation from its beloved it thinks even the day to be night.'

या बिम्बोष्ठरुचिन विद्रुममणिः स्वप्नेऽपि तां दृष्ट्वान्

हासश्रीः मुट्यस्तपोभिरपि किं मुक्ताफलैः प्राप्यते ।

तत्कान्तिः शतशोऽपि वह्निपतनेहेंम्नः कुतः सेत्स्यति

त्यक्ता रत्नमयीं प्रयासि दयितां कस्मै धनायाध्वग ॥ सुभा० १०९१

'That gleam of lips was never even dreamt of by the 'vidruma' jewel. Can that lustre of laughter of the beautiful-eyed one be obtained by pearls even by penances? Whence can that loveliness be achieved by gold even by falling into fire a hundred times? Leaving your beloved who is so rich in jewels, for what riches, O traveller, are you journeying?'

His fondness for using terms from dramaturgy in *double entendre* is clear from several stanzas (See the list of allusions) in the poem and the verse in Kṣemendrā's Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇam which he attributes to Śivāsvāmin is a proof of the same tendency. For example, KKBH V, 1.

आतन्वन् सरसां स्वरूपरंचनामानन्दिविन्दूदयं

भावग्राहि शुभप्रवेशकगुणं गम्भीरगर्भस्थिति ।

उच्चैर्वृत्तिसपुष्करव्यातिकरं संसारविष्कम्भकं

भिद्यान्वो भरतस्य भाषितमिव ध्वान्तं पयोयामुनम् ॥

'May the waters of the Yamunā displaying a delightful appearance, being a collection of pleasant drops, captivating the feelings, possessing the virtue of auspiciousness for those who bathe in it, having a deep solemn flow and a strong current, having clusters of lotuses, and being a means of putting a stop to the cycle of rebirths, destroy the darkness of your ignorance, like the words of Bharata which manifest their form full of Rasas (sentiments), show the development of Bindu (germ),

are possessed of **Bhāva** (emotion), have the merit of a good **Praveśaka** (Interlude), contain a profound **garbhasandhi** (middle juncture), have a lofty vṛtti (style), are pervaded by **Puṣkara** (the art of dancing), and abound in **Viṣkambhakas** (a variety of interludes)'.

Compare Kapphiṇābhy, XIII, 40:—

अग्रे त्रिकोणानिभृतप्रणयाद्विवाक्य-
पुष्पाञ्जलिः सरसविभ्रमसूत्रधारः ।
प्रस्तावनां दयितसन्धिरसैः शिवस्य
वृद्धि व्यधत्त रमणारतिनाटकस्य ॥

'The stage manager in the guise of delightful amorous sport, scattering in the beginning, the handful of flowers in the form of quiet loveful conversation and with the Emotion caused by the union of the lovers, accomplished his prologue to the auspicious drama of erotic pleasures of the young ladies'.

It is sometimes suggested that *double entendre* and word play in Sanskrit poetry takes away much of the charm in kāvya-style. No doubt it is by no means easy to understand such pieces. But they bring out the richness of the language and the skill of the poet to mould the material in different metres. The citra kāvya was developed with the art of arraying the armies in different forms in the battlefield. Moreover, high class of sanskrit poetry, which is often called 'artificial' was written for the Society who could appreciate such niceties and had the time to indulge in such intellectual pleasures. Sanskrit poets gave the word puzzles a poetic garb which made them more interesting and charming.

Four examples of *double entendre* are given below:—

द्विपदी पदतालयोगभाजः
सहसारंगवराहरासभाजः ।
दधते रमसा विलासशोभां
सम्मेषोऽद्रिरिमा नटस्त्रियश्च ॥ ६,१५

'This mountain and the actresses distinctly look graceful—
this mountain rich in animals such as antilopes, boars, and asses
and goats; and the actresses, who are smiling, are captivating,
are skilled in providing amusement, and are adept in singing
'dvīpadīs' to the accompaniment of their dance.'

अचल एष चकास्ति सुरश्रिया

कुररकासाकाराततयानया

जगति कुञ्जभुवास्य विराजितं

कुररकीसाकिराततयानया

'This mountain shines with the glory of gods, it is rich in
ospreys, apes and hogs, and its grove shines with its path covered
with the 'kurara', 'kīsa', and 'kirāta' plants'.

The stanza I, 23 (Kapphiṇābhy) can be taken to mean the
epithets of Kapphiṇa, Śiva and a mountain, viz.

तस्यामहानिकटकस्फुटवीरभद्र-

सम्पृक्तशक्तिमहिमामितभूतियोमी

भूभृद्बभूव बहुदर्शनभोग्यमूर्ति:

श्रीकाप्फिणप्रभुर्विन्दुकलवचूडः ॥

'In that city reigned king Kapphiṇa who had (an emblem
like) the digit of the moon on his crest, who was of immeasurable
glory on account of the unrivalled superiority of the united
valour of the distinguished heroes of his famous metropolis,
whose presence was worthy of enjoyment (even) in (spite of)
repeated visits; who resembled a mountain of enjoyable form,
which is crested with Indukalā plants, which is possessed of
abundant lustre that springs from the luxuriant 'vīrabhadra'
grass growing on its formidable ridges; and who was like
Śiva who has the lord of serpents for his bracelet, who
has the digit of the moon for his crest, who has an efficient
array of 'gaṇas', and whose form is worthy of enjoyment'
even in many visits, and who is possessed of unlimited glory on
account of the valour of Vīrabhadra.'

प्रकृतिविकृतिभाजो भंगुरांगस्य भूयः
उल्लगातिषु सहिध्यांवैरिवर्गाकुलस्य
ऽततामिति शरीरस्येव राज्यस्य राजन्
फलमिह परलोकोद्धारशुद्धेः किमन्यत् । ४ । २४ ।

'O king, what can be the perpetual reward of a kingdom, whose constituents are subject to change and alterations of the 'prakṛtis', which suffers from movements of conspiracies and which is disturbed by enemies, other than the glory which comes from the capture of an enemy's country; just as in the case of the body whose limbs are perishable, which is subject to the alterations of elements, which is disturbed by passions and which endures all the trickeries of delusion, there can be no better reward than its purification and betterment for life in the next world.'

The poem abounds in *double entendre* and magnificent descriptions. A list of stazas containing play on words will show its richness in that branch. The figure of corroboration is illustrated by the list of maxims and sayings.

Thus, Śiva-svāmin has tried to give expression to his feelings regarding the life at court of the time he lived in. Saturated with the traditional ideals of writing a 'mahākāvya,' he has described all that was required in such a poem. But the didactic character of his 'mahākāvya' is evident from the finish of his poem.

In his conception of kingly duties, and in his description of a kingdom's prosperity, he conforms merely to the classic ideals laid down by the long line of Hindu law-givers. But singularly enough in the final message to the world, which he puts in the mouth of the Buddha, he reflects, as though in a mirror, the developing tendency of the period to attempt a compromise between Buddhism and orthodox Hinduism. To a Buddhist, the ideal existence is that of a monk who by following the eightfold path is qualifying for the final struggle to break the bonds of the birth-cycle. According to this conception of monastic life, therefore, nothing could have been more calculated to bring eternal glory and 'nirvāṇa' to king

Kapphiṇa than the change of kingly attire for the mean garb of a Bhikṣu. But the Poet's Buddha is the final link in the chain of Avatars and what could have been more appropriate for him than to end with the message of his predecessor Śrī Kṛṣṇa, and to exhort King Kapphiṇa to serve the Buddha, the Dharma and the Sangha best by discharging his own regal duties according to the law of Dharma ? We, therefore, find in this poem the treatment of a tendency which found its final expression in another fellow-Kāshmīrī Kṣemendra in his Daśāvatāracarita.

His Language And Metre.

In the use of language Śivasvāmin is by no means less important than Māgha and Ratnākara. His fondness to coin new words such as 'āśāvallī' and 'digvallī' for 'kalpalatā', 'harigopikā' for 'indragopikā' ; his use of rare feminine words like 'svādanā; 'sambhāṣaṇā', 'iṣu', 'sarasi', 'ṣaṭpadi', 'kadyā', 'prasunnā', 'paṭalī', 'kalaśi', 'kalasī', garjā', 'rujā', 'murajā, his employment of rare words like 'akathaṃkatha', 'ahamahamikā 'ārāhka', 'ukhā', 'rama', all these are evidence of the richness of his vocabulary and mark him out to be a literary artist of great eminence who experimented with new material and made use of the choicest and rarest forms of expression. He has made a profuse use of Aorists in the Ninth Canto, of Past Perfect forms in the Fourteenth, and of desideratives and denominatives like his fellow writers of Mahākāvyas. The shortening of the long vowel in 'prasūkā' to 'prasukā' (VII,10); and the lengthening of the initial' in 'akasmāt' to 'ākasmāt' (XX,20) are departures from the strict rules of Sanskrit Vyākaraṇa and are introduced to comply with the adjustment of metre.

In his Mahākāvya, Śivasvāmin has throughout, made a very apt choice of the style (rīti) to confirm to the sentiment (rasa), and by that harmony imbues the reader with an appeal and charm of his own. In the first five cantos wherein he describes

the scenes in the court of a king attended by chieftains whose enthusiasm is at its height in anticipation of a war, he employs 'ojoguṇa' in the service of 'vīrarasa'. In the descriptive portion of the poem (VI—XV) he takes us away from the main theme of the poem and uses the 'vaidarbhīrīti', whose chief qualities, perspicuity, grace, and elevation are best noticeable in his description of the seasons, the rising of the moon, and the Dawn.

Again in the description of the battle scenes he employs long compounds, hyperbolic expressions, and words which lack sweetness, all these being the qualities of 'gauḍi rīti'.

In the closing canto of his poem he has 'mādhurya' (sweetness), 'kānti' (grace) and 'prasāda' (vivacity), which agree with the sublime and tranquillizing influence of the Buddha who is introduced there.

Taking the poem as a whole if we could ignore the 'citrakāvya', which according to Mammaṭa does not constitute poetry of the highest order, Śivasvāmin's achievement as a Mahākavi does in no way fall short of the ideals of a true Sanskrit poet.

Śivasvāmin has used thirty eight metres in his poem, but he surpasses Bhāravi and Māgha in employing thirty-four metres where they could only use sixteen and twenty-two in the corresponding cantos of their poems.

Metres [1] used by Śivasvāmin.

1.	Anuṣṭubh.	— 160
2.	Upendravajrā	— 9
3.	Indravajrā	— 6
4.	Upajāti	— 46

(1) See on Metre the following books:—
1. H. T. Colebrooke, Miscellaneous Essays, Vol II, p. 62 ff.
2. A. Borooah, Sanskrit Prosody (especially for the use of metre in Sanskrit Epic Poems).

5.	Svāgatā	—	46
6.	Śālinī	—	40
7.	Rathoddhatā	—	1
8.	Vaṃśastha	—	55
9.	Indravaṃśā.	—	1
10.	Drutavilambita	—	61
11.	Pramitākṣara	—	2
12.	Cancalākṣikā	—	1
13.	Sragviṇī	—	1
14.	Toṭaka	—	1
15.	Praharṣiṇī	—	43
16.	Mattamayūrī	—	41
17.	Rucirā	—	40
18.	Mañjubhāṣiṇī	—	1
19.	Vasantatilakaṃ	—	65
20.	Kurarīrutā	—	1
21.	Pathyā	—	2
22.	Mālinī	—	49
23.	Śaśikalā	—	1
24.	Tūṇaka	—	1
25.	Vāṇinī	—	1
26.	Nardaṭakaṃ	—	37
27.	Hāriṇī	—	40
28.	Mandākrāntā	—	34
29.	Śikhariṇī	—	1
30.	Vaṃśapatrapatita	—	1
31.	Śārdū'avikrīḍita	—	8
32.	Sragdharā	—	11
33.	Aśvalalita	—	1
34.	Viyoginī	—	50
35.	Puṣpitāgrā	—	39
36.	Mālabhāriṇī	—	41
37.	Śikhā	—	2
38.	Āryā	—	42
39.	Doubtful	—	11
	Total	—	933

Pratikas (1) of quotations from the Kapphinabhyudaya and of Stanzas Attributed to Śivasvamin.

1.   अत्यायतेनियमकारिभिरुद्धतानाम्
    Kapphiṇābhy. I, 24. Kāvya IV, 38. S. R. B. p. 110.

2.   आतन्वन् सरसां स्वरूपरचनाम्
    Kkbh. V, 1.

3.   अद्यत्वावधि शिशिढ शिशिढ
    KKbh. IV, 1.

4   आबिभ्रती बभ्र बभौ नतभ्र:
    Kapph nābhy. XII, 29; Ṭīkā. II, 381.

5.   उत्खातप्रखरां सुखासुखसखीं
    KKbh. IV, 1.

6.   उल्लापयन्त्या दयितस्य दूतीम्
    Kapphiṇābhy. XII, 27; Sbhv. 1416.

7.   उल्लास्य कालकरवालनवाम्बुवाहं
    Kapphiṇābhy. I, 24; Kāvya. X, 39. S. R. B. p. 139,

8.   किमुपरिगता भर्त्रा तप्तद्विलोहवदकेता
    Kapphiṇābhy. XIV, 29; Sbhv. 2099.

9.   गतोऽस्तं घर्मांशु:
    Sbhv. 1140.

10   गुणमयोऽपि सदोष इव काचित्
13   Kapphiṇābhy. VII, 30; Sbhv. 1756.

11.   चित्रेर्यस्य पतत्रिभिर्दशदिशो
    Sbhv. 810.

12.   जवनिकावनिकान्तकृता तदा
    Kapphiṇābhy. VII, 26. Pada, ii, 6, 3, 32.
    तेजोराशौ भुवनजलधे:
    Skm. ii, 713.

14.   दृशा सपदि मीलितम्
    Sbhv. 2097.

15.   दर्पकाश्मकभूपालौ
    Ṭīkā I, 19 where its source is given as the Kapphiṇābhy. (Not yet identified).

16.   दर्पान्धगन्धगजकुम्भकवाठकूट

    Kapphiṇābhy. I, 37. Kāvya IV, 39. S. R. B. p. 129.

17.   नवनमेरुफलावलिरावमी

    Kapphiṇābhy. VIII, 53; Ṭīkā II, 257.

18.   नवकदम्बकदम्बकसन्तत

    Kapphiṇābhy. VIII, 36. Ṭīkā, IV, 29.

19.   निर्मार्ष्ट्यसौ नीतिमयेन हेतिना

    Kapphiṇābhy. II, 38. Ṭīkā IV, 98.

20.   नेश्रा वेगं मृदुतनुः

    Sbhv. 2107.

2 1.   पित्रापि त्रायते या न खलु

    Kkbh. IV, 1.

22.   प्रसभमित्राङ्दीव्हुलामहेला

    Kapphiṇābhy. X, 11; Pada ii, 6, 1, 2; footnote in Vyākh-
    yāsudhā, under 'mahelā'.

23.   प्रेयन्तेऽस्मी परमररयो हर्म्येवातायनानाम्

    Kapphiṇābhy. XV, 13; Ṭīkā, II, 39; Pada ii, 2, 17.
    Footnote in Vyākhyāsudhā under 'arari'.

24.   फलमलघु किं लीलावल्त्याः

    Kapphiṇābhy. XIV, 37. Skm. ii, 628.

25.   भद्रात्मनो दुरधिरोहतनुर्विशाल

    Kapphiṇā I, 38. Kavya II, 29. S. B. B. p. 109.

26.   मोक्तुं भङ्क्त्वा न भुङ्क्ते

    Sbhv. 1826.

27.   मानिनः कुलवधूरिव रागात्

    Kapphiṇābhy. XVII, 26. Ṭīkā I, 39; Subhūtī.

28.   मायातश्च्युतिमायातः

    Kapphiṇābhy. XVIII, 58; Ṭīkā I, 51.

29.   मुक्ताभानि पयांसि

    Sbhv. 710.

    (1) See also Kavīndravacanasamuccaya pp. 111—113 for
further details regarding other anthologies,

30. यत्रालसप्रक्रमसारसाला

Kapphiṇābhy. VI, 6; Ṭīkā IV, 176; where it is read prabhārasa.

31. रवाबद्धा

Kapphiṇābhy. XIX, 14; Ṭīkā IV, 163; Pada, iii, 4, 12; footnote to Vyākhasudhā under addhā.

32. रूचं विरोति परिकुप्यति

Sbhv. 438.

33. वदननिहिते ताम्बूलांशे

Kapphiṇābhy. XIV, 14; Sbhv. 2098.

34. व्यसनमचलं यत्राचार्यो

Kapphiṇābhy. XIV, 15; Sbhv. 15.

35. वदनशशिनः स्पर्शे

Kapphiṇābhy. XIV, 33; Sbhv. 2101.

36. समज्ञे न तद्भेम

Kapphiṇābhy. XIV, 7; Sbhv. 2062.

37. स धूर्जटिजटाजूटो

Subhāṣíta Harāvalī*. The authorship is disputed. See the Kavindravacanasamuccaya.

38. सेवावाशिशिश्वावोस

Kapphiṇābhy. XVIII, 38; Ṭīkā I, 132; Manōramā of Ramānathrai p. 176.

Among the above quotations those in Kāvya Prakāsh viz.

(1) भत्यायते नियमकारिभहृद्रतान (7) स्लास्यकालकरवालनवाम्बुवाहं

(16) दपान्वगन्धगजकुम्भकवाटकूटउ (25) भिद्रात्मना दुरधिरोहितनुर्विशाल

have been first traced by me. In सदुक्तिकर्णामृत
ii, 628, is found in Kapphinābhyndaya XIV, 37.

Buddhist Names And Terms Occurring in The Text.

1. Avadāna I. 2.   A legend of glorious achievement.

2. Anātmavattā XX, 17.   The theory that 'ātman' does not exist separately.

3. Āryasatyaṃ VI, 65; XX, 27. The four truths.

4. Āsrava VI,69. 'Subtle defiling matter'.
5. Arhatva VI,65, The State of being an Arhat.
6. Buddha VI,46; XVIII,80; XX,27. The Enlightened.

7. Bodhi I,1; VI,69; Wisdom, perfect knowledge.
8. Bhartṛ, XX. 20; The Buddha.
9. Bhūmi XX,16; The ten stages of attaining 'nirvāṇa'.

10. Bhikṣubhāva XX, 23. The state of being a Buddhist Monk.

11. Caitya XVI, 10; A Buddhist Sanctuary.
12. Daśabala I,1; The ten powers possessed by the Buddha. (See Acta Orientalia Vol. IX, p. 260.

13. Dharma XVI, 2; XX, 15,27 Doctrine.

14. Dṛṣṭi XX,18. Intuition.
15. Duḥkha XX, 14, 15. Suffering.
16. Dhyāna VI,65. Concentrated Comtemplation.
17. Dhātu VI,65. Elements.
18. Hetumālā XX, 15. The Chain of causal Laws also known 'pratītyasamut-pāda'

19. Jina VI,23; XVIII,76. The Buddha.
20. Māra XVI, 7. Temptation.
21. Mukti XX, 18. Salvation.
22. Maitrī XX, 29. Friendliness, one of the Pāramitās, 'Perfections'.

23. Mokṣa XVI, 4, 10. Emancipation.
24. Nirvāṇa XVIII, 76; XX, 13. Extinction of all suffering.

25.	Nirodha XX, 15.	Extinction; one of the four noble truths.
26.	Pratihārī, XVIII, 79;	One who performs miracles.
27.	Prātihārya XVIII, 80; XX,3.	A miracle.
28.	Prātisaṃhārya XVIII, 77.	One who performs miracles.
29.	Ratnatraya XX, 26.	The three jewels—The Buddha, the Dharma, the Sangha.
30.	Rāga XX, 18.	Attachment.
31.	Saṃskāra XX, 25.	One of the five 'skandhas'.
32.	Svāmī XX, 23½.	The Buddha.
33.	Śāstṛ XX, 19; XX, 33.	The Buddha
34.	Sugata XVI, 10; XX, 3.	The Buddha.
35.	Saṃgha VI, 46; XX, 27.	The Order.
36.	Sparśa XX, 14.	Sensation.
37.	Saṃvid VI, 65.	Knowledge.
38.	Ṣaḍabhijña VI, 65.	The one possessed of six psychic powers.
39.	Upādāna XX, 14.	Substratum.
40.	Vedanā XX, 14.	One of the Skandhas.
41.	Vihāra XVI, 10.	A Monastery.

Note.—Śivasvāmin has not used any special terms which could distinctly relate him to any school of Buddhism in Kaśmīra, but has shown his knowledge of the Bauddha philosophy. For full discussion on these terms see—

   i. The Conception of Buddhist Nirvāna by Stcherbatsky 1927.

   ii. The Bodhisattva doctrine by Haradayal, 1932.

   iii. Outlines of Mahāyāna Buddhism by Suzuki, 1907.

Important Paurānic Epic, Tāntric, and other allusions in the poem.

1. Astronomical terms, VIII, 55; XII, 14; XIV, 2.
2. Agastya drinking the ocean, XVIII, 50.
3. Balarāma and Yamunā, I, 27.

SOME OF THE MAXIMS AND SAYINGS IN THE POEM.

1. प्रभुष्वियं सानृशातानुजीविनां भवन्ति यद्वस्तुषु तत्त्वेविदिनः २,२

   'This is the return of servants' indebtedness to their masters that they ascertain the essence of things that concern them.'

2. भवन्ति ते भाजनमर्थसंपदां

   विदन्ति ये भृत्यजनानुरञ्जनम् ॥ २,२०

   'They become the recipients of wealth and fortune who know how to please their servants.'

3. रहोहि तद्यत्र न सन्त्यसंस्तुताः २,२४

   'That is a place for privacy where there are no strangers.'

4. त्रिपत्तयो ह्युत्तरपारिडतं नरं

   त्यजन्ति सिंहं हरिणाङ्गना इव ॥ २,३४

   'Miseries leave alone a man who has foresight just as female deer keep away from the lion.'

5. असहनसहवृद्धोत्साहसेकान्तकान्ता

   व्रजति नहि नृपश्रीदांघता दीर्घसूत्रे ॥ ४,२३

   'Glory of a king fostered in the company of intolerance and cherished solely by courage does not last long when he procrastinates.'

6. द्विममयमयोहि प्राज्यतेजोऽभिषञ्जत्

   विघटितकार्ठिनत्वं याति कर्मगयभावम् ॥ ४,६८

   'A piece of iron when its hardness has been overcome by the appliance of intense heat becomes serviceable.'

7. किमपि बलमलंघ्यं पश्य तेजस्वितायाः ॥ ४,३३

   'Behold what an unsurpassable power glory has.'

8. उपधित्रयशुद्धितो ऽस्य किं

   कनकस्येव परं परीचवक्रम् ५,१६

'What further testing of gold is required when it has been thrice purified.'

9.　　न हि जातु भवन्ति मङ्गुरा

मतिभूयस्त्वाबिवेकिताश्रियः ॥ ५,१९

'The glory of prudence and wisdom never perishes.'

10.　　न हि नैति विपत्तिबन्धुतां

निपुणामात्य परिष्कृतो नृपः । ५,२०

'A king who is surrounded by clever Ministers never courts disaster.'

11.　　स सखा सुखदुःखयोः समः ।५,२१

'He is the friend who remains the same in grief and happiness.'

12.　　विजयस्य परं पदं नयः । ५,२४

'Policy is an excellent means of victory.'

13.　　वहनाय मनो महीयसां

युगपत् क्रोधातितिश्चियोः क्षमम् । ५,२७

'Only the mind of the great is able to contain simultaneously both anger and forbearance.'

14.　　इयमुज्ज्वलतानुजीविनः

समये संस्मृतिमेति यत्प्रभोः । ५,४८

'It is the glory of the servant to be remembered by his master at the proper time.'

15.　　प्रेम्णां फलं खलु परस्पररम्यगोष्ठी । ५,५०

'The fruit of affection, indeed, is mutual delightful talk.'

16.　　तत्सौन्दर्यं साधुगुणाकृष्टमतीनां

तृप्यत्युबर्येन रुचिः शंसिजनानाम् ७,१८

'That is beauty which can satisfy the taste of worthy people whose minds are attracted by good qualities'.

17.　　सारः सतां सततमेष सुजन्मलाभो

यत्सत्क्रियां प्रकटयन्ति गृहागतानाम् ७,३८

'The real object and the benefit of the birth of good people is that they always show hospitality to those who come to their houses'.

18.   गुणमयोऽपि सदोष इव

कञ्चित् । ८,३०

'Even the meritorious become ignoble in certain cases'.

19.   क सुचिरं क्रियते मालिनात्ममिः

ध्रुवतरा बत रागमयी मतिः ८,९२

'Alas, where can foul-minded people have constant affection for a long time'.

20.   सतां मनस्तु परसुखोपकारकृत , ९,१२

'The mind of the great always looks to the happiness and welfare of others'.

21.   स्तूयन्ति के क्षयविभवं कर्मार्थिनः ९,३६

'What supplicants approach a person whose glory is gone'.

22.   भवति दृढा मधुपायिनां क वृत्तिः १०,१४

'Those who drink wine have no strength of purpose'.

23.   किमिव हि दुष्करमस्ति रागवृत्तेः । १०,१८

'What is there which is beyond the achievement of the passionate'.

24.   द्विपदपिकुत्रचिदाह्तन् फलाग्रयम् । १०,२१

'Even calamity at certain times may bring about the best of results'.

25.   तनुरपि विषमं तनोति तापं

समुपचितप्रणयस्य खण्डनांशः । १०,२२

'Even the slightest breach of a long-standing affection causes accute affliction'.

26.   जनयति हि किमप्यनल्पमोजः

दृढतरभावकृतः प्रियप्रसादः, १०,२४

'A present from one's lover offered with great affection produces intense enthusiasm'.

27.   फलमभिवाञ्छितनुयदभावि हि भव्यधियाम् ॥ ११,१

'The good-intentioned have their aspiration closely
followed by its achievement'.

28.   बत दुरतिक्रमा कृतधियामपि कालगति: ॥११,९

'Oh, even for those who have mastered themselves it is
difficult to transgress the course of time'.

29.   न हि महतां क्षयेऽपि गुणगौरवमेति हतिम् ॥११ १८

'The grandeur of merits does not decrease even when the
great people suffer decline'.

30.   समागम: कस्य सतां न भूत्यै ॥१२ ४

'To whom does the company of the noble not bring
prosperity'.

31.   कृतोपकारे हि निवेशयन्ति,
प्राणैरपि प्रत्युपकारमार्या: ॥१२ १८

'The noble return their obligations even at the expense
of their lives'.

32.   सह्यान्तराया न हि रागवृत्ति: ॥१२ ३७

'Affection does not tolerate any impediment'.

33.   तदेव हि प्रेम स एव रागो
न स्थायितां यत्र बिभर्ति कोप: ॥१२,४१

'That is true love, that is real affection, where anger does
not last long'.

34.   दधते के न गुणेषु पक्षपातम् ॥१३,३०

'Who do not side with virtue'.

35.   फलति सुधियां पात्रन्यस्त: सहस्रगुणं विधि: ॥१४ २१

'Instruction imparted by the wise to a deserving person
produces thousandfold results'.

36.   अन्त:शून्यादपि हि सुमुखे बेधसि स्यात् फलश्री: ॥१६ ९

'When fortune is favourable one may get good results even from one who is hollow (meritless) within'.

37. दारितादि स्तृणस्तम्ने दन्तं न्यस्यति न द्विपः॥ १६,२१

'An elephant who has uprooted mountains will not lower his tusk for a blade of grass'.

38. न बलायोऽभिभूतस्य त्राणायात्मभुवोऽप्यलम् ॥ १६,३६

'One vanquished by the stronger cannot be saved even by his own kinsmen'.

39. अहो विवृतसाङ्कर्या दुर्मेया श्चित्तवृत्तयः ॥ १६,४१

'Oh, the tendencies of one's mind, the complications of which are concealed, cannot be fathomed'.

40. आपि यत्नप्रमृष्टस्य मलमन्तरमनुज्भतः ।
ताम्रस्येव खलोक्तस्य श्यामिका लक्षते पुरा । १६,४२

'The vile speech of a wicked person shows its foulness without yielding its inherent impurity though polished with effort, just as copper even though brushed shows black stains'.

41. ईर्ष्यामलं खलेष्वास्ते विषमाशीविषेष्विव ॥ १६,४४

'The wicked have foulness of envy just as serpents have venom'.

42. विडम्बनेव पुंसि श्रीः परप्रणतिपांसुले
कान्ति कामपि कुर्वीत कूणैः कटककल्पना । १६,५०

'The glory of a person who is soiled with 'dust by paying homage to others is a mockery. Bracelets do not adorn a person who is armless'.

43. किमोज: सत्यभाषित्वं कःस्वार्थो धर्मसंग्रहः
किं शाठ्यं हतकृतत्वं का श्रीर्दीनान्नतनृणाम् ॥१६,५१

'What is magnanimity but telling the truth;
What is selfishness but amassing virtue;
What is wickedness but ingratitude;
And what is (true) renown but the uplift of the poor'.

44. पलायमान पुरमं रक्तपङ्कानुते पथि ।

श्रतिकोमलया गत्या कथं श्रीरनुयास्यति ॥ १८,३७

'How can the goddess of glory follow a person who is running away (from the battlefield) as she walks with soft steps on the road covered with the mire of blood'.

45. स जीवति रुषा यस्य द्विषन्दग्धो न जीवति ।

पलायते यस्तद्भीतो लक्ष्मीस्तस्मात् पलायते ॥ १८,३२

'He alone lives whose enemy cannot survive when burnt with his anger and he who runs away in dread of him (the enemy) is forsaken by the Goddess of Glory'.

46. श्रायातीह प्राप्तकाला हि सिद्धि: ॥ २०,२४

'Even Success comes as the proper time for it arrives'.

An alphabetical list of proper names[1] mentioned in the poem.

1. Aja, XVI, 80.
2. Anu, XVI, 85; XVIII, 5.
3. Ambariṣa, III, 22; IV, 43.
4. Aśmaka, V, 33; XVI, 67.
5. Ākṛti, V, 4.
6. Āndhra, III, 17; IV, 22.
7. Babhru, III, 32; IV, 43; XVIII, 19.
8. Bala, III, 8; IV, 22; V, 2, 35; XVI, 76.
9. Bhaṭṭācārya, XX, 36; Father of Śivasvāmin.
10. Bhīma, III, 19; V, 12; XVIII, 25.
11. Bhīṣma, III, 15.

1. Most of the names of the Kings occurring in this poem can be traced in the Mahābhārata and other Purānas.

See (i) Ancient Indian Historical Tradition by Pargiter.
(ii) Index to the Names in the Mahābhārata by Sörensen.

12. Bhīṣmaka, III, 14; V, 8; XVIII, 21.

13. Bhūridhāman, III, 10; V, 8; XVIII, 21.

14. Candramitra XX, 35, The Buddhist preceptor of Śivāsvāmin.

15. Danta-cakra-or-vaktra, III, 37.

16. Darśaka, III, 3; V. 46; XVI, 1, 40, 54, 64; XVII, 1.

17. Dākṣiṇātya, XVIII, 43; XX, 19. Kapphiṇa.

18. Druma, V, 35.

19. Dṛḍhadhanuṣ, III, 21; IV, 21. Cf. dṛḍharatha, daśaratha.

20. Duḥṣeṇa, III, 42, cf. Pṛthuṣeṇa.

21. Dhuhdhu, XVI, 83.

22. Gada, III, 33; IV, 22; V, 7.

23. Indu, III, 25; IV, 22; YVI, 74.

24. Jiṣṇu, III, 7, 30; IV, 43.

25. Kapphiṇa, I, 23; II, 18; XVI, 60; XVII, 1, 13; XVIII, 80.

26. Karandhama, III, 36; V, 9; XVIII, 23.

27. Kadambaka, XVI, 79.

28. Kandu, XVII, 7.

29. Kirmīra, III, 16; IV, 22.

30. Kukura, XVI, 68; XVIII, 10.

31. Kaṅka, IV, 22.

32. Kauravya, III, 40.

33. Kośala, XVIII, 39. ⎫
34. Kośaleśvara, XVIII, 39. ⎬ Prasenajit.
    Kauśala, II, 31.   ⎪
    Kosalādhipa, XVIII, 71. ⎭

35. Kṛpa, IV, 22.

36. Mada, XVII, 9.

37. Madraka, V, 35; XVI, 75; XVIII, 19.
38. Manu, XVI, 81.
39. Mucukunda, XVI, 70.
40. Nala, III, 26; IV, 202; V, 10.
41. Narmadā, I, 22.
42. Niṣāda, V, 34; XVI, 69.
43. Pavana or Yavana, IV, 22, 43; V, 5.
44. Pāṇḍya, III, 11; IV, 22, 43; XVIII, 16.
45. Pāṇḍu, XVIII, 16.
46. Prasāda, XVI, 72.
47. Pradyota, III, 31; IV, 43.
48. Protha, III, 34; IV, 22, 43; XVIII, 7.
49. Prasenajit, II, 32; V, 31; XVI, 1, 14, 40; XVIII,
    35. 79.
50. Pṛthudhvaja, III, 29.
51. Raghu, XVI, 66; XVIII, 6.
52. Rukmin, III, 38; V, 11.
53. Ruru, XVI, 84; XVIII, 6.
54. Revā, I, 42.
55. Sahadeva, XVI, 71.
56. Samudra, III, 20.
57. Subandhu, III, 6.
58. Subāhu, III, 2; IV, 6, 41.
59. Suketu, III, 13.
60. Sura, XVI, 77.
61. Surandhra, V, 35; XVI, 73; XVIII, 4.
62. Surāṣṭr, III, 12; IV, 22.
63. Suśarman, III, 9; IV, 20; V, 3.
64. Sauvīra, V, 35.
65. Sauvīramalla, XVI, 78.
66. Sauvalka, III, 39.
67. Śatadhanuṣ, IV, 43.

68. Śatadhvaja, III, 24; V, 6.

69. Śrāvastī, II, 32, 52.

70. Śruta, V, 35; XVI, 82.

71. Śiva, XVI, 76.

72. Śivasvāmin, XX, 38.

73. Śri Śivasvāmin, XX, 36.

74. Śālva, III, 28.

75. Śabara, XVI, 47. Kapphiṇa.

76. Utkala, III, 18.

77. Ugrasena, III, 25.

78. Vindhya, I, 2.

79. Vyādha, XVIII, 42, Kapphiṇa.

80. Vasudeva, V, 35.

81. Yugandhara, XVIII, 18.

The Śabdālaṇkāras[1] used in the Kapphiṇābhyudayadaṃ.

1. Yamakas.

    (i) *Vyapeta and avyapeta.*

	VI.	2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 12, 14, 20, 38, 38, 42, 44, 50, 58, 64, 74, 78, 84.	=20
	VIII.	1—59.	—59
	XVIII.	1, 5, 7, 10, 14, 15, 18, 21 24, 29, 65, 72, 75, 77.	=14
(ii) Samudga.	VI.	16, 18, 22, 24, 26, 28, 30, 32, 34, 36, 40, 46, 48, 52, 54, 56, 60, 62, 66, 68—73.	=25

1. See Kāvyādarśa, Chapter III.

CONCLUSION.

The reconstructed Text is based mainly on the readings of M_2 but where P_2, p_2, and P_3 have furnished better readings a full consideration is given to them. Very few occasions have arisen where emendations were felt a necessity, but every attempt has been made as far as possible to avoid them.

Having gathered together all this information about this Mahākāvya and pursued all this study into the salient points regarding its language, thought, theme, and style, it seems strange that such a poem should have remained comparatively obscure. Although it had the distinction of being quoted and referred to in anthologies and other works it has not, so far, been commented upon. The plausible reason for this seems to be that the Brahmanic Literary Society ignored its importance under the mistaken belief that it celebrated the triumph of a non-Brahmanic faith. It has already been shown that what appears to be a triumph on the surface is in reality an attempt to reflect the growing tendency of the time to absorb Buddhism in the fold of Vaiṣṇavism.

In conclusion, I welcome this opportunity to express my deep sense of gratitude to Professor F. W. Thomas, who initiated me during my studies at Oxford into this field of Research in Kāvya Literature. But for his kind and generous help it would heve been impossible to bring to light this literary production of Sivasvāmin, which has remained in the dark for the last millenium. I should also like to express my obligations to the Librarian, India Office Library, who kindly undertook to supply me with transcripts of the poem from the Libraries at Puri and in Kashmir. To Sir Aurel Stein I am grateful for his permission to use one of the Mss. in his Kashmir Collection deposited in the Indian Institute Library, Oxford.

August 1933.   GAURI SHANKAR.

A MARATHI IDIOM.

Sten Konow.

When I was preparing the Marathi Volume of the Linguistic Survey of India I became interested in an idiom which I thought had an exact parallel in my own language, while it did not seem to me to be in accord with the general structure of Marathi: a person or thing which is going to be spoken of is first, so to say, introduced through a noun in the nominative case, and then incorporated into the context by means of a pronoun.

The idiom has been mentioned *e.g.* in Rev. Ganpatrao R. Navalkar's The Student's Marathi Grammar (3rd edition, Bombay 1894, paras. 566 ff.) :

"The demonstratives *hã* and *asã* are often used **appositionally**, and serve the following uses :—

1. *hã* is often used in apposition to the subject, when the nominal predicate defines or explains the latter: **Rāmā hā Gopālrāwātsā** mulgā hotā, Rāmā was the son of Gopālrāo; **Mumbaī hē śahar āhe,** Bombay is a city.

3. The appositional *hã* is inflected instead of the nouns for which it stands: **hattī ghoḍe āṇi bail hyās tsārā ghālā,** give grass to the elephants, horses and oxen; **Rāmā Hari āṇi Gopāl hyāpekṣā Sakhī** huṣār āhe, Sakhī is cleverer than Rāmā, Hari, and Gopāl".

Every Marathi book contains examples of this idiom. The following are taken from the Śukasaptati (ed. Schmidt, Leipzig 1897) :—

1. **Dewśarmā brāhmaṇ yācī awasthā kaśī ghaḍlī,** the brāhmaṇ Dewśarmā, his state how became (p. 1);

2. **Tyātsā mitr Trivikram yāṇē Vidagdhacūḍāmaṇi yā-nāmē śuk va Mālatī nāmē mainā yā-pramāṇē don pakṣī Madnās āṇūn dīle,** his friend Trivikram,—by him, Vidagdhacūḍāmaṇi,—by this name a parrot, and a mainā by name Mālatī, — so much,

two birds were brought and given to Madan *i.e.* his friend Trivikram gave Madan two birds, *viz.* the parrot Vidagdhacūdāmaṇi and the mainā Mālatī (p. 1): 3. **Guṇcandr nāmē rājā yāce putrā sahawartmān ramāvē yā-staw nānā prakārē śṛṅgār karūn tsālili**, she used to put on various decoration for this purpose: it should be sported together with the son of him, *viz.* the rājā Guṇcandr (p. 4); 4. **tō dwārpāl yās dhūrt-Vimal yāṇē sāmgitlē hotē**, then it had been said by him, *viz.* the false Vimal, to them, viz. the door-keepers (p. 13); 5. **Bhīmak nāmē rājā hotā tyātɜā putr Mohan to Haridatt nāmē sāwkār yācī strī Lakṣmī tij barobor sambhog karāvyās icchit hotā**, there was a rājā named Bhīmak, his son Mohan,—he was wishing to enjoy himself with her, *viz.* Lakṣmī, the wife of him, *viz.* the banker named Haridatt.

Such sentences do not only belong to the literary language, but are, as may be seen from Mr. Navalkar's remarks, used in daily speech.

In the Marathi volume of the Linguistic Survey we read on p. 255: **Pātgowārītsā Cindhu Lodhī yācyā kaḍe tū tsākrī hotās kā**, Cindhu Lodhī of Pātgowārī,—were you in his service? Here it is quite clear that the purpose is to draw attention to Cindhu Lodhī, to indroduce him as the chief person concerned with the matter in question, and such is evidently the case in most instances.

It will be seen that the proleptic noun is usually without any syntactical connexion with the ensuing sentence. In the opening of the fifth Śukasaptati example, however, we find a whole sentence used instead of a proleptic noun, the predicate hotā being, it is true, originally a participle, and often the resuming word is not an ordinary pronoun, but an adverb. Thus in the Linguistic Survey, p. 256: **to nidɜlā hotā tewhā tyācyā aṅgā warats hote**, he sleeping was,—then, were they on his body? and, similarly in the Śukaɤaptati, p. 1: **pūrvī Candrakalā nagrīce thāyī Vikramsen rājā rājya karīt astā tethē koṇiek Haridatt nāmē**

sâwkār rāhat hotā, formerly when King Vikramsen was reigning in Candrakala town,—there a banker named Haridatt was staying.

The same idiom is also known in Hindi. Thus S. H. Kellogg in his Grammar of the Hindi language (2nd edition, London 1893, para 675 c.) says that the nominative case "sometimes stands independently by anakolouthon; as **Mahārāj we baiṭhe haĭ**, the great king,—he is seated; **śāstravidyā au śastravidyā ye doũ ũc padvī dainewārī haĭ**, sacred science and military science, — these two confer high rank".

Professor Turner has been good enough to give me the following, similar, sentences from Nepali: **Rāma bhane āyo**, Rāma, —he came; **Bujhasatva bhane le mahākaṣṭa pāyo**, as for Bujhasatva,—he fell into misfortune; **timi bhane cardo umerki rahi chen, swāmi bhane burā rahi chan**, as for you,—you are in the presence of life; your husband,—he is old.

Similar turns of expression will probably also be found in other Indo-Aryan vernaculars, and they are also to be met with, outside India, e. g. in Germanic languages. The following are taken from Falk og Torp, Dansk-norskens syntax [Kristiania 1900, p. 276]: **Eirikr hinn sigrsæli konungr i Svívjóð, hann hafði fengit**, Eirik the Victorious, king of Sweden,—he had got; **inn gamli hrímmvurs, hann kollum vér Ymi**, the old ogre,—him we call Ymer; **men Thor han haver sin hammer mist**, but Thor,—he has lost his hammer; **ja, ein derber and trockener Spass, nichts geht uns darueber**, yes, a saucy and dry fun,—nothing surpasses that.

It is not necessary to look out for further non-Indian parallels. The idiom is evidently spread over a wide area, and we have every reason for thinking that it is fairly old.

In India it can be traced back to an early period. In his paper on the Manikiala inscription (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society 1909, p. 650). Professor Lueders mentions "those parenthetical sentences that are found in Pali prose texts," and gives as an example Jātaka I, 278: **bodhisatto nāgabalo**

thâmasampanno nadīyā orīmatīrato uppatitvā dīpakassa orato nadīmajjhe eko piṭṭhipasāṇo atthi tasmiṃ nipatati, the Bodhisattva, having the vigour of an elephant and full of strength, having jumped form this side of the river,—on this side of the island, in the midst of the river, is a projecting rock,—on that he jumps down.

Another example of the same kind (1. c. IV, p. 290) may follow: tadā te ubho saṃvāsaṃ kappetvā tasmiṃ yeva sare ekasmiṃ dīpake kalambarukkho atthi samantā udakena parikhitto tasmiṃ kulāvakaṃ katvā paṭivasiṃsu, then those two, having set up a joint household, in that very lake, on an island, is a kalamba-tree,—there they built their nest and lived.

In both these instances we seem to be justified in speaking of parenthetical sentences. What we have before us is, first a nominative, accompanied by a gerund, and introducing us to the real subject; then a complete sentence indicating a locality, and, finally, a clause, giving the relationship between both.

The contents of the "parenthetical" sentence can, however, also be given as an independent nominative. I take the following examples from the Dīghanikāya, Vol. III; so sattamadivasaṃ alasakena kālaṃ karissati, kālakato ca Kalakañjā nāma asurā sabbanihīno asurakāyo tatra uppajjissati (p. 1), in seven days he will die, and having died –the Asuras called Kalakañja, the lowest Asura host,—there he will be born· puratthimena Vesāliyaṃ Udenaṃ nāma cetiyaṃ taṃ nātikkameyyaṃ (p. 7), to the east of Vaiśālī the caitya called Udayana,—that I may not go beyond.

We may call such sentences parenthetical, but we might also speak of proleptic nominatives, and at all events there is a striking similarity with the Marathi idiom, even more, perhaps, than seems to be the case at first sight.

From Pāli 1 turn to the north-western Prakrit of the Kharosṭhī inscriptions.

In the Patika copper-plate we read after the date: etaye pūrvaye kṣaharatasa Cukhsasa ca kṣatrapasa Liako Kusuluko nama tasa putro Patiko Takhaśilaye nagare utareṇa pracu deśo Kṣema nama atra [*de]śe Patiko apratithavita bhagavata śakamuṇisa śariraṃ [*pra]tithaveti, on this day,[1] of the kṣaharāta and kṣatrapa of Cukhsa,—Liaka Kusulaka by name, his son' Patika, — in the town of Takṣaśilā, the north-eastern region, Kṣema by name —there Patika establishes a non-established relic of Bhagavat Śākyamuni. Here we can be in doubt about the words kṣaharatasa Cukhsasa ca kṣatrapasa. They may be connected with the preceding etaye purvaye, or else the sentence starts with the case required by the context, but then runs on through unconnected, proleptic, nominatives.

The inscription on the Mathura Lion Capital begins: mahakṣa-[tra]vasa Rajulasa agramaheṣ(r)i Ayasia Kumuia dhit(r)a Kharaostasa yuvaraña mat(r)a Nadadiakasa [taye] .... śarira prat(r)ithavit(r)o, the mahākṣatrapa Rājula's queen, Ayasia Kamuia, daughter of the crown-prince Kharaosta, mother of Nadadiaka, by her a relic was established.

In the Wardak inscription we have, after the date: imeṇa gad(r)ig(r)eṇa Kamagulyaputra Vagramareg(r)a s(r)a iśi Khavadam(r)i kadalayig(r)a Vagramarig(r)a viharam(r)i thu_ [ba]m(r)i bhag(r)avada Śakyamuṇe śarira parithaveti, at that instant the Kamagulya-scion Vagramarega,-- he being settled here in Khawat, in the Vagrmaregavihāra, in a stūpa establishes Bhagavat Śākyamuni's relic

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1. I take pūrvā to mean tithi. Since there may be two tithis ending on the same civil day, in which case the first gives the number of the day, and since pūrva especially means "the first of two" (cf. Wackernagel, Altindische Grammatik III, para 203d), I think that pūrvā in such dates means "deciding tithi" and then tithi generally. If I am right, this detail is of importance for the question about the Indian calendar.

It will be seen that we have everywhere to do with proleptic nominatives, or with parenthetical sentences.

But we can go still further back. In **The Syntax of cases** in the narrative and descriptive prose of the Brāhmaṇas, Vol. I. (Heidelberg 1926), p. 1ff., Professor Oertel says; "In a normal Indo-European sentence a given case-form is chiefly related to some other element of the sentence; in fact, the expression of such relation of one member of a clause to another is the main function,—and from the point of view of strict syntax the only function—, of the Indo-European declensional endings" ······ "But there are instances in which the close knitting of a clause is loosened and a certain disintegration, the degree of which may vary, sets in. When such a loosening of the syntactical joints, in whatever degree, has taken place we my speak of **the disjunct use of case-forms.**"

"A noun may retain the case-form which is required by the syntactical setting but be lifted out of its proper place and placed usually at the head of the clause, and be then resumed in its proper place by a demonstrative pronoun."

"Instead of the resumption of the proleptic case by a demonstrative pronoun the incipient disintegration may be outwardly marked by the intrusion of a particle separating the proleptic case from the main verb .... This kind of prolepsis is confined to the nominative. It contains the germ of an absolute case. The verb is always accompanied by an infinite verb-form, either a participle or a gerund.''

"A noun may be lifted out of the sentence, but instead of showing the proper case-form required by the syntactical setting it is put in the nominative case and later resumed by a demonstrative pronoun in the proper oblique case. The nominative which thus anticipates an oblique case is, from the syntactical point of view, wholly severed from the rest of the clause and hangs, so to speak, in the air.''

It would be difficult to give a better commentary on the various sentences discussed above. I shall add some of Professor Oertel's examples of this progressive "disintegration":—

Saṃvatsaro vaiv-aitān so'ntarātiṣṭhat, the year indeed,—that stood between them; **devāḥ pitaro manuṣyās te'anyata āsan,** the gods, fathers, men, they were on one side; **tat puruṣo 'mānavaḥ sa enān brahma gamayati,** then a non-human man,—he makes them go to the Brahma; **'prāṇo 'pānas cakṣuḥ śrotram ity etāni vai puruṣam akaran,** out-breathing, in-breathing, sight, hearing, —these have made man; **prāṇaṃ vyānam apānaṃ tān eva yajamāne dadhāti,** out-breathing, through-breathing, in-breathing —these he places into the sacrificer; **yājñāya yajamānāya ātmane tebhya ev-āśiṣam āśāste,** for the sacrifice, for the sacrificer, for himself,—for them he makes a blessing; **paśavo vāg indriyaṃ prāṇāpānau tair vā Indro 'kāmayata sāyujyaṃ gaccheyam iti,** cattle, vigour, out-and in-breathing,—with them Indra wished: may I be united; **devā ha vai yajñaṃ tanvānās te 'surarakṣebhya āsaṅgad bibhayāṃ cakruḥ,** the gods being engaged in performing the sacrifice,—they were afraid of the Asuras and Rakṣasas lest they should cling to them; **Kaṇvo vai Nārṣado jyog apratiṣṭhitaś caran so 'kāmayata, Kaṇva Nārṣada,** wandering for a long time without support—he desired; **Indro vai vṛtraṃ hatvā sa imāṃl lokān abhyajayat,** Indra having slain vṛtra—he won these worlds;

ātithyena vai devā iṣṭvā tānt samad avindat, the gods having sacrificed with the great-offering, them discord befell;

sa vai catur upahvayamāno 'tha nān-ev-opahvayate, verily he calling four times upon (her),—yet he calls upon (her) in different ways, as it were;

devāś cā va asurāś c-āditye vyāyacchantas taṃ devā abhyajayan, the gods and the Asuras contending about āditya,— him the gods won.

It will be seen that we have exactly the same turn of expression as in the modern idiom. I have arranged the sentences in accordance with Professor Oertel's view, and they apparently allow us to follow the development from the strictly syntactical sequence through prolepis to something which we may call an absolute nominative.

" The psychological process ", says Professor Oertel, "which gives rise to the Pendent Nominative appears to be as follows: The speaker begins to utter his statement before the syntactical mould into which his thought is to be cast is fully matured, i. e. before the syntactical integration of its parts has fully taken place. As he starts speaking, his attention is fixed upon a single item of the thought-complex irrespective of the relation which it will ultimately bear to the other elements of the clause. The remainder of the thought-complex takes its syntactical shape after the pendent nominative has been uttered and thus the proper syntactical relation of the nominative to the rest of the sentence must be afterwards indicated by a resumptive pronoun. The nominative is chosen as pendent case because it is the only case which not only expresses (as subject case) syntactical relation but also implies the absence of all syntactical relation (as in titles, headings lists). Conversely the attention of the hearer is more strongly directed to such an abnormal nominative, so that the emphatic attention of the speaker is communicated to the hearer."

The process described by Professor Oertel is psychologically quite intelligible, and, if his view is right, we should have to assume that it had taken place independently in several Indo-European languages. And in India it must have begun at a very early date. For a good example is e. g. found in the very first hymn of the Rgveda, v. z. **Agniḥ pūrvebhir ṛsibhir īḍyo nūtanair uta, sa devā eha vakṣati,** Agni, worthy of praise by old ṛṣis and by new ones,—he will bring the gods hither.

I have already mentioned some European paralles. And in Iranian we have quite similar idioms.

In the Behistun inscriptions of Darius we read: **pasāva** 1 **martiya maguš āha Gaumāta nāma hauv udapatatā** hacā **Paiši‧ yāuvādāyā arakadriš** nāma **kaufa hacā avadaša** (I, II), then there was a Magus, Gaumāta by name,—he started from Paišiyāuvādā, the hill called Arakadri,—from that; **avam Gaumā‑ tam tyam magum avājanam** utā **tyai-šaiy fratamā martiyā anušiyā āhantā Sikayauvatiš** nāmā didā **Nisāya** nāma 'dahyauš **Mādaiy avadašim avājanam**, that Magus Gaumāta I slew and the foremost men who followed him,—the fastness called Sikayauvati, the province called Nisāya, in Media,—there I slew him; **pasāva adam kāram frāišayam Vidarna** nāma **Pārsa** manā **bandaka avamšām mavištam akunavam**—yavā **Mādam parārasa Maruš** nāma **vardanam Mādaiy avadā hamaranam akunaus** (II 6), afterwards I sent an army,—the Persian named Vidarna., my subject,—him I made their chief; when he came te Media,—the town called Maru, there he made battle.

Here it does not seem to be the case that the speaker was not, to begin with, conscious of the syntactical connexion. It is evident that the use of the pendent nominative is due to his desire to be precise, to draw attention to the person or locality mention ed in the pendent nominative. And this consideration, and the wide distribution of the idiom, lead me to the conclusion that here we have the explanation of the phenomenon. It is not due to a loosening of the syntactical joints, but takes us back to a pre-syntactical stage of the language, which has left its traces, as saṃskāras, in various Indo-European languages.

Professor Oertel rightly remarks that the Indo-Erropean nominative is not only the case form of the subject, but is also used when there is no syntactical relation, where the purpose is only to mention, to single out some person or thing to which attention is drawn. And this is probably the oldest function of the nominative, and we may be justfied in raising the question whether the common s- suffix is not, in its origin, identical with the demonstrative pronoun sa, used to resume the word just as in our idiom. It might even, with some plausibility, be contended that the case in-

flexion generally has taken its origin from pronominal additions, and this view could be strengthened through parallels *e. g.* from Munda and Tibeto-Burman languages.

At all events, the non-syntactical use of the nominative dates back to the Indo-Erropean period, and the wide-spread use of the pendent nominative in many Indo-European languages is an old inheritance, which has held its own in spite of the development of a connected syntax.

We are sometimes reminded of the well-known arrangement of some Gandhāra sculptures.

It we look at Fig. 254 in M. Foucher's standard work, L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhâra, we have, to the left, a monkey carrying an alms-bowl, in the centre the Buddha seated with the bowl in his hands, and, to the right, the monkey going away empty handed: vānaraḥ kaścit pātraṃ gṛhītvā – Buddho Bhagavān padmāsana āsīnas,—tasmai dattvā so 'pākrāmat, would be an adequate description of the scene. The artist visualizes the various stages, one after the other, without melting them together into one picture.

The narrative style represented by our idiom proceeds in the same way. The speaker has the occurence before his mind's eye, and visualizes detail after detail. We are reminded of the frequent, and no doubt very old, use of parataxis instead of hypotaxis, a state of things, which has never been quite discarded in Sanskrit, especially when some person's words are rendered.

We are fully justified in speaking of an ancient visualistic style, and it would not be difficult to point at its traces in several features of Sanskrit syntax. The clearest ones are perhaps found in the idiom dealt within the preceding pages.

MAN AND HIS BECOMING IN THE UPANIṢADS.

Mrs. Rhys Davids, D. Litt., M.A.

I am here suggesting, that this is a needed study. It would surely be a good. thi ▓ of those who are competent, some man would undertak ▓ e detail. Without such guidance, we others, the incom ▓ walk stumblingly; first because of the language, secondly because of the translators, and the commentators, of later dates, on whom they too largely depend. There is first the Vedic double verb to express existence, past, present, future: **as and bhū (bhav—)**, paralleled by the German **sein** and **werden**, but for which we English, to our much loss, have not kept alive a second verb as strong as the first. Now it needs first-hand acquaintance with texts and with historic changes in their idiom to pronounce, with a flair born of long experience, whether in a given passage the word **bhū**, as **bhavati** or otherwise inflected, means a more than does **asti**, or a less, or the same or not the same.

I wrote on this matter to my friend and fellow-worker, Mr. Helmer Smith, asking too about the parallel Swedish terms, which are of much interest. In his kind, informative reply, which I am permitted to quote, he concludes by seeing danger in German treatment of the Vedic in this connexion, their language being too supple, too rich, their "marvellous philosophical vocabulary being borrowed from Romanticism." and that when, *e. g.*, the Upaniṣads give us the time-triad in terms of **bhū: yad bhūtac ca bhavac ca bhaviṣyac ca,**[1] or again **anyatra bhūtāc ca bhavyāc ca**[2], "this **bhavat** is not necessarily das Werdende."

As to that I would reply: Gently, my friend, it is not a constant rendering of **bhavat** by **werden** in the German (Deussen) and

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1. Bṛh 3, 8, 3.
2. Kaṭh. 2, 14. So in many other passages.

German-born (Max Müller) translators' works that has led me to put forward this inquiry. It is rather their frequent evasion of werden or become; their recourse not only to asti, but to other and makeshift terms which has helped to force the inquiry from me; forced me to ask here (a) Is bhava— som   either just asti, or one of those makeshifts? (b) Has a co   or been seducing? (c) Has there been a wish, conscious or unconscious, to belittle the significance in 'werden,' 'becoming,' either in the translator's own mind, or as not to be made much of in the utterances of the older Upaniṣads?

Let me first dwell on that wish as indicative of a present day attitude. Our literature has rung with the word evolution for some time, but so much have we been concerned with its application to things material, that we have never fitly linked it up with the idea of becoming as of the nature of the very man. And by man, I do not mean mind, or a complex or product of mind and body; I mean the mind-er, he whose ways in using body are mind.[1] But then we think about this as we do, as M. Bergson reminded us some years ago in London[2]—just because our science happened to begin with the material and not with the immaterial. We shall one day be as alive and alert about the unseen very man, the puruṣa, as essentially in process of becoming, as we are now about evolutionary processes in matter.

I say this, as in the second place true of modern treatises on the Upaniṣads, so far as I have had access to them. These works have rung with the phrase Tat tvam asi for some time, yet so much have they been concerned with identity as being, that the tremen-

1. Presidential Address, Soc. for Psychical Research.

2. "Not the bundle——called the "me", but the I——who inspects it." G. Radha Krishnan, Philosophy of the Upaniṣads.

dous problem of identity through becoming has, so I have found, been relatively neglected. I have consulted several such works, also indexes and tables of contents. But either the word Becoming is omitted (e. g. the Index volume on S. B. E.), or it is barely mentioned (e. g. Dr. Hume's translation, on which more presently), or it is only mentioned as being "contested" (e. g. Deussen's translation, on which more presently).

Now in that the word has been practically passed over, this can only mean one of the three things : either (a) the writer, or (b) the indexer, or both were not interested in the word becoming, or (c) the Upaniṣads do not show such interest in it as to merit treatment, or index-place. As to the last instance in indexes, given above, surely, if a term be so significant, that the "contesting" (Bekämpfung) of it is sufficiently prominent in the text to call for a place in the Index, there is good reason, in a great historic succession such as the Upaniṣads admittedly form, to suspect, that the same term has, earlier in that succession, been championed. And I contend [2] that we do find this upholding of 'becoming'. But Deussen happened to be not only a fervent Vedântist, but a staunch Parmenidean—he admitted as much to me himself—for whom "what is, is", for whom becoming was "illusion." Hence, whereas he is very happy over the Bestreitung of Werden in Iśā & Māṇḍukya, & its "glorious continuation in Gauḍapāda's Kārikā", [1] he tends to belittle the striking and very frequent bhū-references in the older Upaniṣads, and often uses a weak substitute for what we should expect to find rendered by werden.

To take but one instance out of dozens: in the well known passage on the dissolution of the bodily and mental complex, Bṛhad. 3,2,13 : kvâyam tadā puruṣo bhavati? "where then does the

1. Sechzig Upanishad, P. 527. f.

'man ' (the soul) come-to-be ?, in other words, "where there-
after does the becoming (which is the very life of the soul) go
on?" Deussen makes the feeble rendering "Wo bleibt dann
der Mensch (remains the man)?" Does the Sanskritist rejoin :
But **bhavati** here means just " is," " happens " "finds himself?"
He does not convince me. but 1 bow and give another instance.
In Taittiriya 1,4,1, **anrtasya Deva dhāraṇī bhūyasam**: " May I, O
God, become bearer of the immortal' " Deussen gives
us" möge ich . . . sein' " What waste of a fine word ready to hand !
Surely the act of praying is man's will reaching into the Divine
Will willing to become, to **be-a-More** than he **is!** There is not
even metrical excuse, for he has anyway, in rendering otherwise
faithfully, got too much into the line to scan. Deussen then
didn't want to find any signs of appreciated becoming ; he was
not a sufficiently disinterested historian to seek for such signs ;
he even went out of his way to avoid them. He is therefore
no safe guide for those who depend on translations.

Nor for that matter are Röer and Max-Muller, or in the one,
the greatest Upaniṣad- Bṛhadāraṇyaka—Herold.' Far better
in this one subject do I find Dr. R. E. Hume, who renders **bhava-**
by ' become ' far oftener than any of those four, even though
he too here and there lapses. To take an instance out of many :
he alone of all the five has, in the following, ' become ' and not
' is ' : —in the life (in his other body) of the man in the earth-
body's sleep, earthly relations become invalid; "mother becomes
not mother— śramaṇa not Śramaṇa—Vedas not Vedas "—' how

1. Messrs. Mead and Chattopadyaya's translation – alas!
   unfinished, but breathing more the Indian Spirit
   than any other—usually has 'become', but there too are
   a few lapses and makeshift terms.

2. Bṛh. 4, 3, 22.

much better and fitter here is ' becomes ' than ' is ' ! And yet, in the impressive teaching of the homily in the Taittirīya, taken over by the Śakyans:' **matṛdevo bhava, 'pitṛdevo bhava'**—become he-who-has-mother-(as)-God, become he-who-has-father (as)-God, Dr. Hume with the rest falls back on ' Be one for whom, etc..' Just as if the teacher were not trying to make the pupil *come to-be better*, more, than he has been ! And further, when, in the Maitri Upaniṣad, (6, 8), the teacher urges that the Ātman be sought after under its many attributes (the list is probably later) of Iśāna, Śambhu, Bhava—, Dr. Hume has preferred here to render the last as " the Existent", and not as the Becoming— and leaves us wondering.

This may sound captious, but it will be, I think, conceded, that if we use a static term, (and that the strongest we have—be—) for an idea which is pretty obviously dynamic, progressive, we are **weakening the emphasis on the progress:** we are literally, if not virtually, using the drill-sergeant's command: "As you were!" We are bidding, if not like the sergeant, to revert, at best to be "marking time". Now my concern in these suggestions is with his other order: "March!". I have after years of study been driven to hear **that** in the mandate of Śākyamuni; and in studying him and his day, I am driven to see, that it was also in the mandate of the advanced wing of that day, in teachers of the established religion. .

1 will try briefly to buttress this assertion. Conceding all the way to the Vedic expert, that **bhū** may not always mean as strong a "More" over **as** — as becoming is over be-ing, I would at least remind him of this: In the Rik and Sama Vedas I find the verb **bhū-, bhava-,** finite tenses only, used some 40 times. In the 9 Upaniṣads, generally ranked as the oldest, I find the same finite verb used some 300 times. Bulk for bulk I believe this

3. **Aṅguttara Nikāya**, i, 132.

represents a great proportional increase, in the use of the bhū by the latter over the use in the former stratum of Vedic literature. The old Upaniṣads are mainly in prose as the Vedas are not; but, in the few metrical portions also use is made of bhū; it is not a word confined to prose. The bhū contexts in these Upaniṣads are as follows (approximately):

Aitareya	— 4	Kauṣītaki	— 18	Bṛhadāraṇyaka	— 86
Kaṭha	— 18	Chhāndogya	— 60	Maitri	— 16
Kena	— 2	Taittirīya	— 10	Śvetāśvatara	— 6

If to these we add the number of times the verb is used within many of the contexts, we get at least 3)0. It will be said, that from these we must deduct the cases of the verb used in the future, where as becomes bhū. I on the contrary would suggest, that the preoccupation with the future, worded necessarily as "will become" weakens the case for "being". It is a good point for the metaphysician who has seen that he must broaden his outlook by including history: Does Being, as that which will be, remain Being?

Other cases for which deduction may be claimed are matters of material change or happening: as in Bṛh. 6, 3, 13: "fourfold becomes the wood of the figtree," or whereas in German, one would say es wurde Nacht for night fell. And there is the (apparent) idiomatic expression: tad api eṣo śloko bhavati, rendered "as to that there is this verse." Translators have apparently thought that the speaker is quoting a mantra. I would suggest, that save where, if at all, the passage is recognized as of a Veda, or of an Upaniṣad deemed older, it may be that a coming to pass of a creative effort is meant: the teacher suspends his prose; improvising afflatus has arisen: "there becomes (in m) this verse__". In Pali the expression is common in the Aorist: evam assa ahosi: "thus it occurred to him". But I deduct and pass.

There still remains, as I rightly or wrongly see it, a preoccupation with the word 'become', which in its frequency is I believe

new, and as new, significant of something new in teaching. I must here be content with the numerical statement. Were I to give the full analysis I have made, this sketch would grow too long. Our translators, excepting the welcome literalness in this respect in Dr. Hume, show, that either 'to be', or other words *could have been used* by the utterers (and by later editors), where in the text we find 'to become.' But they don't; they choose to use **bhava**— And I am not here including the future tense; I am concerned. with the marked frequency of **bhavati**; (as present or 'historic present') and also with this, that in nearly every case it is used of the very man, the self; and also with this, that in most cases we see the man, in becoming, as becoming More, and also, here and there as becoming the Most. In this frequency I see no mere chance, no wording without a cause.

Rightly or wrongly I see in it a pre-occupation with the man, not as being, but as in process of becoming, which is new, and which is or should be felt to be, deeply significant. So deeply or I would say, so highly significant, that it could not be more so. I seem in these Upaniṣads to be in a world of teachers profoundly convinced of the truth of a great and new mandate in religion, *not put forward as new by them*— but by a Helper of man of an earlier, not much earlier date— which they are developing, amplifying, vindicating. That mandate was, that the man has it in his nature, by becoming More to become ultimately. That Most Who he (potentailly) is. *They had no word for* "potentially". (*We* owe the wording to Aristotle.) So they fell back on the word, the great word which they had at hand, the word "become." "Man is Brahman" means: Man is becoming Brahman:—**Tat tvam bhavasi**. Once we substitute this verb for the **asi** which editors have, with a repudiated Becoming, handed down to us, then a gospel which, as stated, is perhaps the height of impiety, becomes a message of light and hope to *every* man, in that it is the *very guarantee* of his personal salvation, in that it makes every stage in life, no matter

how many the lives, supremely worth living.

But with man as linked, in Becoming, with Deity, there would necessarily go a mighty *sublimation of that attribute*. And so we find it raised "to the highest power": we find it as positive attribute of Deity in action in the creation, as conceived in Taittir yà, Brhadāraṇyaka and elsewhere. Here is no mere uttered fiat : here is the Divine Artist becoming, Itself becoming, *in the desire from being One to become More, Many*; " Let Me bring forth Myself," etc.[1] Becoming is here raised, from a state of progress from the imperfect to the less imperfect, to the glorified level and sphere of the work of one we call a great genius; becoming is now a becoming-other, a becoming a new Manifold, the Divine Play (līlā) of That Who, as Rāmānuja wrote, "creates and reabsorbs the universe."

This was a bold word; it was a conferring "the Immortal" on man as a corollary of his nature, and not, as in earlier mantras, a destiny conditional only on a man performing this and that prescribed act. We see this : "the mortal becoming immortal' lingering on in the Upaniṣads. It was too great a gospel to withstand inevitable reaction. Was not immortality a chief aim of the sacrifice? Was this to be pronounced unnecessary? And so those progressive teachers became as were the prophets beside the priests in Israel : their great mantras survived more or less intact and established, but the ecclesiastical ritual remained also, and with it reaction set in.

1. Not only in the one verb did the early teachers word becoming though they use it where translators do not (cf. *e. g.* M.M. in Bṛh. 1, 2, 5) ; vibhavati, develop, is used (Bṛh. 1, 4, 11), and such a play-in-words as adhi-ardh (develop, greatly thrive) and adhi-ardha (one and a half Bṛh. 3, 9, 10). Others might be adduced, such as mā gamaya "make me to go" (Bṛh. 1, 3, 27).

The reaction against the concept that man, in becoming, is but being true to his divine nature, may, I suggest, be seen creeping up in the Maitri, but no more. It is not till the Īśā and the Māṇḍūkya, that actual repudiation is worded.[1] The Śveta- śvatara cannot be said to sound this change. Still for it does the man become, namely "on seeing the very Ātman, unitary, and- won, griefless," albeit it speaks of time not wholly in terms of becoming: the present is now not "the become" but "what the Vedas tell"; doubtless metrical exigency drove here. But the Maitri begins to 'hedge' on the matter of creation as a becoming of the Highest. In it the speaker makes the primaeval Man, when creating, not desire to become, but (a) "brood upon himself" (abhidhyāyan), (b) "think (Let me enter____)", (c) "utter____". Even here the traditional way lingers, for we read "This One became threefold, eightfold, etc." Yet the three substitutes I give, whereas they may by some be rated as riper thought, reach- ing out after more fitting terms, may rather indicate a shrinking from the earlier, bigger conception of becoming, and are ushering in a shrinkage in it, a reinstatement of the Highest as Being, and not as Bhavat.

In the later Īśā and Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣads, later I deem by several generations, later than the beginnings of Buddhism, we see implicit the confession, that this matter of becoming *versus* being had evolved into a battlecry in religious debate, becoming being now termed sambhūti, a term which I do not find in the older Upaniṣads. Becoming is now reduced to mean, not exercise of an ever new Manifold in That who is, but an originating from that which was not——which is a different thing; and as involving a

1. I am aware that the Maitri is *said* to quote the Īśā (7. 11), but this is only in the admittedly later Khilas, or 6th and 7th Sections.

complement of decay, which is a different thing. And in the comment of Gauḍapāda, which Deussen's biassed zeal forces upon readers of his Upaniṣad translation, we are landed in the view which sees, in the manifold and becoming, illusion, and that what really is cannot become, becoming in truth being only of what is there already. In the Īśā, while there is the seed of decay of faith in becoming, in that it is viewed *as involving passing away*, we yet retain the faith, that the man "in becoming wins the goal." Here then is a becoming which, being of what is by nature divine, does *not involve* decay subsequent to maturity. In the Māṇḍūkya commentary, the halting logic of the Īśā is purged, but at the fearful cost of voting becoming in the very man, the self, to be an illusion. And this coupling decay with becoming appears, a source of bane, in Buddhism.

It is the word of the "after man", reflecting his own age, unable to discern the greatness in the older wordings which were nearer in time to one of the greatest gospels of this world's history. And when I note, in the many translations of this literature, how the afterman in commentary has biassed the modern translator, I yield consent to K. E. Neumann's trenchant remark, that "when ecclesiastical fathers and doctors go to work with the best will to clear up dark mantras, they speak as would the blind of colour——Auf mächtigem Glanz folgt naturgemäss Nacht." But with this added reservation:—that I would undertake no translation of scriptures without consulting commentaries, both for what they have said and for just that which they do not say, for herein also is history.

When all is said however, the commentator remains as one who sees worth in the Less and the Worse. For they, that is, their age has no longer understood the real message round which the Sayings on which they comment were uttered. So they fall back on less direct, and weaker meanings of words. Thus through

them the strong causative of **bhū** is veiled under the idea of foster or cherish, as in Aitareyya 4, 2, 3. And elsewhere are such weaker renderings, as "propitiating", "comforting", "pleasing" the devas, of this same causative, with which the strong **bhāvaya** has, in the first instance, nothing to do. Why should we really feel compelled to fall back on such derivative renderings? In the Aitareya, the mother is "making her embryo become"—that is all in order. But why should we not also make devas become, that is, be More, Better than they were, and they make us the same? The Vedic scholar with a pantheon of "gods" filling the picture, may smile. But the passage I have in mind, to which my colleague, Dr. W. Stede has drawn my attention:

devān bhāvayatānena te devā bhāvayantu vaḥ,

Parasparaṃ bhāvayantaḥ śreyaḥ param avāpsyatha, which my colleague Dr. Barnett has rendered: "With this comfort ye the gods and let the gods comfort you, etc. . . . is from the Gītā (III, 11), in a context reckoned as a later interpellation by Garbe. By that time devas were, as we have them in early Buddhist tradition, virtually the wise and kindly gentlemen who had passed for a while from earth to the next world, and often came back to those who were yet on earth either to give or to receive good counsel and who were very likely, their life-span over, coming back again to earth in the long Marga of each man's becoming. Thus the mutual making-to-become in the More towards the Most is a very reasonable advice.

But a less wholesome expression crept up and is also visible in those passages judged by the same able critic to be later. This is the term **brahmabhūta**: become-the-Most.[1] The term may, like other affixes: —**maya**, —**gata**, have come at some time to express our 'of the nature of', or 'akin to'. But we do not find this compound in earlier Vedic, and in these probably early instances it

1. Bhagavadgītā 5, 24; 6, 27; 18, 54.

seems highly significant, namely, that the happy state of the Yogi consists, among other features, in his "being brahmabhūta." Here we have, as it were, said farewell to the healthy state of willing to become, of living in that willing, and thereby becoming step by step as far Brahma-wards as it is given any man, however saintly, to become on earth. The one-in-nature-with the Most is realized, but to the exclusion of any emphasis on, any joy in, the *becoming More on the Way to the Most*. It is a premature value, in the "done"; and again —another later symptom—it is *value in the Idea*, rather than the Thing; and that means that the man is holding himself in worth as mind, rather than as he who is minding. As we should expect, the mind-ridden monasticism of early Buddhism shared in the expression, calling both the recluse and its founder Brahmabhūta,

"experiencing happiness dwells with the self become-Brahman." [1]

But whereas the Buddhist came to slur over, and finally lose sight of, this once vital phrase, the Vedāntist saw in it only the idea of identity, losing sight of the needed making-actual the potential oneness. The commentators' tradition no longer values the idea or the word *bhavat*, or its causative, in its earlier meaning, nor for that matter do we either, and so we too, I venture to think, fail either to see, or to value what the original utterers were, it may be, trying to say.

And this was, not the "thou art That" in the preposterous sense of the one term equating the other in any complete sense of the word, but the Tat tvam asi only where both asi and bhavasi coincide, both in the spirit and in the letter: Tat tvam bhaviṣyati Only in becoming the More, with the will ever working, will the man ultimately "be" in and as the Most. [2] In such holy becoming

1. Majjhima, 1, 341 f; 412; Anguttara, II, 206, 111; etc.;
2. As G. Radhakrishnan well says: "The God-in-man is a task as well as a fact." **Philosophy of the Upaniṣads.**

there is no complementary decay to follow, as in things material; it is a Becoming-other in the More and the Many, which, in virtue of the man being the Self in-the-Most only potentially, or in the germ, is in his case of necessity a becoming less imperfect. But it is little wonder that we so veil this word of the life-career in, not body or mind, but the very puruṣa when that puruṣa himself we of to-day keep so in the background. And we had not else so lost sight of the Becoming which was what the Śakyamuni was trying to say in his Way-figure, and for which India's mediaeval manuals blamed his followers, the Bauddhas, the Saugatas. For these followers had themselves lost the message of Becoming in the greater sense, just as their critics saw in it only an impossible becoming out of nothing.

<div style="text-align: right">C. A. F. Rhys Davids.</div>

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THE FOURFOLD ASPECT OF THE ▓▓▓▓▓ BEING IN MANICHAEISM.

A. V. Williams Jackson,

Columbia University, New York City, U. S. A.

Some hesitation is felt in offering to a great master like Sir George A. Grierson a small contribution on a subject relating to Manichaeism, but all matters concerning the Middle East come within the field of his profound erudition. Moreover, India (that is, Northern India) is included by Albīrūnī, together with China (or Chinese Turkistan), as among the regions in which Mani preached his gospel while in exile from Persia.[1] The theme chosen here for presentation relates to a tenet in Mānī's religion with regard to the four chief aspects of the Godhead.

We are familiar with an expression in the **Greek Formula of Abjuration** which accurately refers to the God of Mānī as 'The Father of Greatness **with four faces** (*i. e.* aspects).'[2] This striking attribute represents the divine figure as **fourfold** in his majesty.[3]

1. Sachau, **Chronology of Ancient Nations by Albīrūnī,** p. 192. Some scholars are inclined to doubt Albiruni's statement as to India, but I feel no hesitation in accepting it so far as Northern India is concerned.

2. Gk. Formula § 2, see K. Kessler, *Mani*, p. 403 (text), 359 (transl.), cf. also Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, 1. col. 1461.

3. For the adjective γετραπρόσωπος, there are three renderings possible: —(1) 'of four faces', (2) 'of four aspects', (3) '(consisting) of four persons'. Something, perhaps, might be urged in favour of the third (3) meaning, because the noun πρόσωπου (Lat. *persona*), in the sense of 'person, personality,' is a synonym of ὑπόστασίς, in which case the four 'persons'

Its connotatien agrees exactly with the aspects of the Godhead presented in the Turfan Fragments and in the non-Manichaean sources, as given below.

Thus, for example, in the **T u r f a n P a h l a v i** Manichaean texts we have at least three (or four) passages which present the Supreme Being in his fourfold aspect of divinity, light, power, and wisdom. The passages are in full accord, the only divergences being slight variations due to the use of the dialect, southwestern or northern, as respectively employed in the two latter cited and in the first.[4] The three passages referred to will be found, with comments, in my forthcoming volume (in the

(three phases of the divine personality being added as parts to the whole) would make up a supreme Tetrad. Compare, somewhat similarly, Legge, *Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity*, 2.322. I so, we might compare Augustine, *Contra Faustum*, 20.7, end (cf. 20.6, end), as cited somewhat below. But on the whole it seems preferable to adopt the first (1) meaning, ' fourfaced', supplemented by the implied idea (2) of 'aspect'. This interpretation appears to be borne out by a reference to such a conception in **TPhl.** Frag. M. Pers. 1, 1-3, *cahar* **qanārag . . . Pid 'i Vazurgii,** 'Father of Greatness . . . four sides (*i. e.* in four directions). See Müller, *Handschriftenreste*, 1904, p. 250, in **Sitzb. Akad. Wiss. Berlin, 1904.** Indirectly, and simply as a parallel, we may recall in Hinduism the epithet of Brahma as ' Four-faced' (**Skt. catur-ānana, caturmukha**).

4. Thus in the last two lines below quoted, we have the southwestern dialect, characterized particularly by Zarvān (as Deity, **Zōr, Vahih,** in contrast to the northern dialectic equivalents, **Bē, zāvar, Zireft,** for God, Power, and Wisdom. Concerning such dialectic variations, especially S. W. dial. **Zarvān,** consult (quoting the authority of Andreas) Waldschmidt and Lentz, **Die Stellung Jesu** (1926), p. 71 middle, and elsewhere.

press) on *Researches in Manichæism*, Study IV, note on Frag. S. 7 d. 13, published by the Columbia University Press. They are first these, each with a reference to the texts published by F. W. K. Müller, in **Abhandlungen der Preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaft**, Berlin, 1904 ('Handschriften-reste—aus Turfan') and ('Eine Hermasstelle in Manichäischer Version'), in the same Academy's transactions (**SPAW**), Berlin, 1905, to be tabulated as follows:—

'God   Light   Power   Wisdom

	God	Light	Power	Wisdom
in M. 176 (=Mü. p. 61-62)	**Bag**	**Rōšan**	**zāvar**	**Žiršft**
in M. 31 (=Mü. 'Hermas')	**Yazd**	**Rōšan**	**Zōr**	**Vahīh**
in M. 324 (=Mü. p. 74 bot.)	**Bē**	**Zarvān**	**Rōšan Zōr**	**Vahīh**

Add to these likewise a fourth citation, petitional also in its content, found at the beginning of a T u r k i s h Manichaean Hymn, T II D, 162, lines 1—2, which opens with this fourfold group of aspects of the Supreme Being in Turfan Pahlavi, giving them then in the next line with their Turkish equivalents, before proceeding with the Hymn. The two initial, bilingual, lines of its beginning state that it is 'A Hymn to'

B (a)γ, Rōšan, Zaw(a)r, Žirift, nung bašta.

t(a)ngri y(a)ruq küclüg bilgä[5].

5. For the text see A. V. Le Coq, **Türkische Manichaica ans Chotscho**, 2. p. 10, in **Abh. d Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.**, Berlin, 1919. A reminiscence of this same tetrad is also preserved in a later Turkish (Uigurian) blessing (TM. 417 end) which is invoked upon the new monarch Iduq-qut (see Le Coq, **Türk. Man. 3**. p. 34, lines 29—24). This invocation closes with the benediction: 'May there come the F o u r L i g h t P r i n c e l y G o d s, (manifested through) the Burkhans (Spiritual Messengers), mighty in prayer in the ten regions (of the heavens).' If I rightly interpret, the divine tetrad is manifested likewise in its inspired Messengers who appear from time to time. We may, therefore, possibly see in this clause an allusion also, as elsewhere in the

Furthermore, in the T u r k i s h C o n f e s s i o n -
P r a y e r (Khuastuanift=xvāstavānīft, 'self-confession, lines
177—183)', the fourfold aspect of the Supreme Being is also
symbolized in the F o u r L i g h t (or Bright) S e a l s 'that
are to be kept in the heart of the true believer, namely:

> • 'Four Light Seals (tört y(a)ruk tamya) have we sealed
> in our hearts. (1) One is L o v e , (and that is)
> the seal of A z r u a the God. (2) The second (is)
> F a i t h , the seal of the God of the S u n and the
> M o o n. (3) The third is the F e a r of G o d ,
> (and this is) the seal of the F i v e f o l d G o d
> (i. e. Primal Man, Ormazd). (4) The fourth is the
> w i s e K n o w l e d g e , the seal of the B u r k h a n s
> (or Divine Revealers of Religion).'

It is clear from this passage that the Godhead himself is in-
dicated by the confession of love for Azrua; his Light by an
expression of faith in the Sun and Moon; his Power by sealing in
the heart a reverence for Primal Man as a celestial force; and his
Wisdom, by believing in the existence of Divine Messengers
(Burkhans) who from time to time bring inspired knowledge into
the world.'

Manichaean Fragments, to Zoroaster, Buddha, Jesus, and Mani,
as the messengers of divinity, especially because the Burkhans
'change their names and forms.' For the Turkish text of the
latter quotation see Le Coq, Türk. Man. 3. p. 34, lines 6-7, bottom.

6. An etymological explanation of this designation is already
prepared for printing, and it is hoped that it may appear some time
later.

7. See Jackson, Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc., 44. p. 69 ff. with full
references.

8. Consult again, with references, op. cit. p. 69 etc.

Next, in a C h i n e s e Manichaean Fragment, discovered by
Pelliot (see *JA*. 1913, p. 105, 116), the divine personality in his
fourfold form is undoubtedly referred to as 'the F o u r
C a l m B o d i e s of the Law, which Four Bodies of the Law are
.... (rest wanting).' ⁹ It is quite certain moreover, that there
is an allusion to the tetrad in the Chinese Manichaean Treatise as
well. The passage in question (*JA*. 1911, p. 552) speaks of 'the
T h r e e P e r m a n e n c e s and the Five Greatnesses (*i. e.*
members) of t h e G r e a t L i g h t.' Here it is evident that
these three abiding attributes of the Godhead are Light, Power,
and Wisdom, which, combined with himself, make up his fourfold
aspect as the Supreme Being.¹⁰ Furthermore, we may similarly
interpret a thrice-repeated reference to 'the Four Calm Bodies in
the long Chinese hymn in praise of Jesus (H. 27d, 38d, 56b, c).¹¹

We may now turn to a couple of passages in the indirect
sources relating to this Manichaean tenet. An A r a b i c refer-
ence in an-Nadīm's F i h r i s t is important because it defines
each of these divine aspects more fully, quoting from Mānī him-
self. According to an-Nadīm's statement Mani enjoined f o u r
s p i r i t u a l p r e c e p t s that were to be accepted by all
believers, in addition to the three seals of conduct and his ten
commandments.¹² These four injunctions are summed up in the
following words:

> 'Belief in the F o u r G r e a t M a j e s t i e s (lit.
> Greatnesses), namely, (1) G o d, (2) his L i g h t,

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9. See Pelliot, *JA*. 1913. p. 105, 116. and consult Jackson,
JAOS, 44. 70-71.

10. Chavannes and Pelliot, *JA*. 1911. p. 522 n. 1, also inter-
pret the allusion in this manner.

11. See the Chinese text, with translation, in Waldschmidt
and Lentz, *Die Stellung Jesu*, p. 102, 104, 107.

12. Cf. Jackson, *JAOS*. 44.70.

(3) his P o w e r, and (4) his W i s d o m. Now, (1)
God, whose name is glorious, is the King of the Para.
dises of Light; (2) his Light is the Sun and the
Moon; (3) his Power is the Five Angels, namely, the
Zephyr (ether), Wind, Light, Water, and Fire; (4)
his Wisdom, the Holy Religion.' (This last clause is
further explained as referring to the revealers and
exemplars of the faith.)[18]

S a i n t   A u g u s t i n e hints at the same idea of the divine
tetrad when he represents Faustus as trying to adapt Mani's four-
fold notion to that of the Christian Trinity (*Contra Faustum*, 20.
1 seq). According to the Manichaean spokesman the Father
dwells in the ' light inaccessible'; the Son, being twofold, has
his station in the s u n and the m o o n; the Holy Spirit (cf.
the Living Spirit in Manichaeism) resides in the whole circle of
the air. Faustus, in his argument, is made to explain the second
member in the following manner; 'Since the Son is himself t w o-
f o l d — just as the Apostle (i. e. Paul) recognized him to be,
when he said "Christ is the power of God and the wisdom of God—
We (Manichaeans) believe that his P o w e r dwells in the son and
his W i s d o m in the moon' (*C. F.* 20.2; New Test. and see Cor.
1.24). In refutation the Christian Father argues at length to show
the fallacy of this distribution of the divine power and wisdom,
and condemns the whole nation as being ' a threefold or rather a
fourfold fiction' (*ibid.* 20·6, 7, 8). In any case, Augustine's long
argument shows that he recognized this tenet of Deity, Light,
Power, and Wisdom as an article of Mani's creed.[14]

Furthermore, we should observe that several times in the

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13. See G. Flügel, *Mani*, p. 64 (text, 95 (transl.) ; *id.* complete
edition of the Fihrist text, 1. p. 333.

13. See Aug. *Contra Faust.* 1. 1-8, Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 42 Cf.
also F. C. Baur, **Das Manichäische Religions system.** p. 206-207.

Turfan Pahlavi texts this fourfold group of divine aspects is referred to under the comprehensive designation farahān, 'the Glories', that is, of the Supreme Being, and are associated with 'Angels and Spirits' (prēstagān 'ūd vāxšān).[15] Thus, for example, the 'Glories' (parah'ān, etc.) in M. 4 d 11-14 (=Mü. p. 55), 'May new blessing and new triumph come from the divinity Zarvān, above the "Glories", and Angels, (and) Spirits of this Realm,'

(nōg āfrīn nōg pērōzīh āyād az bē Zarvān abar parah'ān 'ūd prēstagān vāxšān 'ig 'in šahr). Similarly, from the same hymn and prayer M. 4 e 22-23 (Mü. p. 57 mid.) may be cited: āvarēd parahān vāšān, 'ūd zōrān; padīrēd dašn, 'come hither ye G l o r i e s, Spirits, and Powers.' Still farther on in this devotional text, M. 4 f. 19-21 (=Mü. p. 57 mid.), directly after invoking a blessing upon Mānī and paying homage to Great Shining Glory (i. e. Zarvān), the true believer further expresses his faith: 'I believe in Holy Spirit

(vāxš yōzdahr). together with the G l o r i e s (abāg parahān) and the powerful Angels (prēstagān abzārān.') In a different text, M. 43 recto, lines 7-8 (=Mu. p. 78 bot.), which contains an address made by the Manichaean Community to an Uigurian Khan, we read: 'May the Deed-accomplishing Ones (qērdagārān, here–Angels), the G l o r i e s (farahān), (and) the Spirits (vāxšān), bestow blessing upon thee, the ruler.' Lastly, in a prayer, M. 543 verso, lines 6 9 (=Mü. p. 80 top), we find in an ascending order, 'Angels—Spirits—G l o r i e s (prēstagān vāxšān–parihān)[16]

For the sake of completeness, or only as an indirect parallel, we may add that two Syriac writers of the fifth century A. D.,

15. See also ths observations in my book (in the press) Researches in Manichaeism, Study IV, note on p r y h (farēh in Fragment S. 7 a 9 (second paragraph),

16. In (parihān (for the more common parahān) the vowel I is merely an anaptytic vowel, being found also in a number of other words,

namely Ādhurhormīzd and Theodore bar Khoni, allude to a somewhat similar fourfold division as being recognized by Zoroastrians in Sasanian times, the context in each case showing that it is the Zarvanite doctrine to which reference is made. The names in the tetrad mentioned are given as Ashōkar, Frashōkar, Zarōkar, Zarwān. The last one certainly corresponds to Zarvān, which, as as we have seen, stands first in Mānī's fourfold group; but it is difficult to equate the other three (despite their evident Iranian chracter) with corresponding members of his tetrad.[17]

17. Both Syriac writers give the four nomes in identical forms and in the same order, with Zarwān last. Thus Ādhurhormīzd (d. 447 A. D.), who was a Christian convert from Magism, attacks the Zoroastrians for counting as gods, 'A s h h ō q a r, F r a s h ō- q a r, Z a r ō q a r, and Z a r w ā n' (see the German translation by Nöldeke, in **Festgruss an Rudolf von Roth**, p. 3 ⅂, Stuttgart, 1893); compare also the remarks and references by F. Cumont, **Recher- ches sur le Manichéisme** I, p. 8 n. 2, Brussels, 1903; consult likewise an English translation of the passage by J. F. Blue, 'The Zarvanite System', in **Indo-Iranian Studies in Honour of Dastur D. P. Sanjana,** p. 67-68, London, 1925. In like manner Theodore bar Khoni, ed Pognon, p. 111 (text) 162 (transl.), asserts that 'the Magian Zoroaster .... set up at the beginning, f o u r q r i n c i p l e s as the four elements (namely) A s h ō q a r, F r a s h ō q a r, Z a r ō q a r, and Z a r w ā n, 'and he says that Zrrwān was the father of Ormazd.' See likewise transl. by A. Yohannan, in **Journ. Amer. Or. Soc.** (1923) 43. p. 240, with n. 4. Compare, in general, W. Bousset, **Hauptprobleme der Gnosis,** p. 89-90, 236-237, Göttingen, 1907. In both these Syriac allusions, remarked above, the name Zarwān comes last in order, and refer- ence has been made to the difficulty of equatiug the other three personifications with those in the Manichaean tetrad, as further noted in the next paragraph.

From the material presented above, we may rest assured that Mānī demanded of the faithful a belief in this cardinal tenet of the Godhead as possessing four aspects, Divinity, Light, Power, and Wisdom. (See also appended Table). It was natural, therefore, as already shown by the anathema against it in the Greek Formula of Abjuration, that a recantation of this special dogma was among the very first exacted of those who adopted the Christian religion.

Etymologically these three terms in Syriac are plainly Iranian names, and a derivation for each of the first two can readily be given. From the language of the Avesta and from Pahlavi we know that Ašōqar would signify 'Making Righteousness'; and Frašōqar, ' Making (the world) advanced to Perfection.' The derivation of Zarōqar, however, has not yet been made clear. Possibly (but only as a guess) we might suggest vocalizing the unpointed Syriac term, since it is Iranian, as z (i)rōqar, instead of z (a) rōqar, and consider the word to mean ' Making wise.' It would then match with the Manichæan epithet zireft, ' wisdom' which is itself an abstract derivative from Tphl. zīr or zir, ' wise ' (dialectic variants), cf. Av. jīra , jira- 'wise, intelligent.' But the long vowel in Tphl. renders the conjecture somewhat uncertain.

Merely as a corollary in regard to the general subject of tetrads, but not for comparison, we may observe that in later times (i. e. first part of the sixth century A D.) the Persian heretic Mazdak recognized ' four forces' (Discrimination, Insight, Memory Joy) as a fundamental part of the divine power. Although Mazdak shows numerous traces of the influence of Māni (who lived three centuries earlier), the four abstractions just cited bear no special relation to the Manichaean tetrad. For a German translation of this passage in Shahristānī, see Haarbrücke 1. 192.

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RÉSUMÉ OF TH : DIVINE MAJESTY IN ITS FOURFOLD ASPECT.

G k . F o r m u l a o f A b j u r a t i o n (on renouncing Manichaeism) —9th cent. A.D.

Τὸν τετραπρόσωπον πατέρα τοῦ Μεγέθους

T u r f a n P a h l a v i M a n n i c h a e a n F r a g m e n t s
(1) Bĕ Zarvān (Bag, Yazd) (2) Rōšan (3) Zōr (4) Vahī

(Zāvar) (Żirēft)

Divinity (God) Zarvān   Light   Power   Wisdom

T u r k i s h M a n i c h a e a n F r a g m e n t s (with Iranian equivalents First)

Baγ	Rōšan	Zâvar	Żirēft
t(ä)ngri	y(a)ruq	küclüg	bilgä
Divine	Luminous	Powerful	Wise

C h i n e s e T e x t
F o u r Calm Bodies of Law (Religion)

A n N a d ī m ' s F i h r i s t — Mānī's first Precept enjoins belief in

Allah	Nūr u-hu	Quwwat u hu	Hikma u-hu
God	His Light	His Power	His Wisdom

(Fihrist further interpretation=)

1. God - King of the Paradise of Light
2. Light—of the Sun and the Moon
3. The Five Angels: Zephyr, Wind, Light, Water, Fire (cf. TPhl etc. Fragments)
4. Wisdom —the Holy Religion —through inspired Teachers (i. e. Burkhans, or Divine Messengers)
a. Teachers,—who are Sons of Intellect
b. Those who are enlightened by the Sun – Sons of Knowledge.
c. Presbyters,—who are Sons of Understanding.
d. Elect (Faithful),—who are Sons of Discretion (Mystery)
e. Hearers (Auditors),—who are Sons of Insight (Discrenment)

S t . A u g u s t i n e , 'Against Faustus'
Relating to the Godhead as Light, Power, Wisdom
(S y r i a c Allusions to) —Ašōqur, Frašōqar, Zarōqar, Zarwāṇ (in late Zoroastrianism)

AFFIRMATIVE AND INTERROGATIVE SENTENCES IN TIBETAN.

Max Walleser (Heidelberg).

It is a well known phenomenon of the written Tibetan langu-
age that the principal sentences generally terminate with the
vowel *o-* and the interrogative ones with *-am*, whilst the' subordi-
nate clauses mostly terminate with *-e*, this being the termination
of the gerund-participle *-ste*, *-te*, *-de*, with which subordinate sen-
tences of past action are joined in most cases to the following
principal ones. Jaeschke, in his Tibetan Grammar (1883). § 34.
1, gives the following rule: " The principal, verb of a sentence,
which always closes it (§ 43) receives in written Tibetan in most
cases a certain mark, by which the end of a period may be known.
This is, in affirmative sentences, the vowel *o* (called by the
grammarians:-star sdu ba), in interrogative ones, the syllable
am.[1] "

Before both the closing consonant of the verb is repeated, or,
if it ends with a vowel, *ho* and *ham* are written." There are certain
cases -· Jaeschke enumerates five of them -· where these additional
syllables are omitted.

The same thing has been said, after Czoma di Körösi, by 1. I.
Schmidt in his "Grammatik der tibetischen Sprache" (1839) in
this manner: —"Den Schlu der periode bildet die Copula *ho* mit
Wiederholung des Schlubkonsonanten der letzten Silbe der
periode". Foucaux, Grammaire de la langue tibetaine (1858)
p. 64, gives the same rule with ithe following words: „ Ces mêmes
verbes s'emploient souvent en redoublant leur lettre finale avec la
particule *ho* .... La particule *ho*, seule ou ajoutéeà la consonne
finale répétéedu mot qut précède, peut exprimer le verbe etre

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1. For the rules of native grammarians cf. Schubert, Tibe-
tische National grammatik. (Mitteilungen des Seminars für
orientalische Sprachen, Berlin, vol. XXXII, 1929), p. 53.

avec toutes sortes de noms ''. We may add at once that this last interpretation of the termination-*ho* by the verb "to be" does not seem to be correct in so far as there is no special meaning contained in the terminating vowel and that thus Foucaux's explanation is not only too wide but totally fails its aim.

How is this rather curious linguistical fact, parallels to which have scarcely ever been stated in any other language, to be explained? The answer to this question can perhaps be given, if we rightly understand the note belonging to § 34 of Jaeschke's Grammar where the author speaks about the modern use as to the formation of affirmative and interrogative sentences. He says: "In conversation the -*o* is generally omitted, and the *m* of the interrogative termination is dropped, so that merely the vowel *a* is heard, *e. g.* the question *mthon ñam*, "do you see? " and the answer **mthoñ ño,** " (I) see", are commonly spoken in W. T. : **t'oñ ña ? t'oñ.**

May we really suppose that so radical a change has taken place between the moment of fixing the orthography and modern times ? Or is it not more probable that the old pronunciation did not differ in this point from the modern one, and that the difference is rather one of writing, or rather of internal hearing, in so far as the originators of the Tibetan orthography in the seventh century A. D. did express not only what they heard from others who were pronouncing, but also those somewhat more indiscriminate sounds which they heard while observing the sound-articulations of their own in repeating those kinds of sentences for themselves (although but articulating them) while writing them down. I have tried elsewhere [1] to show that the kind of writing introduced by Indian Pandits in Tibet, was extraordinarily exact, considering not only the real

Zur Aussprache des Sanskrit und Tibetischen. (1926).

sounds which were heard, but also those vanishing and disappear-
ing noises which are caused by the movements of the other parts
and organs of the mouth besides the one which is to be regarded
as the principal source of a special sound. In a similar way I hope
to have proved with sufficiant reasons, that the so-called superscrib-
ed and subscribed letters as in *sbr*, which are generally transcrib
ed by putting them after one another : *sbr-*, instead of above
one another b, have been pronounced simultaneously, so that there
is one single sound, but consisting out of two or more sounds or
rather articulations, formed at different places of articulation and
mixing together into one special kind of consonant which contains
the elements of two or three consonants without being similar
to any one of them. So it may be, that *sbran-bu*, which now-a-
days, "according to Jaeschke's Dictionary, is generally pronounced
dan-**bu** with "cerebral" *d*, may have had this pronunciation
already in the time, when the orthography was fixed, and that
this is to be explained by the fact that the writing did not try to
render directly the auditive impression, but the characteristic kind
of articulation as well, which, if well understood, will not leave
any doubt as to the exact pronunciation of the written sounds
nor to the auditive impression, which it leaves in the hearing
individual. If we are allowed to suppose that the phonetical
culture of the Pandits who were engaged in fixing the Tibetan
language in written characters for the first time, was high enough
as to allow them a free use of those principles which Jespersen
and his colleagues in phonetics hold to be necessary in writing
down phonetical texts to day, especially such of till now unfixed
dialects and languages, we may presume as well, that with the
strange rules about ending principal clauses with *o-* and interro-
gative ones with *-am* they have, unconsciously perhaps, fixed the
natural laws that direct the musical movement of the voice
in differentiating the expression for assertion and interrogation.

If we take our issue from this proposition, we may come to the following results.

It is a well known linguistic fact, that, whenever an asserting sentence is being finished, the voice sinks down, before it totally vanishes. Now this last expiring of voice may be expressed by a vowel-sound corresponding to *o*. On the other hand, if there is a subordinate sentence preceding the principal one, the voice rises to a certain pitch, which may be the highest one generally reached by the pronouncing individual. *e. g.* in the sentence: " If you are sick you must go to the physician," the musical intonation is rising as far as the end of the conditional proposition, while it reaches its deepest tone at the termination of the whole sentence. Now, if the mouth were closed immediately after pronouncing the last sound of the sentence, it would be difficult to understand that there is still an *o* to be heard. But—and this is curious enough, although scarcely to be doubted at—the lips are not shut immediately, in the German language as little as in the English one, and, we may presume in the Tibetan as well. In every case the last consonant, and especially the explosives, must have their final explosion of a kind of vocalic character, which will have, as has been shown above, the greatest similarity with an indistinct *o*.

Now, if this theory of considering the Tibetan rules about the terminations of affirmative sentences hits the mark, we may confide to have found the clue for understanding those about the interrogative sentences. While comparing the musical intonations of this kind of sentences in European languages we may note at once, that here the musical accentuation is rising till reaching its highest pitch with the last utterance of voice. The termination of the question and the expectation of an answer may be specially marked by closing the mouth in order to show, that the questioning person has got nothing more to say himself and that he expects an immediate answer from the other. This, too,

is a linguistic fact, which, although perhaps never before stated in this crude form, may be proved experimentally by any one, who is somewhat accustomed to experimentally observing the articulatory movements executed by the speech-organs of one's own. It may be, that, after a question, the mouth is not always and absolutely shut. But, we may add, in this case the question is not a peremptory one, it still has the character of balancing and of doubt, and, in every case, the questioned person will earnestly feel moved to reply only when seeing and hearing, that her interlocution has entirely finished speaking and eagerly waits for a reply. This shutting of the mouth is represented by the termination *am* (with a labial-nasal) in interrogative sentences in Tibetan In the case, too, the vowel of the terminating syllable is nothing but the indistinct noice which is heard also in the Indian pronunciation of Sanskrit *a* at the end of words, where, as every one knows, we generally do not hear any vowel-sound at all, as is sufficiently proved by the writing of words like *Vasudev* (instead of *—deva*) without the terminating *a* which is really nearly inaudible, but not totally wanting. There is always some weak vocalic noise at the end, as is shown by the voice-character of the last consonant, *e. g. v* in our example *Vasudev*. This very weak voice sound is nothing else but the sound represented by Sanskrit *a*, which in opposition to all the other vowels, is designated by Pāṇini as well as by the native grammarians generally, as narrow (*saṃvṛta*) while all the others are said to be open (*vivṛta*). Of course this sound cannot be what we generally mean by *a*, but it is rather the indistinct vowel-sound known in other Indo-European languages as well and called here shwa indogermanicum, in imitation of the shwa known in Semitic languages.[1]

1. Cf. M. Walleser, 'Zur Aussprache von skr. a' Zeitschr, f, Indologie Iranistik, Vol. V (1927) p. 197,

We may understand now better, why a quite disappearing noise which in the transcription of languages and dialects is mostly not taken care of, has not only been noted in the Tibetan alphabet which had — as we already observed—the perference of having been formed by the very best practicians in phonolgy and phonetics, but that it has bestowed even the fundament for differentiations in sentence intonation which in no other language have ever been marked. It is true, the musical accent is given in a few other langages as well, *e. g.* the Vedic Sanskrit and the Greek of the Alexandrian grammarians by the use of " accents ", and in Chinese by the different " tones " (shêng) introduced by Indian Pandits together with the " rhyme-tables " in the sixth century A. D.[1]

But all these notations consider only the word-accent. The sentence intonation, *i. e.* the rising and lowering of the musical flowing of the spoken language, escapes even much easier the attempts of being grasped, as it is not combined with single words but depends entirely on the special aim and meaning, in which the sentence is pronounced. Thus the difference of the assertion "You are ill" and the question: You are ill?" consisting in the lowering of the voice in the first case, and in rising it in the second, is mark-ed only in Tibetan by changing the terminating syllable of the sentence into *o* or *am* although the distinction may be so slender that the ear of the modern foreigner and perhaps even of the native (viz. if there has not been a systmatical intstruction in observing even the slightest alterations in pronouncing) does not remark it, as we have seen above.

Also the conclusions to be drawn from a comparison of modern Tibetan dialects, a number of which are reprensented in patterns

1, Cf. B.Karlgren, Thonolfgie chinoise (1915) p. 29 f,

in Grierson's Linguistc Survey of India, Vol. III, Tibeto-Burman family, Part I, Tibeto-Himalayan group, tend to the same results. Here we find that in none of the patterns of modern dialects there is ever taken notice of a differentiation between positive and interrogative sentences as to the termination with the exception of two,[1] those of Lahul (p. 71) and of Khams (p. 138), both of which have been noted by Jaeschke. I am sorry to say that neither of these two samples can be acknowledged to be an unobjectionable rendering of the special dialect, as they contain, not like the others, stories of common use, but a Buddhist scriptural text evidently taken from a Sutra contained in the bKah-hgyur collection and read aloud by one conversant with the concerning dialect with the phonetic peculiarities of even this dialect. The text itself, with its succession of words and synthetical constructions, is in both cases identical so that there can be no doubt that here we have no idiomatic examples of dialects at all. Consequently we must not wonder if here the terminations in -o have been taken over from their scriptural source and that their pronunciation is also marked by -o. We can confidently say that this pronunciation is rather artificial and cannot be regarded as a proof for its effectual existence in the dialects of Lahul and Khams. This supposition may be strengthened by the circumstance that also in the newest grammars of the chief dialect of the Tibetan language, which at the same time is the one used all over the country as the lingua franca—I, but refer to Ch. Bell, Grammar of colloquial Tibetan,—there is nowhere spoken of those terminations in o or am, neither do the numerious examples of idiomatic Tibetan sentences given there betray with a syllable that anyhow they may be pronounced to-day.

1. As to the specimen for the Central Dialect (p. 79) communicated by Mr. David Macdonald and Col. Waddell from the State Sikkim (1899), it is taken from the translation of the Bible and must be considered after the principles prevailing there.

It is true that the Tibetan translations of the Bible and espe-
cially of the New Testament observe strictly the use of final *o* and
am with the exception of metrical passages.[1]

Of course, all these seeming exceptions from the rule generally
observed are to be explained by the fact that these translations of
the Bible have been modelled exactly after the patterns given by
the doctrine of Buddha in the translations of the bkah-hgyur. In
this respect the learned and sacred language of the Buddhist tradi-
tion has proved superior to the newly invading Christendom by
imparting to it not only its elevated style of diction and its vener-
able language of an age long passed by, but also those old-fashion-
ed peculiarities of pronunciation which no-body to-day would
introduce from plainly considering the spoken language, if there
were not the unwritten law of religious style and diction which
commands the employment of peculiarities elsewhere out of use.

I should not like to conclude this short study without pointing
towards the exactness and acuteness of the Tibetan orthography
which often unfolds characteristics of the spoken language which
even to the phonologically practised scholar are not immediately
perceivable. So I may refer to the phonema of " complex " conso-
nants about which I have treated in my paper "Zur Aussprache des
Sanskrit und Tibetischen"(Heidelberg 1926) and which are
represented in Tibetan (as well as partly in Sanskrit) by superscrib-
ing and subscribing letters to one another. As this theory has found

1.   E. g. Gospel of St. Matthew, Shanghai (1908) p. 3 (11.6),
     p. 25. (XI, 11). p. 27 (XII, 18, 21). p. 37 (XV. 8, 9). p. 53
     (XXI, 43). St. Mark p. 1 (I, 243). p. 18 (VII, 7), p. 33
     (XII, 10, 11). St Luke p. 3 (I, 47-55), p. 5 (I, 68-79), p. 7
     (II. 29 32), f. 9 (III. 4-5) etc.

some difficulty in making itself intelligible, I beg to adduce here one more proof which will perhaps convince even those adversaries who till now appear inaccessible to reasons and arguments drawn cheifly from Sanskrit correspondences of Tibetan phonoumena.

It consists in what follows.

In his attempt ("Versuch") on Tibetan-Chinese word equations Dr. W. Simon advances the somewhat striking assertion (p. 186) that r and l to be met with at the beginning of Tibetan words are not "prefixes" but "transposed sounds" (" versetzte Laute"). I am not disposed to quarrel here about the conception of "prefixes" which may admit some doubts both as to their pronunciation (phonetic value) and to their historical explanation. What I wish to emphasize here is only the character of these sounds as of such which are not to be treated as individual and independent ones but rather as intimately combined with the primary sounds to which they are joined. I have elsewhere proposed for these super and subscribed letters the designation of "complex consonants" wishing herewith to say that they influence the entire complex of sounds in forming out of it one single acoustic impression, although the articulating basis of this phonema may be divided according to the co-operation of the different organs of the mouth which all of them are to participate in giving any sound the special timbre which it has in the individual connection where it happens. About all the details of this theory I must refer the reader to look into my paper quoted above. Now I should like to come to meet Dr. Simon half way in admitting his proposition (which really I hold not to be proved) that there was a kind of metathesis ("eine der Aussprache- erlechterung dienende Lautversetzung") being the cause for speaking $l\dot{n}$ instead of (unproved!) $\tilde{n}l$

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1. Tibetisch-Chinesische Wortgleichungen. Mittiellungen des Seminars fur Orientalische-Sprachen, Berlin, XXXII. 1929, p. 157 ff.

or *le* instead of (unproved!) *cl*: Does Dr. Simon really think that such a "metathesis" which is required by him may take please without affecting intimately the sound across which or round about which the "metathesis" is acting? Does he not see that we must nowadays, where the study of phonetics is advanced far enough as to request also the consideration of articulatory changes of secondary rank, consider not only the chief consonant which is generally heard and accordingly written in the plain phonetic transcription often thought suffi- cient for transcribing the sounds of languages, but also those vanishing and not always audible alterations of sound brought about by the position of the more or less inactive parts of the mouth ! I have laid stress elsewhere on the demand raised chiefly by Jespersen[1] to employ for phonetic transcriptions no more single letters but rather a system of lines, each of which is destined for denoting all the alterations to which a single organ of sound-formation, *e. g.*, the lips, the point of the tongue etc., may underlie succes- sively during the whole process of articulating a text of sentences which are to be fixed by phonetical script. If Dr. Simon will think necessary to comply to this commanding request of phonology, how will he treat these consonants which are specially affected by this "metathesised" sounds, *viz.*, those "across" or "through" or "above" which the metathesis is to take place? I think he will feel constrained to connotate in the graphical scheme drawn according to the requirements stated above the "metathesised" consonants together with their pertinent ones, that is to say, he will write these different articulations above one another exactly as is done in the Tibetan script with those consonants which are joined with superscribed *r* or *l*. Properly said, it is not true at all that these two signs are prefixes in Tibetan, they are superscribed

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1. Grundfragen der Phonetic. (1904) p. 65 ff.

and this can mean only that they are pronounced at the same time with those sounds above the letters of which they are noted. If Dr. Simon will condescend to an understanding of these relations well known as for the rest to every one who has occupied himself a little with practical phonetics—there is no doubt he will find a much more satisfactory, solution for the difficulties which induced him to the somewhat peculiar assumption of a metathesis in cases where both the Tibetan and the Chinese development of sounds absolutely excludes such a process. And this is the case in almost all—if not all the sound-equations adduced by Dr. Simon in the second part (p. 186 ff.) of his paper.

I do not think that it will recommed itself to abide any longer with a phonetical fact which wants only to be earnestly considered in order to be assented to and I especially decline to give for the moment any instances for refuting the opinion of Dr. Simon. I even daresay that I should not have taken notice of this newest publication of Dr. Simon, if I did not see in it a radical mistake of its author who will but have to correct in order to give his equations a fundament better in every case than what he succeeded to give them till now.

<div align="right">Max Walleser.</div>

SUBORDINATE CLAUSES IN TIBETAN.

By

Max Walleser (Heidelberg)

In a paper about "Affirmative and interrogative sentences in Tibetan' I tried to show that the distinction of these in written Tibetan by the termination *o* and *am* is rather one of musical intonation than of sound-articulation. Now, I should like to prove that there is neither a differentition between principal and subordinate clauses, in so far as the use of the particle *-de,-te,-ste* may be explained in a way that makes their distinction superfluous.

As to this particle, I. I. Schmidt in his "Grammatik der tibetischen Sprache" (1835), modelled after Csoma's Tibetan grammar, gives the following rules as to these particles (§41): "Die Partikeln *te, de* and *ste*, dem Participium Präsentis oder der Verbalwurzel angehängt, bilden . . . das Gerundium Präs.: z B *hdug-ste* sitzend; in gleicher Weise mit dem Part. Prät. verbunden bilden sie das Gerundium Prät. also *smras-te* gesagt habend". Of course, we cannot accept this formulation, as it contains a number of conceptions and grammatical definitions which are in contradiction not only with the general use of language but also with logic. We may but refer to the presumption that with gerund we understand the use, specially observed in Latin, of the infinitive of a verb in secondary cases or joined with prepositions as *e.g. laborando* "by working," so that the gerund may be considered as the ablative (or instrumental) of the infinitive *laborare*. It may be that the case form of the ablative

corresponds in certain meanings to the Tibetan termination -*te* etc., but there are, besides, so many differences as to the syntactical employment that it appears quite impossible to make use of this designation of gerund for the Tibetan termination -*te* etc. as well.

On the other side, it is as inadvisable to call it participle, as with this term we join the faculty of underlying the nominal flexion corresponding to the substantive noun to which the participle refers. As with Tib. *te*, *ste*, *de* there is no possibility of declination, we feel quite unacceptable as in the case of gerund, to call it participle, but it is not manageable neither, to call the verbal form to which the particle *te* etc., is affixed, "participle," as is done by Schmidt l.?. who calls the verbal stem of *hdug ste*, *viz.*, *hdug*, a participle. It is quite natural, and there ought not to be any necessity of discussion about this, that here like in many other cases we find in our grammar the use of grammatical terms and conceptions which are derived from the syntax of European languages, specially from the Latin one, without the legitimation to do so. As so many other uncultured languages among which the agglutinative are of a singular plainness and simplicity, the Tibetan is much too unartificial as to lend itself to an interpretation with the help of our grammatical categories. We must try to reduce the linguistic phenomena meeting us in this language to the plainest formula and then we shall see very soon, that neither the designation of "participle" nor that of "gerund" finds a place in the systematical arrangement of grammatical terms to be employed for this language.

It is now the same incongruity of Tibetan with our occidental language which prevents us from subscribing to Foucaux's formulation of the rule about the use of *te*, *ste* and *de* (Grammaire de la langue tibétane, 1858, § 73, p. 57)., On frome avec le participe présent ou le participe passé une espèce de locution absolue, en ajoutant à ces participes le signe de l'ablatif, de l'instrumental, du génitif ou du datif___On obtient le même

sens avec les particules te, de et ste. Exemples: smra ste "disant", smras te "ayant dit." Here the formulation is much more convenient, as it avoids the use of the term "gerund". Notwithstanding, it appears to be objectionable in so far as it supposes the present stem smra and the perfect stem smras to be "participles", which they generally can become only by the addition of the "article" pa or ba, if we hold this change as sufficient for the designation of it as a participle. I think it will not only be better but the only possible way in order to get to a clearer understanding of the matter, if we entirely keep aloof from the conceptions of "gerund" and "participte" and restrain ourselves upon the plain and objective state of affairs in formulating the use of the particles with de, te, ste, thus that they are added respectively to the present or perfect stem of the verb which, according to the general use of the Tibetan language, has its place always at the end of the sentence.

After these observations about the theories of I. I. Schmidt and Foucaux we can be somewhat shorter as to the explanation given by Jaeschke in his Tibetan grammar § 41. Jaeschke has a much better understanding for the racial difference of the Tibetan language from our European ones and for the impossibility of employing the terms borrowed from the grammatical structure of the latter for designating syntactical relations found in the former. Thus Jaeschke knows quite well, that the formations with de, se, ste are neither gerunds nor participles and that it is but a kind of conventional designation helping us a little in the understanding of the meaning of those formations.

Thus he says (p. 55): "te (de etc.).... is added to the present root as well as to the perfect-root: gton ste "giving", bton ste "having given", and stands for all clauses beginning with when, as, since, after etc. Also in the spoken language of (Western) (Tibet), it is used most frequeuetly".

The linguistical fact spoken about proves thus to be of a

very plain kind. We may say, the ending *te* etc. is added to the
verbal from which always stands at the end of the sentence and
is identical with the verbal stem in so far as there are not finite
forms derived with the help of verbal terminations, personal ones
or others. So, as to the formal appearance, there does not exist
any difference between principal sentences and subordinate ones,
and we are permitted to consider the particle *te* etc. with the
same right as co-cardinating conjuction and as a subordinating
one. But if this is the case, it will recommend itself much more,
to consider them as co-ordinate ones, because we have no induce-
ment to complicate things more than they are by themselves.
We know that only those languages which are of the most deve-
loped kind are provided with both co-ordinating and subordinating
conjunctions, and there is of course no reason to attribute this
predicate to a very poor and absolutely primitive language like
the Tibetan one : syntactical distinctions which we know chiefly or
exclusively from the Indo-European languages. We may add one
more argument in favour of an explanation without subordinate
sentences properly called. It seems that the meaning of a clause
as of a subordinate one depends on the existence of conjunction
at the beginning of it.[1]

Now, if Tib. *te* etc. has its place not at the beginning of the
seemingly subordinate clause, but at the end of it, it is evidently
not a subordinating conjunction at all, and as there is no con-
junction, there is no subordinate clause neither and we may be
more sure about it, as all the grammars quoted above are in
concordance while speaking of " gerunds " of " supines ", and
it is a special merit of Jaeschke's to have laid stress upon the
statement that these forms are only "substitutes for most of those
subordinate clauses which we are accustomed to introduce by con-
juctions".

1 With the exception of conditional and indirectly interroga-
tive clauses which are sometimes marked as such by a metathesis
of the verb, *e. g.* in modern German, English, French etc.

The conclusion which we are draw from these facts is the following:

In so far as the particles *te, ste, de* are appended to verbal stems, they may formally be designated as a kind of "gerund" or "supine", but only if these particles can be explained in the same manner as the gerunds and supiness known to us from other languages, *viz.* as casual terminations. If this is not possible, we shall have to consider them as particles used in the sense of co-ordinating conjunctions, by protracting them from the end of the preceding clause to the beginning of the next one. There is also of course a slight alteration of the signification of the participle, in so far as it gets now the meaning of "then", "there" or a similar one. The chief difficulty seems to be now: is a clause—in our case the preceding one—to be considered as such a one, if there is no finite verb, but only the verbal stem — be it present, perfect or future—in its crude form? I think, we can answer to this question affirmatively, as this is thought quite sufficient in all the other kinds of clauses as well, and that thus we may confide to have found the right way in treating the problem as we have done.

Now, this fashion of seeing the matter would be much more satisfactory, if we succeeded to give the particles *te, ste, de* an etymological explanation which would correspond to the particular meaning implied in the one of a co-ordinate clause. And I think, indeed, we can risk an etymology without being obliged to take into account any factors not quite perspicuous to us.

A few words beforehand for making clear the etymological premisses which may help us to find out the original meaning of those particles.

We see also in other cases of a similar character an alternation of the initial consonants, *e. g.* in the beginning of the somewhat kindred particle *cin* which, according to the preceding con-

sonant, may be spelt (and pronounced *ciṅ, shiṅ* as well. Now, it is difficult, if not impossible, to decide which of these forms is the original one. One can presume that all these different forms may be equivalent in so far as the use of the one or the other depends exclusively on external circumstances (*viz.* the preceding sound), and if this particle *ciṅ* etc —as is is really the case—can be found exclusively as a kind of suffix (and not as an independent word), we may even say, that is quite impossible to give one special form as the fundamental one, if we accidentally have not got a hint for choosing one of them as an appropriate one for etymological explanation, by reason of the similarity or identity with another word of the language, used in a similar meaning. Now, I do not think, that this be an easy thing in the case of *ciṅ* etc., but among the three forms *te, ste, de,* there is at least one which is well known to us from its employment in the language, although the syntactical meaning does not seem at first sight to be quite the same. This form is *de,* the well known demonstrative pronoun, or rather demonstrative particle, for it always needs a particular complement—case-ending or other—to get its character of a demonstrative pronoun.

This latter circumstance may indicate to us that really we have to do here not with a pronoun at all, but with a demonstrative particle *de* which we can put on the same level with the temporal particle *da* in *da ni* "now". The alternation *de : da* may be proved by other examples, but of which, instantly, I do not know any one. But even if we must renounce to comparing *de* with *da,* it is sufficiently proved as a demonstrative particle of a similar meaning from the different composite forms of which it may be a component part. There are many cases—perhaps they form the majority of

all—were *de* may be considered directly as a preposition joined
to the verbal stem in the meaning of a subject of the sen-
tence *e. g.*, the sentence given by Jaeschke § 41 A 1 (p. 55):
phru gu chus khyer te ᵤhio "the child by the water (was)
carried, it (*de*) died". It is true, there is one great difficul-
ty with this way of viewing the matter, *viz.*, to explain how
it comes that after vowels we have the form *ste* and not *de*
(*e.g.*, in the sentence: "*rgyal po ci ste rgyal sras kyis rgyal sa
bzuṅ ṅo*". But we may reckon here with the use of the
suffix—*s*, added to the stem of verbs (in our example to *ci*

so that it becomes *çis*) to designate the preterit (*e. g.*, *skyes*
from *skye*), and thus it would be quite natural that always
there is a consonant *s* before the particle *te*, melting with
the latter to *ste* after verbal stems terminating in a vowel.

Now, this explanation of the syntactical use of *te, ste, de*
seems to agree exactly with the modern use of the syllable
de in conjunction with the terminations *ṅan, mkhan, pa* or *ba*
added to the root. Ch. Bell, in his "Grammar of colloquial
Tibetan" (sec. ed. 1918) treats about this employment of *de*
in the 6th chapter § 19 (p. 60) under the designation of
"agentive participle" and gives among others the following
example: "*khas sa hgro ṅan (mkhan) baṅ chen de*" "The mes-
senger who went yesterday", or: "*kas sa yi ge gtoṅ ṅan
(mkhan) mi de*", "The man who sent the letter yesterday",
or "*khas sa btaṅ ṅahi (bahi) yi ge de*", "The letter which was
sent yesterday". Of course, these examples are not to be
considered as syntactically quite equivalent. Here there is
the genitive ending *bahi* before the noun in the sense of an
attribute, as in the last example, we may think at once that
the conjunction *de* is nothing but a postponed demonstrative
pronoun by which the preceding noun is taken up again.
But this may be the case in the other sentences as well, and
then the characterisation by "agentive participle" is also cor-

rect. But the general use in the old written, literary language appears to have been larger, in so far as the participle *de* (or *te, sta* according to sandhi rules) referred not to a single noun, but to the whole sentence. With other words: the particle *de* etc. was not used in its general meaning of a demonstrative pronoun, but rather in that of a particle of time: "then", or of locality: "there", So it may be regarded as a conjunction for co-ordinate sentences generally, but one which shifted to the use of a subordinating conjunction with the power to change the *preceding* sentences into a subordinate one, and thus we may acquiesce in acknowledging that the general use of former grammars which inclined to call *te, de* etc. a subordinative conjunction, was quite legitimate.

So we may recapitulate what we have said in the preceding pages in the following manner. We have got to distinguish a double use of *de* etc., 1) the one as a demonstrative pronoun, visible better in the modern use of it for forming the "agentive participle", as noted by Ch. Bell, and 2) the one as a demonstrative particle with the meaning of "then" or "there" which is to be considered as a co-ordinating conjunction, but shifting to the use of a postponed subordinative conjunction. How this double use of *de* is to be explained or brought upon one line, remains still open and will require some more research, and it will be appropriate, perhaps, to found it upon a study of the modern dialects of Tibet. There is no much probability, that the modern translations of the Bible will shed any more light upon this question as they are modelled chiefly after the old Buddhist translations of Indian texts—as we have shown in a former paper. And with the dialects there is the difficulty that we cannot always and everywhere state the identity of the forms current to-day with forms used in the literary

language. Notwithstanding we may try to show, to which results such a comparing study will lead.

In the "General Introduction" to Grierson's "Linguistic Servey of India", Vol. III. Tibeto-Burman family. Part I. p. 28 we read: "Another common suffix is *chas* in Balti. Other suffixes of the same kind are *mkhan, te, ching, gis,* etc. . . . *Te* is used after the consonants *n, r, l* and *s.* After *d* it is replaced by *de,* and after *g, ng, b, m,* and vowels by *ste.* It is the usual suffix of the conjunctive participle; thus *btang-ste,* "having given".

What is of most interest for us amongst all this is the information about the use of *te,* corresponding as for the rest exactly with what is said in the grammars of classical Tibetan. As there is no reference at all here to the use in dialects and especially also to the question, whether it exsists in these, although in somewhat altered form, we are referred to hypotheses rather than to well-founded facts in quoting instances from the dialectical patterns given in the volume. Only with this restriction it is possible at all to communicate some examples for the use of *de, te,* etc., and to deduce some conclusions from them as to the syntactical use of the rather doubtful corresponding forms.

Thus it is absolutely unintelligible whether we can combine the classical termination *te, de* etc, with the one given in the grammatical remarks about the dialect of Baltī (l. c. p. 37): "Conjunctive particles are formed by adding the suffix *e* to the present or past base. Thus, *ser-re,* saying; *khur-re,* taking, *ong-s-e,* having come; *hhyong-s-e*; having brought; *be ya-s-e,* doing."

I do not think that this termination, consisting only of the vocalic epenthese -*e* which we may consider as a short vowel-noise corresponding to the -*o* terminating principal

clauses stands in any direct relation to the classical termination *te*, *de* etc. I should rather think that we have to seek for an explanation on exactly the same lines as was given by me for the phenomenon just mentioned of final -*o*. Here, the two sentences which in the Introduction just quoted are considered as subordinate and principal, are evidently put together without any conjunction at all, the terminating -*e* (-*e*,*ə*.) being only the sign for elevating the intonation and thus indicating (*viz.*, by musical pitch) the introduction of the next sentences which therewith is ranged as a principal one. So, all this would be considered according to the rules laid down for the use of terminating -*o* in my paper cited above.

I only want to give one or two examples for the use of this *e* in Baitī, sufficient to show the absolute analogy with the use of -*o* : l. c. p. 39: ... *khur-sē* (carrying) ... *bes bᵉ yas* (way made.)

... *so sē* (living) ... *skang-at-pa* (filled.)

... *ong-sē* (having come) ... *zers* (said).

... *song-sē* (having gone) ... *zer-uk* (shall say.)

If we go on now to the dialect of Purik, being the link between Baltī and Ladakhī, we find a very similar use. There are the following remarks about it in the short grammar that precedes the specimens: "Adverbial and conjunctive particles are formed by adding the suffixes *se* and *te*; thus, *shi se*, "dying", *that-te* "gladly". *E* is sometimes used in the same way. Thus, *zer-re*. "saying". Such forms are occasionally also used as verbal nouns. Thus, *zer-sē-nā*, "from saying, having said" *logh-s-ē-nā*, "having returned" ... ".

This use may be illustrated by the following examples (l. c. f. 47.):

... *syö-sẽ* ... *tang-s* "(having divided ... (he) gave".

... *bẽ yas-sẽ* ... *druls*, "having done ...(he) went".

If we come now to the dialect of Ladakh, we find in the grammatical remarks, given after Mr. Franck's Ladakhi grammar, the following rule relative to the suffix *te* (p. 58): "Conjunctive participles are formed by adding the suffix *-te* to the present or past base; thus, *zer-te*, "saying"; *song-s-te*, "having gone". There are for it the following instances (p. 62):

khur-ste (taking with him) ... *langs-song* (he started); *tshar-te* (finishing) ... *yong s te* (having arrived) ... *song* (he went);

Yong-s-te (having come) ... *zer-pa* (he said).

Thus we may say as to the use in Ladakhī, that sentences are joined to one another in a somewhat narrower or more intimate fashion by terminating the first by *-e* which evidently here also denotes only the rising of the musical accent.

Going on, we find that in the rather unimportant dialect of Lahul about which only scanty information is given, the usual suffix of the verbal noun is *che*. But this has evidently nothing to do with the conjunctive particle *de, te* ... or *e,* being related rather to the classical *cin.* Their is neither a specimen of the dialect to be used confidently.

Now, as to the Central dialect which is the lingua Franca of Tibet and ·not exclusively the local dialect of Lha-sa, we may not expect at all any remarkable difference from the classical language. Indeed, we find here the use of *ste* exactly as in the texts of the bKah-hgyur or bsTan-hgyur. Cf. f. 76: "Conjunctive participles are formed by adding case-suffixes to the base or by means of special suffixes such as *de* and *te, ching* and *shi"*

As to the remaining dialects of this group, especially those of Spiti (l. c. p. 83) and Nyamkat (p. 86), the informa-

tion given is rather scanty. There is scarcely anything said about them, that was not remarked as yet is reference to the preceding ones. The other Tibeto-Himalayan dialects treated on p. 187 ff., are too distinct from the models of classical Tibetan as to permit any comparation.

If, finally, we try to draw the conclusions from these notes about the southern Tibetan dialects, they may be resumed as follows:

Evidenty there were two kinds of using conjunctive particles, joined to the verbal form which finishes—terminates, the former clause: either a syllable derived from the old particle *de, te, ste* was affixed to it, or merely the vowel *e* (*e, g.*, in the dialect of Balti) which is to be considered as a designation for the elevated intonation that is to announce the new sentence to which the preceding one is the introduction. This *e* would thus correspond to the *o* used at the end of principal clauses and joined to the last word by doubling its consonant. I hope I have sufficiently shown in a former paper, that this *o* means the lowering of the musical intonation; in the same manner terminating *e* would express the rising of intonation at the end of the secondary sentence.

On the other hand, the particle *-te* etc., used in the dialects of Ladakh, Spiti etc, as well as in the Central dialect, may be derived from an original *de, viz.*, a kind of demonstrative particle, refering either to the whole preceding sentence, or, as is the general use in modern colloquial Tibetan (as noted by Ch. Bell), to the subject of this sentence. In the former case we may consider it as a kind of postponed subordinating conjunction in the latter as an "agentive participle", as such it has been characterised by Ch. Bell in his Grammar of colloquial Tibetan.

Of course, the question arises now whether it would not be possible to give for these two linguistical phenoumena a common explanation, either by considering the one of them as the cause of the other, or by deriving them from a common source. I think we can proceed from either as being the original construction.

Firstly, we may suppose that in the same way, as the syllable-*o* or rather the expiring vowel-sound on a very pronouced deep pitch, was used for designating the end of the whole sentence, the syllable *e*, as the corresponding high vowel-noise being employed for severing the proceding " subordinate " clause (but which did not differ as to the form from a " principal " one, except the finishing *e*) from the subsequent " principal " one. This state of things appears clearly in Balti like *zer-re, kur-re* (Ling. Survey, III, 1, p. 37), but it exists most probably also in forms which may be derived from the past participle ending in-*s*, e. g. *ong-s-e,* " having come ": *khyong s-e,* having brought "; *brya-s-e,* " doing ". If we wish to reduce the froms terminating in *te,- ste, -de* as well to this pure vocalic noise at the end of " subordinate " clauses, we are to presume that this process took its origin from such verbal stems which had a dental explosive as termination. We know from the oldest sources of Tibetan script that this terminating *d* was much more repanded in Tibetan than appears in modern writing, and that expecially the stems ending in *l, r, n* in most cases had a *d* at the end.*

*In native Tib grammar it is called *da-drag.* Cf. Jaeschke, Tibetan grammar 3rd edi (p. 45 § 34), p. 147; Laufer. Bird divination among the Tibetans (Toung Tao, 1914, p. 56 ff.); Schubert, Tib. National grammatik, Berlin, vol. 31, 32) I. V. 13 ff.— For the phonetic value of *d* as final consonent see Karlgren, Prblems in archaic Chinese, I. R. A. S. 1928, p. 789 ff,

Here quite naturally the termination appeared as *de* or *te*, which was later on considered and treated as an independent suffix in so far as it could be added to every verbal stem.

On the other side we may take our departure from the demonstrative *de* as well, which even in modern times has been made use of again in forming the " agentive participle " (Ch. Bell). It is true that this construction is somewhat more difficult to be understood in such cases where there is not a single word, *viz.* the subject of the succeeding principal sentence, brought into relation with the preceding "subordinate" sentence, but where we feel rather induced to consider the preceding sentence as an absolute participle, corresponding to the Latin ablativus absolutus, the Greek genitivus absolutus etc. But from all these Indo-European constructions the Tibetan would differ in so far as there is no case ending at all, designating the syntactical depedency of the preceding sentence. In opposition to them, in Tibetan the dependence is expressed only by rising the intonation towards the end of the preceding sentence which thus keeps in a certain degree its character of a principal sentence, formally at least. But about all this we have spoken in the first part of this paper to which it may be sufficient to refer.

THE LANGUAGE OF THE KIRTILATĀ

By
BABURAM SAKSENA.

1. Kīrtilatā of Vidyāpati, the well known poet of Mithilā, is one of his earliest works: it was written about 1360 A. D. The author calls the language of the poem, avahaṭṭhā (p. 6).[1]

It thus represents the Apabhraṃśa of the 14th century. Vidyāpati terms the language **desila baanā** 'country-speech' also in the same breath and hence it appears that the language represents the speech of the times—particularly of the cultured classes. The vocabulary represents all the three elements—**tatsama, tadbhava** and **Deśi**. **Tatsama** forms are very often resorted to. The first five stanzas of the introduction as well as the closing stanzas of every chapter are in Sanskrit entirely. While writing prose the author several times lapses into Sanskrit of an ornate classical style, for instance:

p. 12 **atha gadya . . . pavitra . . . . . deva.**

p. 14 **prabala śatru . . . . jayalakṣmī.**

p. 18 **hṛdaya giri kandarā nidrāṇa pitṛvairi keśari.**

p. 20 **vismṛtasvāmiśoka (hu) kuṭibarāja nīticatura (hu).**

p. 36 **mānayjana (ka) lajjāvalambita mukhacandrikā kaaṭli**
kaṭākṣachaṭā kandarpa śara śreṇi.

This clearly shows that the language of the cultured class incorporated words from the ever-present literary language *viz.* Sanskrit just as literary Hindi does to-day or literary Urdu does from Persian. The Pandits of Mithilā have always been an orthodox set and have kept in close touch of Sanskrit literature and thus at every stage they could freely borrow from the parent

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1. The references are to the pages of Kirtilatā, edited by the writer of this monograph and published by the Indian Press, Ltd., Allahabad. The text has been collated from two manuscripts and from Har Prasad Shastri's Bengali edition, and is accompanied by a Hindi translation and an introduction. The edition was taken in hand at the suggestion of Sir George Grierson.

language. Even to-day, the Pandits' maithili differs from that
of the illiterate conntry-man in this particularity to a considerable
extent.

The tadbhava words have a great variety of forms, the same
words may represent several stages of its development, *e.g.*
brāhmaṇa : bāmhaṇa p. 32, bābhana, p. 44. This is explicable by
the fact that the same word may have been taken as a loan from
Sanskrit at various stages.

Dēśī words are very few. Chailla appears earlier in Prakrit
works (*e. g.*, in Karpūramañjarī); I have noticed in this text
dhāgaḍa, p. 90 and ruṇḍa, p. 90.

2. Besides the above the text contains a large number of
loan-words from Persian and Arabic. The poem gives a detailed
description of Jauṇāpur (modern Jaunpur), the seat of a Muslim
principality. The following is the list:

Surtāna, p. 10, (Surutāna p. 44), pātisāha, p. 14, 22, turukka,
(turukkā, p. 38, turuka, p. 40, 44, tuluka, p. 66, 70, turukīni, p. 42)
sāha, p. 36, Kammāna, p. 38, (kamāna, p. 90), maijjalla, p 40, mira,
p. 40, vallia, p. 40, saillāra, p. 40, sarāba, p. 40, khāna, p. 40,
mulaadama, p. 42, matarupha, p. 42, carakha, p. 42, saada, p 42,
ʔvilaha, p. 42, daravesa, p. 42, makhaḍūma, p. 42, 80, hukuma, p. 42,
bāga, p. 42, misimila, p. 42, 90, nimāja, p. 44, masida, p. 40, 44,
gālima, p. 46, (darabāra, p. 46 (darabāla, p. 50), mahala, p. 46,
dārigaha, p. 50, nimājagaha, p. 50, khoāragaha, p. 50, khōramagaha,
p. 50, davāla, p. 50, dākhōla, p. 52, ujjīra, p. 56, khodālamba, p. 58,
pāpōsa, p. 58, pharamāna, p. 58, sera, p. 58, demāna, p. 62, gaddavara,
p. 62, ʔkurubaka, p. 62, adapa, p. 62, takata, p. 98, (takatāna, p. 64),
tabala, p. 66, malika, p. 110 (maṇika, p. 80), rāha, p. 80, bākhata,
p. 80, daneja, p. 80, thegha, p. 82, nisāna, p. 84, tajāna, p. 84, bāga,
p. 84, cābuka, p. 88, tarakasa, p. 88, phauda, p. 88, magōla, p. 90,
khundakāra, p. 90, bagala, p. 90, banda, p. 90, sikāra, p. 98,
mahamada, p. 100, sarama, p. 102, gaṇḍā, p. 38, bandā, p. 38, kāja,
p. 38, 42, tabellā, p. 38, dokkāpadārā, p. 38, khiṣā, p. 38, moja, p. 40,

khoji, p. 40, 42, kalima, p. 42; kasida, p. 40, kitāba, p. 40, kababa, p. 40, paeda, p. 40, 80, aevāla, p. 42, dvāa, p. 42, bādi, p. 38, raīti, p. 68, bajāri, p. 38, karibī, p. 40, bāju, p. 38, peāju, p. 38 (piāju, p. 42) sarāfē, p. 38, kalāmè, p. 40, khodāe, p. 40. gulāmō, p. 38, (gulāmā, p. 96) salāmo, p. 38, tokhāra-hi, p. 40, rōjā, p. 42, mulukkā, p. 46, umāra, p. 46, (ūmārā), kādī, p. 80, menāne, p. 50, hauddē, p. 96, hajāri, p. 38, khāsa, p. 50, kharāba, p 40, sadara, p. 50, teji tāii, p. 84, 88, kharide, p. 38, abè bē, p. 38.

These words take up the terminations like Sanskritic words; the nearest sounds have been substituted for such foreign sounds as do not exist in the language. There are certain modifications which are explicable only by the hypothesis of hesitation and uncertainty of the correct pronunciation.[1]

3. The sounds do not need a separate treatment as the history of I. A. sounds is regular in this text. The following points, however, may be noted:—

(a) Vowels – these are generally lengthened at the end of a foot for the sake of metre and rhyme and sometimes even in the middle (e. g , phūra, p. 76). But the lengthening is inexplicable on this ground in several cases (dīgantara, p. 70, cf. diggantara, p. 94, antarikkha, p. 106, cf. antarikhkha, p. 110, thira, p. 92, cf. thira p. 110). In one instance even the quality of the vowel has been changed for rhyme (ī becomes ō—nōra for nīra in order to rhyme with bōhra, p. 22). In kumara, p. 24, and rājā, p. 24, the shortening of the vowels (kumāra and rājā) is not explicable. ai ānd au in a few cases appear written as diphthongs but are really simple vowels ăī ăū.

(b) Initial y was pronounced as j as is clear from its appearance in two places where j - was expected (yanavañō, p. 4, yujjhayi, p. 90, cf. jujjha, p. 84) -y (in place of an elided -k-)

is retained in some cases as is clear from its representation by e
(**sakala**>**saela**, p. 50, **nagara**>**nayara**, p. 16, cf. **naara**, p. 26) as
medial -**ya** and -**e**- had no distinction in pronunciation (**payadā**,
p.40). r and l are confounded in several words (**ghōlā**, p. 24, 30, **ghōrā**
p. 44, cf. **ghōdā**, p. 68, **sambala**, p. 24, **sambara**, p. 70) ; l, however,
has an upper hand : **palai, pali,** p. 66(cf. Hin. **par**- Awadhi par·), **jōli**
(cf. Aw. **jōrl**), p. 88, **pakali**, p. 100 (cf. Awadhī **pakari**), **davali**
p. 46 (Aw. **dauri**). The text has v abundantly, but this simply is
used for b in most instances (*e.g.* **vamhana,** p. 32).

(*c*) nasals—no distinction appears to have been made between
ṇ and n, the latter being the pronounced nasal (**suana**, p. 4. **suana**,
p. 32) Old -**ṇṇ**- was pronounced as -**ṇḍ**- as is clear from **ākandana**,
p. 6, **puṇḍu**, p. 8, **seṇḍu**, p. 64. ñ represents ý initially and mere
nasalisation medially (**ñañona**, p. 26, **kahaño**, p. 8).

n represents l in **manika,** p. 80 and **nahia,** p. 48 and l represents
n in **lasūlā**, p. 38 and **ilāmē,** p. 48. -**m**- is represented by -**v**- >·**b**·
generally, but the reverse process is found in **apāmana**, p. 34
(<**apāvana** through **apǎvǎna**). In **sambāra**, p. 28, (<**sambbāra** :
sǎbhāra), m possibly represents merely nasalisation In **cānda**,
p. 34, **rañka**, p. 50, **cāndana**, p. 68 and **āṅga,** p. 68, (cf. **āga**) the
nasal was very weak and was coming towards nasalisation merely.
The text is very fond of nasalisation and in most cases there is
no plausible reason for it, *e. g*, **amiña**, p. 56 for **amia**, **pāña,** p. 6
for **pāua**; **piña**, p. 16, **ūpāe**, p. 10, **ūmārā**, p. 60, **kāja**, p. 68, **turukkǎ,**
p. 38, **jāniña,** p. 52, **bissamiña**, p. 52.

(*d*) sibilants -**ṣ** appears in many instances but its pronuncia-
tion was **kh** as is clear from the following instances **khāna**, p. 40,
āṇa, p. 46, **susa**, p. 56, **sanē**, p. 68). It was possibly pronounced
ṣ (or s ?) when a velar consonant was in proximity *e.g.* **ahiseka,**
p. 112 (cf. modern pronunciation of **ṣaṣṭhī** as **khaṣṭhī**. The
regular sibilant was **s**.

(*e*) aspiration—The absence of aspiration in **nakata**, p. 42
(<**nakṣatra**, modern **nakhata**) and its presence in **bipatha**, p. 70
(<**vipatti**) and **pacchūsa**, p. 56 (<**pratyūsa**) is not easy to account

for. At some places the orthography doubles the same aspirated consonant (*e g.* uththi, p. 50), but it represents a combination of the unaspirated and the aspirated form. The consonant -h- comes up in several instances in grammatical forms and is inexplicable, *e.g.* in the past tense of the verbal forms.

(*f*) mutes—The absence of voice in ṭhaka, p. 16 (modern ṭhaga Skt. sthag-) is not easy to understand. The pronunciation -dh- appears to have been unstable (caḍhāvai, p. 44, caḍi, p. 100, cahri p. 98.

(*g*) The following instances of sandhi have been noted: kikkariaū, p. 70, kikkariā, p. 80, āevaja, p. 30, jajjamia, p. 10.

In the following pages a detailed grammar of the language is given.

NOUNS.

§4. Bases end in -a, -ā,-i, -ī-, -u, and -ū.

By far the largest number is that of -a bases which are about 1700 (about 1400 without terminations and about 300 with terminations). The number of ā bases is 225, of -i 155, of -ī 80, of, -u 45 and of -ū 7[3].

(*a*) Bases in -a represent either old bases in -a (*e.g.* hiaa, p. 6, Skt. hṛdaya 'heart', suaṇa p. 4: sujana 'a good man', chailla, p. 4: Pkt. chailla 'clever'), or old bases in -ā (*e.g.* lāja p. 92: Skt. lajjā 'shame', seva p. 8: Skt. sevā 'service') or are loan-words from Persian-Arabic (*e.g.* kammāna p. 38: Pers. kamān 'bow', nimāja p. 44: Ar. namāz 'prayer'). It is certain that the final -a (after consonants) was not pronounced, it appears here because the script does not distinguish between a consonant plus -a and a mere consonant in the final position.

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3. For the purposes of statistics in this monograph, if a noun occurs more than once it has been taken to be as many nouns, *e.g.* if kaṭaka 'army' occurs as kaṭaka twice, as kaṭakāṇī twice and as kaṭake once, it will count as five nouns.

(b) Bases in -ā are either the ancient -ā bases (e.g. vāsā 'p. 34:
Skt. vāśyā ' prostitute ', rajā p. 24: Skt. rāja 'king', or the
elongated forms of ancient -a bases (e. g. vaanā p. 6: Skt.
vacana -ka ' speech ' vallabā p. 26 : Skt. vallabha -ka ' dear
one ', bōla p. 94: Pkt. bōla - 'word')', or are loanwords from
Persian ending in -ā, -ah and a consonant, (e. g. dvāā p 42:
dw'ā 'blessing': ūmārā p. 60, umrā 'noblemen'; kujā p. 38: kūzah
'cup', khojā p. 42: khwa:jah 'an honourableman'; kiteba p. 40:
kitab- 'book'. turukā p. 44: turk 'Turk'). Of about 225 bases
ending in ā, 80 are old -ā bases, and 16 loan words from Persian.
The rest are the elongated forms of -a bases. Some of these
have short forms also, e.g. ghōlā, p. 52 and ghōla, p. 24.

(c) Bases in -i* either represent old -i, -I, -in bases (e.g. satti
p. 6: śakti 'strength', vijjāvai p. 4: vidyāpati, meini p. 12: mēdioī
'earth', hāthi p. 30: hastin 'elephant') or are Persian bases in -I
or a consonant (e.g. bādi p. 33: bādī 'maid', raiati p. 63: ra'yat
'subjects'). Besides jai p. 48 represents Skt. jaya 'victory', gāi
p. 44 represents Skt. gō 'cow'. The actual Sanskrit from gō
occurs on p. 34 Except half a dozen nouns mentioned above, all
the bases in -i are representatives of Sanskrit -i, and i- and -in
nouns.

(d) Bases in -ī represent old -ī (e.g. lacchī, p. 26, meinī, p. 106:
mēdinī 'Earth'), -i (pāti, p. 24: pankti through Skt. panti 'line',
bhumī, p. 96: bhumi through Pkt. bhūmī 'Earth'), -ikā (kāhānī,
p. 8: *kathānikā 'story', piārī, p 20: priyakārikā 'beloved') and -in
bases (mantī, p. 20: mantrin 'minister'). As a result we have
both short and long forms of a few nouns, manti: mantī, mēini:
mēinī. Besides these, we have a few loan-words from Persian
viz. karībī p 40 'paucity': garībī, bādi p. 63 'maid', kādi p. 80:
qāzi 'judge' turukinī p. 42 is a feminine form of the loan-word.

(e) Bases in -u represent old -u (e.g. sattu, p. 8: śatru 'enemy',
riū, p. 12 : ripu 'enemy', pahu, p. 56: prabhu 'master'). In bhāhu,
p. 112 we find a representation of -ū base (bhrātrvadhu 'younger
brother's wife') and in gōru, p. 90, -u represents -ūpa > -ūa > -u.

(f) Bases in -ū are only elongated -u bases pasū, p., 6 'cattle', bindu p. 42 <sindhu 'Hindu' (aspiration lost by Persianisation) sattū p. 104. There is one Persian loan-word bāju, p. 38: bāzū 'side'.

(g) One noun bhuavai, p. 8 is found in -ai but it represents only -ōi. There is one noun mātr, p. 18 which is pure Sanskrit. A few nouns are found in -e but the sound -e in them represents -ya of Sanskrit (e.g. vae, p. 92: vyaya 'expense') or of the Prakrits (e.g. rāe, p. 10: rāyā 'king' loe, p. 43: lōka>lōya 'people') or in one case of Persian (khodāe, p. 40 : khodāyā 'God').

CASE-TERMINATIONS.

5. Out of about 2200 nouns used in the text, only a little over than 300 appear with terminations. These are : —

-ṃ, -ēna, ehi (-ēhī), -ānā, -āñī, -ha, hi (-hī), -nhi (-nha) -u, -o, -āṇaño, -e (ē) and -hu.

(a) Only one instance of -ṃ (rōlaṃ, p. 106 'uproar') is found and it is a Prakritism. (b) So also are 4 instances of -ēna (purisattaṇēna, ' by valour' jamma-mattēna ' by mere birth' and jaladānēna ' by gift of water' all in one stanza p. 6 and gamanēna 'by going' p. 94) and (c) 4 of -ehi (khaggehī ' with swords', p. 104, parakkamehi ' with feats of valour' p. 84, cāmarēhi 'with chowries', p. 84, pakkharehi ' with cover ings', p. 84) (d) There is only one instance of -ānā (nāmānā ' names ', p. 104) and it serves as accusative plural. Does it represent the ancient nominative plural of masculine -an bases? (e) katakāñī ' armies ', p. 76, p. 94 is found twice and represents -āni ending. It is interesting to note that -n- is represented here as -ñ- which is merely nasalisation, while it survives intact in turukānañe (see infra (h)). (f) There are 11 instances of -ha termination all after -a bases (e. g., jujjhaha ' of the battle ', p. 110, dhuttaha ' of the wicked person ', p. 34, rāaha 'of the king', p 22). Once -ha has been lengthened to -hā (devahā ' of the gods', p. 4). This -ha represents Skt. -sya> -asa> -sa. In all the eleven instances it has a genitive sense.

(*g*) There are 44 instances of -hi (-hī). Of these 29 have a locative sense (*e. g.*, **ki samsārahi sāra** 'what is the essence in the world', p. 6, **tatthi doārahi pāiā** ' there on the door were found', p. 48), 6 accusative (*e. g.*, **sattuhi mitta kae** ' having made an enemy a friend', p. 18), 7 instrumental (*e. g.*, **pae bhārahī** ' by the weight of the feet ', p. 60) and 2 genitive (**rāyagharahi kā pubba kheta** ' the former field of **Rājaghara** ', p. 102, **vaisyāhi karo sukha** ' the happiness of those courtezans', p. 34). Except in the two instances last mentioned it is every-where found without postpositions. It is used in the singular except in one instance cited above. I should connect this with the **-smin** termination of Sanskrit.[1] The pre-ponderating locative use of this case establishes that. The beginnings of the use of this case as a general oblique are found here. In a later Awadhī text (**Tulsidās-Rāmāyan**) this case is found as a very general oblique case.

Of the 44 instances of this case, 2 are of -u nouns 3 of -ā nouns and the rest of -a nouns.

(*h*) There are 13 instances of -nhi (12 after -a nouns and 1 after -ā noun) and 1 of -nha. Of these 11 have a genitive sense — 9 with postpositions and 2 without them (*e. g.*, **mahājanhi karo bōlantā** 'at the utterance of great men' p. 18, **ariraānha lacchia chōli le** ' seizes the glory of the enemy-kings ', p. 86). 1 accusative (**gō bōli gamāranhi chāda** ' leave the country-people when they cry for protection', p. 36) and 2 agentive (**tabbē mantinha kiau baththāva** ' then a suggestion was made by the counsellors ', p. 56, **maharāanhi mallikē cappiliu** "the malik was overcome by the mahārājā ', p. 112). This case is based on the ancient genitive; the addition of -hi is possibly on the analogy of the singular in order to give a distinctive body to the case.[2]

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1. I prefer the derivation of this case from **-smin** to **-dhi** (*vide* Chatterji: Origin and Development of Bengali, 499).

2. For detailed arguments for this sec. I. A. LII, 1923, p. 76 where I discussed the derivation of the same case in **Tulsidās.**

(i) There are 12 instances of -u termination, 11 after -a nouns and 1 after -a noun (**kalāu** ' in the art or of the art ', p. 4). Of the 11 instances after -a bases, all except three have a nominative or accusative sense (*e. g.*, **tabahu piāju piāju pai** ' even then only calls onion, onion ' p. 42, **jasu patthāve puṇḍu** ' at the mention of which merit (accrues)', p. 8). In the three instances where the -u ending gives a genitive sense (**muhu bhitara** ' in the (middle of) mouth', p. 42, **seṇḍu saṅkha** ' the number of the army ', p. 64, **mahāmāsu khaṇḍō** ' the piece of human flesh ', p. 106) it has been used like -a base in compounding. It should be noted that in two cases **seṇḍu,** and **rāu** the -u ending has come up after an -ā base reduced to -a, **senā > sennā > senna > senda : seṇḍu, rājā > rāā > rāa ːrāu.** The -a forms of these words (**senna** and **rāa**) are attested by this very text. This -u ending is the ancient -ō -aḥ of the Nominative singular.

Note.—In all the eleven instances -u comes as a substitute for final -a (**māsu** and not **māsau**).

(j) There are 33 instances of -ō ending, 9 added after final -a and 24 substituted for it. This is the old Nominative singular ending coming after the ordinary or the elongated (-ka) base. The -o is sometimes short and sometimes long. The sense is every-where nominative or accusative (*e. g.,* **jahā jāia jehe gāño, bhogāi rājā ka baddi nāño** ' whereever to whichever village they went, there was great fame of King **Bhōgēśvara**' p. 24) except in the following instances :

mahāuō ka 'ākusa " the goad of the elephant-keeper', p. 82, **diggantara rāā sevō āa** ' the kings from all the other quarters came for service, p. 94,

pāo pahāre puhuvi kappa ' the Earth trembled at the stroke of the foot ', p. 102.

calia takatāna suratāna ibarāhimāo ' the coaches of Sultan Ibrāhim moved ', p. 64.

In these instances the -ō ending has lost its force of the

Nom.—accusative and has been used as an ordinary base. We also find five instances where a noun with this ending has been used in the plural (kumārō 'princes,' p. 38, kumārāō, p. 80, dvaraō 'doors,' p. 42, gulāmō 'slaves,' p. 38, salāmō 'greetings,' p 38).

(*k*) There is one instance (Turukānaño of the Turks', p. 38) of -ānaṇo ending (based on ancient -ānām).

(*l*) Of 191 instances of -e (-ō) ending, 150 are in -e and 41 in -ō. Of these 1 is after-i base pūhaviō' of the Earth', p. 46) and in this case is the representative of the Prakrit oblique ending -ō after feminine bases. Three are after -ā bases (tulanāñē 'by comparison,' p. 14), majjāñe 'by marrow,' p. 106, vidhātāñe 'by the 'Creator,' p. 14) of which the first two are oblique) -ē (Pkt. fm.) and one is instrumental on the model of -a bases. The rest are with -a bases. The largest number indicates an instrumental sense (65 -e and 27 -ō), *e.g.*, rūñe 'by beauty,' p. 48, paa bhare 'by the weight of the foot,' p. 46, bhare, p. 86 next comes locative (41 -e and 4 ō`, *e.g.* maggē 'on the way, p 104 meñāṇē' in the middle,' p. 50, māthe' on the head' p. 68), 30 are with a nominative sense (27 -e,4 -ō), 13 accusative (10 -e, 3 ō) and 6 (e) denote a genitive sense, (*e.g.* pattāpe cinhe 'signs of glory,' p. 94). Under Nominative 7 *e.g.* rāā puttē maṇḍīā' the princes adorned', p. 48, kācalē kācalē nayanē 'bewitching eyes', p. 86, phaude 'armies' p. 96) and under accusative 2 (mahala majedē jānantā 'knowing the joys of the palace', p. 46, nahia ilāmē 'having obtained rewards', p. 48) denote a plural number. Under Nominative and accusative 24 -e endings are merely -ya, representing a medical consonant which has been lost or representing Sanskrit or Prakrit -ya (see supra §3).

The instrumental ending is surely ancient -ēna (-ēṇa, and the locative ancient -ē. Under nominative and accusative as well as genitive in the singular there is possibly māgadhī Nominative singular -e, In the plural, there appear to be the traces of the pronominal nominative -ē extended to the nominative as well.

Note.—In three words **raṇi** 'in battling', p. 64, **loi** 'in the world', p. 74, **mamattayai** 'by mother's love', p. 20) the -**e** termination appears as -**i** which regularly alternates with -**e**.

(*m*) On page 20, we find three instances of plural vocative in -**hu** (**lōgahu, -śokahu, -caturahu**). This can be explained by the word **hō** uttered with the name called.

Note.—The following particles for calling people have been used in this text:—

arē are, p. 20, **ahaha,** p. 70, **ahō ahō,** p. 50, **abē bē,** p. 40.

ADJECTIVES.

6. In this text we find about four hundred adjectives. A few of these have been used as nouns, the latter being understood, *e.g.* **bhuleo baddeo cetaṇā** 'even the great (men) lost consciousness; p. 26. Sub-divided the adjectives fall under four heads :

of quality   181

of quantity   28

of number   128   and

Pronominal   61

(The pronominal adjectives will be treated under Pronouns). By far most of the adjectives are based on Sanskrit adjectives found as tatsama (*e.g.* **prasanna** 'glad' p, 56, **matta** 'intoxicated' p. 42), ardhatatsama (*e. g.* **kirisa** < **kṛṣa** 'lean' p. 70, **nirabala** < **nirbala** 'weak' p. 70) or tadbhava (*e.g.* **tāta** < **tapta** 'heated', p. 60, **subavvā** < **subhavya** 'very impressive', p. 48). Sometimes several forms of the same adjective may be found *e. g.* **sakala -o,** p. 50, **saala,** p. 66, **sagara,** p. 66.

Only the following adjectives are of Persian origin:— **surutānī** 'belonging to Sultan', p. 64, **gandā** 'dirty', p. 38, **kharāba** 'bad', p. 40, **sadara** 'principal', p. 50, **hajārj** 'thousand', p. 38, **tēji tāji** 'smart and speedy', p. 84.

7. Adjectives do not generally change for gender; only the following instances of the feminine gender have been noticed:

rūsali bibhūti ' angry prosperity ', p. 14, tetuli belā ' at that time ', p. 18, baḍḍi māño ' great Name ' (the feminine appears misplaced because nāño is masculine, but as it means ' glory ', possibly the adjective has the gender of kitti ' glory ' fm. by contamination), dosari amaravati ' a second Amarāvati ', p. 28, auki hāṭa kareo ' of the other market ', p. 32, bari bari śaphari ' big fish ', p. 36, hini mājha khini ' the middle portion, lean and devoid (of defects), p. 36, nāri biakhkhani ' clever women ', p. 38, ādi diṭhi ' with a slanting glance ', p. 40, giti garuvi 'an effective song', p. 42, bari sāti ' great harassing ', p. 68, puhuvi bhae jā chōti ' the Earth was becoming smaller ', p. 94.

Adjectives do not change for case either. Only the following instances of change for the oblique cases are found: bahule bhāti 'in many ways', p. 30, ēkē kṣaṇē ' in one moment ', p 30 taruṇe turuka vācā ' word of young Turk', p. 90, garuñe dāpe ' with great pride ', p. 88, sagare rāha ' on the whole path ', p. 80, dosare māthe ' on another head', p. 68. The following instances only show change for plural number :

sabe (rāe) ' all (kings)', p. 60, bākule (baane ' attractive (faces)', p 68, kācale (naane) ' charming (eyes)', p. 68, (cinhe) bhinne bhinne ' different (insignia)', p. 94, baḍḍeo ' big men', p. 20, chōteo turukā ' even low Turks ', p. 44.

8. The following numerals appear in the text :

(a) Cardinals

1. ēka, p. 92, yaka, p. 42, ekao, p. 70

2. bē, p. 88, bēvi, p, 80. duhu, p. 98, duaō, p. 24
   (be appears 14 times and du 5 times).

3. tinni, p. 8, tinu-hu, p. 14, tinū, p. 20, 34, tinu, p. 36, tina p. 74

4. cāri, p. 84, cāruhu (pāñe), p. 86.

5. pañca, p. 16

7. sāta, p. 52

8. aṭṭha, p. 96, asta, p. 28

10. dasao, p. 10, dasa, p. 68

20. **bisa**, p. 90

28. **aṭṭhātsaō**, p. 52.

100. **sae**, p. 90, **śata**, p. 28.

1,000 **sahasa**, p. 26, **hajārī**, p. 38

1,00,000 **lakhkha** p. 38, **lakha**, p. 66

1,00,00,000 **kōṭi**

(b) **Ordinals**

1st. **pahila**, p 36, **paḍhaṇa**, p. 16, **prathaṇa**, p.

2nd. **dosarē**, p. 68, **dosarī**, p. 28

3rd. **tesarā**, p. 34

5th. **pancama**, p. 10

(c) **Fractional**

1/3 **tiya**, p. 36.

(d) **Miscellaneous**

' a few ' -**ekkē**, p. 104, **ekka**, p. 20 **kichu** p. 62.

'numerous' -**bahula**, p. 70, **anēa**, p. 84, **anēkō**, p. 38 **bahū**, p. 106,
         bahutā, p. 38, **bahuta**, p. 92, **pracura**, p. 28

' all ' -**sabē**, p. 60, **saba**, p. 50, **sabba**, p. 16

' innumerable' -**anavarata**, p. 82, **ananta**, p. 40, **akhila**, p 86.

PRONOUNS.

9. First Person.

In the direct case there is only one form **haño** ' I ' which is found in five places, (p. 6, 8, 18, 80, 100). This is based on **aham.**

In the oblique **mo** (p. 64) is found once and so also **moñe** (p. 4), both have a dative sense. The genitive has several forms **mama** (p. 22, 112), **mahu** < **masso** (p 62, 110, 112) **maha** < **massa** (p. 110), **majhu** (p. 4, 58), **majjhu** (p 22), **mujhu** (p. 70), **mujjhu** (p. 4, 72), all based on **mahyam** and **mōra** (p. 20), **mera-hu** (p. 20) which appear to have an enclitic **(kara?)** added to the oblique form.

ahma appears twice (p. 72, 74) and **ammaha** once (p. 70) as genitive only. They go back to the Prakrit **amhē.**

10. Second Person.

In the direct **toñe** appears once (p. 112), **tõha** once (p. 64) and **tohe** four times (p. 58, 64, 64, 64)   **tumhē** appears as Nominative four times (p. 60, 60, 64, 64) and as accusative once (p. 60).

In the oblique **tohi** (p. 112) appears accusative and **tujjhu** once as dative (p. 112) and twice on (p. 56, 58) as genitive **tumhē** occurs as a genitive twice p. 60 and **tumha** as genitive twice (p. 58, 60). Oblique **tõ** (p. 58) is used with the postposition **kē** as a dative.

All these forms are derivable from the Prakrit forms.

11. Third Person.

The forms of the third person, remote demonstrative and correlative fall together.

In the direct singular the text has the following:

(*a*) **sõ** which appears six times as demonstrative (p. 6, 6, 8, 26, 62, 112) and twice (p. 4, 20) as correlative,

(*b*) **sa** (p. 12) as third person pronoun

(*c*) **sē** as correlative once (p. 112) and as demonstrative once (p. 112).

(*d*) **õ** seven times (p 4, 50, 50, 64, 64, 64, 68) and **õ-hu** thrice (p. 50, 64, 64) appear as demonstrative.

In the direct plural we have two forms **tã** (p. 96) as a correlative and **tē** (p. 94) as third person subject.

The oblique has several forms **tã** is found twice (p. 22, 100) as accusative and once as genitive (p. 94), **tãhi** appears thrice (28, 50, 50) and in every case stands as a demonstrative adjective to plural nouns, once it appears with **karõ** (p. 86) as genitive singular. Similarly **tanhi** (p. 36) without postposition and **tãnhi** (p. 36, 12) with **kari**, **karõ** denote genitive plural and **tenhe** (p. 76) and **tenhi** (p. 62) stand as demonstrative adjectives with plural nouns. **tasu** (p. 26, 38, 44, 4, 8, 10, 50, 74, 88, 100), **tãsu** (p 10, 12, 74, 100, 76) and **tisu** (p. 74) stand as genitive without postposition, only once does **tasu** appear with **kērã** (p. 32).

so without postposition (p. 96) and with ki (p. 32) and ka (p. 42) denotes genitive.

tauna appears once (p. 58) as an adjective and is derived from ta+uṇa (tat punaḥ) taṁ: Pkt. taṁ as an adjective is found twice (p. 88, 90) in the sense of 'that'.

12. Relative Pronoun.

In the direct jō appears as Nominative singular thrice (p. 4, 20, 80) and je thrice as singular (p. 10, 16, 72) and once as plural (p. 96).

In the oblique singular we have jena thrice on p. 8 (Pkt. jeṇa) and je < jena thrice (p. 8, 10, 80) je appears as an adjective twice (p. 90, p. 112). As agentive jenhē appears on (p. 10, 12, 14 and six times on p. 76 and jenne once (p. 12). In all these cases it is plural. There is one instance of jei (p. 10) and there are two instances of janhi, once (p. 34) without post-position and once (p. 32) with ke. In the genitive singular we have jasu (p. 6, 8, 74, 76, 88, 114), jassa (p. 6) jāsu (p. 6, 8, 48, 84) and jisu (p. 74). jaṁ appearing once (p 10) is used as a locative, jehe as an adjective of gāṇō (p. 24) and jeñona (< jeṁ una) of darabāra meñāṇē (p. 50).

13. Proximate Demonstrative.—

In the direct we have i (p. 4) and ēhu (p. 8, 18, 50, 96) and in the oblique ehi (p. 18) and ehī (p. 50).

i is a modern demonstrative; ēhu < ēsō and in ehi, ehī-hi possibly represents the oblique ending.

14. Interrogative.—

In the direct we find kō on p. 8, 62, 64, 82, 96, 110 and ke on p. 52, 88 as animate and ki (p. 6, 98, 98, 60, 70, 76, 80) kā (p. 4, 28, 34, 40, 42) and kāha (p. 64) as inanimate. We also have kavana (p. 8), kañoṇa (p. 51), kamana (p. 68, 96, 112) and kamaṇa (p. 22).

There are two instances of keṇa (instr. sg. p. 94, 98); of

these kō<kaḥ. ke is the Mág. form of kō; kį represents klm; kā and kāhaʔ; kavana etc., go back to ka uṇa.

15. **Indefinite.**

(a) 'Some one' -kōi appears once (p. 16) and kāhū 12 times (9 times on p. 24 and once each on p. 34, 36 and 42). Once we have kāhu-o (p 24). The inanimate kichu (aomewhat) is found on p. 20, 30, 32, 42 and compounded with āna on p. 42.

(b) The pronouns meanig 'other' are:—

āna (āṇa) < anya on p 18, 20, 58, 62, 94, iara (p. 60) iarō (p. 4)<itara, avaru (p. 34)<apara and para (p. 48).

The last one has its adjectives parāri (p. 42) parāri (p. 104).

16. **Reflexive.**

We have several forms based on ātman viz., āpe (p 48, 80), apa ka- (p. 90), appā (p. 104), appa (p. 4) appu (p. 32, 66) and apana (p. 22), apane (p. 32), apenehu (p. 60), apaneñō (p. 42) and appana (p. 100). All are used in a genitive sense except āpe which means 'by one's self'. nia (p. 72, 48) and niña (p. 8, 18, 60, 94, 100)<nija as well as nija (p. 18, 102) mean 'one's own'.

17. **Pronominal Adjectives.**

The following pronominal ajectives, besides those already mentioned under various pronouns, have been found in the text:—

(a) taisanā (prastāva) 'of that sort', p. 62, taisao (kabba) 'of that sort', p. 4; aisa, p. 22, aisō (kaṭaknhi) p. 92, aiseo (paratāpe), p. 44, aisano (āsa), p. 36, aisaneño (ūpatāpa), p. 62, aisenñao, p. 34, —'such'; jaisao (kabba) 'as', p. 4.

(b) tetulī (belā) 'that much', p. 18, ettā (dukhkha) 'so much', p. 72, kata 'how much' p. 88.

(c) ette (lakkhana) 'so many', p. 6; kata (dhāgara) 'how many'ʔ p. 90, katehu (dine) 'many a', p. 24.

Of these (a) are based on -dṛśa (tādṛśa etc.), (b) and (c) on -vat. The suffix -na is an addition in taisanā, taisao; aisa being the ordinary forms.

POSTPOSITIONS.

18. Only about a hundred postpositions are found in this text. Of these after nouns and pronouns we have the genitive postpositions used 73 times, instrumental and ablative 11 times, locative 6 times and dative once. The rest are after adverbs, *e.g.* tē and kahu.

(*a*) Genitive -dative.

ka—17 times (*e g.* p. 14 śakti ka parĭkṣā 'test of strength). Only once has it a dative sense (ahimāna ka 'to pride' p. 58).

kā —3 times, once genitive (nāgaranhi kā mana gāḍa 'got fixed in the hearts of citizens', p. 36) and twice as dative (adhama uttama ku pāraka 'the low man gives deliverance to one high birth' p 16, āna kā lāga 'stuck to another', p. 30.)

kā —3(100, 102, 92) used as genitive in all the cases (*e.g.* gaṇḍaka kā pānī 'the water of Gaṇḍaka', p. 100).

kē —7 times always genitive and with a noun in an oblique case (*e.g.* surutāna ke pharamānē 'on the Sultan's Firmān', p. 80).

kai —3 times, once with a feminine noun (āsa asavāra kai 'the hope of a horseman', p. 86) and twice with a masculine noun (sira navai sabba kai 'the head of every one bends down', p. 50, bhae sabba kai 'everyone's fear', p. 50).

kō —7 times, all genitive (*e.g.* rasa ko mamma 'the secret of sentiment', p. .) •

karō —14 times, all genitive with a singular noun (*e.g.* tānhi karō putra 'their son', p. 12).

kare – 2 times, both genitive and with nouns in an oblique case (kumbhōdbhava karē niyamātikramē peli 'having moved in the transgression of the injunction of (the sage) born of a jar, p. 82, padma kare ākāre 'in the form of a lotus', p. 86).

karēo —4 times (14, 30, 32, 50, *e.g.* duṣṭa karēo dappa cūreo 'trampled on the pride of the wicked', p. 14).

kari —7 times, all genitive with a feminine noun (*e.g.* sattu kari dithi 'the glance of the enemy' p. 112).

kerā —5 times, all genitive (10, 26, 32, 72, 102, *e.g.* tā kula kēra baddipana 'the greatness of that family', p. 10).

kēri —once and with a feminine noun (tam diśa kerī rāyaghara-tarūṇi hatta bikāthi 'the youthful Royal ladies of that family are sold in the market', p. 90). Of the above ka, kā, kā, ke and kai go back to some forms of krta, and karō, kare, kareo and karī to the elongated Prakrit forms of the same participle (kariō etc.) while kerā and keri possibly to *kāryaka.

(*b*) Locative.

mājha 2(yuvarājanhi mājha pavitra 'clean (virtuous) amongst the Princes, p. 12, mājha sangāma 'in the battle', p. 104).

maju 1(sānā maju 'in the army', p. 80)
mādi 1(bithi mādi 'in the street', p. 32).
pā 1(bhumi pā 'on the Earth', p. 86).
pari 1(kamana pari 'on whom', p. 9ɔ).

Of these mājha and maju are derived from madhya and pā < pakśa or pārśva while pari < upari.

(*c*) Instrumental-ablative
sē —2(dāma sē 'by the string', p. 84, tāsa se 'from fear', p. 84).
saño —6 (6, 22, 32, 82, 104, *e.g.* jiva saño 'with life', p. 22).
taha —1 (yātrāhu taha 'even by going', p 30).
hō —1 (rola hō 'by the noise', p. 30).
hunte —1 (duru hunte 'from far off', p. 46).

Of these saño < sama or samāna the latter being used as such in pabbaa samāna 'with or like a mountain', p. 82) ; and sē < sahitena, while taha possibly comes from tataḥ, hunte from hontae· locative of the imperfect partiaple of √bhū - and hō also from √bhū -.

(*d*) Dative—besides the few cases cited under genitive we have lāgi once in the sense of 'for' (tesarā lāgi 'for the third' p. 34). It is the absolutive form of lag-

VERBS.

19. The text abounds in the verbs of the past tense and of habitual or historic present, as it is a descriptive poem. The other verbs are found generally in direct speech.

20. **The Present Tense.**

This is generally expressed by verbs with personal terminations based more or less on the ancient Present tense. The terminations are:

	Singular.	Plural.
1st.	-año	
2nd.	(a) -asi	
	(b) -ahi	
3rd.	(a) -ai (-ae)	(a) -ahI
	(b) -ahi	(b) -anti
	(c) -athi	
	(d) -a	

Note.—The initial a- of these terminations is elided if they are found after roots ending in ā (jā: jāthi p. 30), e (de: dei p. 40), and ō (hō: hōi. p. 16).

1st sg.—*e. g.* jampaño 'I say', p. 6, lāvaño 'I bring', p 100, haño kahaño 'I say', p. 80. There is one instance (dekhao 'I see', p. 18) where -ñ- (which represented merely nasalisation) is absent. The termination is based on -āmah of the plural, transferred to the singular.

2nd sg. —There are only three instances of (a)—kahasi 'sayest', p. 6, jāsi, 'goest', p. 112, bhaggasi 'runs always', p. 112, all in a conjuctive sense, and three of (b)—jāhi, p. 112, jāhi jāhi, p. 112, and jāhi jāhi, p. 112, all in the sense of imperative. Both are possibly the -si termination of the Prakrits, (b) showing the development of -s- as -h-.

3rd. sg.—by far the most common form is -ai, (*e.g.* besāhai 'buys', p. 32, pajjatai 'roams', p. 28) there are about half a dozen instances of -ae (*e.g.* milae 'meets' p. 38), nine of (b) (*e.g.* dhāvahi

'runs', p. 94) and sixteen of (c) (e.g. āvathi 'comes', p. 30; once
hōtha 'becomes', p. 102). Sometimes the same root is available
under more than one form (rahai, p. 42, rahai p. 48, āvahi, p. 46,
āvai, p. 60). Of these form (a) goes back to Sanskrit-ati>-Prakrit-
ai, -ae being merely a variant of ai in pronunciation. In athi
there appears to be a resuscitation of the ancient form with an
emphatic aspiration, and -ahi would be a derivation of -athi. Or
possibly the -h- in -ahi represents emphatic ai. It should be noted
that athi does not express any honorific sense as against modern
Maithilī (Chatterji, p. 936).

Besides the above we have two instances of -ē (karē 'does',
p. 34, kharīdē 'buys', p. 38) which is a further development of ai.
We have ten instances of present tense in -a (e.g. kara 'does'
p. 34, bāja 'strikes', p. 52, basa 'resides' p. 26, hōa 'becomes'
p. 38). There are a few instances of the Past tense in -a (see infra
21 (a) A similar form in -a is found in Tulsidās also[1]. What is
the origin of this? Does it represent, the loss of final -i of ai ?
But this is not attested by modern. Maithilī or Awadhī? Is
the perfect participle here found used as the present?

Note.—In a few instances the root in -ā, -ē and ō is by itself
found without any desinence (jā 'goes', p. 34, khā 'eats' p. 42, dē
'gives' p. 42, hō 'becomes', p. 102, le 'takes' p. 86.

3rd. plural—the (a) form is -ahī is the most common e.g.
hērahi 'they look for', p. 26) ānahi 'they bring' p. 28), there
being only three instances of (b) (taullanti 'they weigh', p. 38,
hasāhanti 'they purchase', p. 38, pajhālenti 'they wash', p. 106).
Both go back to ancient - anti, -h- in (a) being for emphasis or to
avoid the hiatus and the (b) forms being the ancient resuscitated
forms of the Prakrits.

21. The Past Tense.

This is based on the ancient perfect participle. The variety
of forms is confusing by abundance and the use is without any

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[1] Vide Allahabad University Studies Vol. II p. 212 Note 3.

reference to persons. The same form is found used with a first person, second person or third person subject. The following are the terminations:

(a) -ō, -u (ū),, -a, -ā in the singular and -e in the plural.
(b) -aū (-au).
(c) -iao, iaū (-iau), -iū.
(d) -ia, -iña, -iā.
(e) -eo.
(f) -ala, -ali.

(a) There are four instances of this form in -ō (*e.g.* **nimajjo** 'sunk', p. 108, **kharō** 'stood', p. 106), 12 in -u (**parn** 'fell', **jāgu** 'awoke', p. 18, **pasaru** 'was spread' p. 32, **pucchu** 'asked', p. 58), about 20 in -a (**paiṭṭha** 'entered', p. 46, **bhāga** 'broke' p. 30) 4 in -ā (**bhā** 'became', p. 20, **bikā** 'was sold' p. 68, **āā** 'came' p. 94, **baṭhurānā** 'got together' p. 48) and 7 in -ē (**paiṭṭhē** 'entered', p. 38, **bharē** 'filled', p. 38, **thārē** 'stood', p. 46).

(b) There is quite a large number of forms of this variety, it takes up with -ia the largest number. The nasalisation is absent in very few cases. For instance:

ūppanaū 'born' p. 16, **huaū** 'was', p. 8.

(c) There is one instance of -iao (**dhana choddiao** ' wealth was abandoned' p. 22), but quite a large number of -iaū (*e.g.*, **kariaū** 'did', p. 8, **tumhe bhāriaū** 'you filled', p. 60 **kariau** 'did', p. 24. Only a few instances of -iū are found (*e. g.* **jena niña kula uddhariū** 'who redeemed his family', p. 8).

(d) A large number of forms are of this variety, -iña being merely a nasalised form of **ia** (*e.g.*, **jena balē rāvaṇa māria** 'who killed Rāvaṇa by force', p. 8, **riū dalia tumhē** 'you crushed the enemy', p. 60, **mahala kō mamma jāniña** 'he came to know the secrets of the palace' p. 52). There are only six instances of **iā** which is merely an elongation of **ia** for the sake of metre (*e g.* **paa bhare pathara curiā** 'the gravel crushed by the weight of feet', p. 46). In **uggia** 'come up', p. 32 and **cukkiha** 'missed', p. 62 we have -h-.

(e) There are six instances of this form (*e.g.*, jumbe mbi karō manōratha pūreo 'who satisfied the longing of the king', p. 14).

(f) Only 42 instances of this form are found. -ala is masculine and -ali feminine (*e.g.*, suratāna samānala ' the Sultan-honoured', p. 10, rūsali bibhūti palaṭāe ānali 'the angered Prosperity was brought back', p. 14). In one instance the form ends in -ila (fem.) gōmaṭha purila mahi 'the Earth was filled with temples', p. 44.

In the above forms we find several stages of the ancient perfect participle, simple and elongated, with -i and without -i. The nasalisation is inexplicable. The -l- forms are the participle base plus -illa termination. Considering modern Maithili where all forms of past tenses are based on -l- participle, the small number of these in the present text is striking.

There is one instance of 3rd person plural verb (lehena rāya gaenera 'king Ganeśvara profited', p. 18) where -ena appears as a personal termination.

Note.—the Perfect participle is in several cases found used as an adjective *e y.*, vea paḍha 'well-read in the Vedas', p. 8).

22. **Future Tense.**

Only the following instances of the future are found in the text:

1st person kahabā 'I shall say', p. 10.

2nd person (tumbe na) hōsaū (asahanā) 'you will not become angry', p. 60.

3rd person sg. hōsai 'will be', p. 4, 64, 64,
    dūsihai 'will blame', p. 4,
    sijhihai 'will be accomplished', p. 62,
    kariha 'will do', p. 4, bujjhiha 'will understand', p. 4, jivviha 'will live', p. 72, dharijjiha 'will be kept', p. 74,
    dijiha 'will give', p. 72,
    hōia 'will be', p. 30.

Of these **kahaba** is based on **tavya** > **abba** and the rest on the ancient future : **bōsaū** < **bhaviṣyatha** > **hōissaha** > **hōisahu** > **hōsau;** the **s** later becomes -h- (*e. g.*, in **dusihai**) and may even be lost *e g.*, **hōia**).

Note.—The above are the forms of the Indicative mood. There are no separate forms for the Conjunctive, the forms of the Indicative are used with **jai** or **jaño** ' if ' to indicate that sense. The conditional is based on the Imperfect Participle (see infra §24) ; only two instances of it are found (**taño**) **sitthaata** (**rajja**) ' then the kingship would be reestablished', p. 56 (**ābe kata**) **sahata** (**je rāe**) ' how would the king have put up with it till now', p. 74.

23. Imperative.

2nd sing.—there are eight instances : (*a*) in -**a**, **suṇa** p. 64, **suna** 'hear', p. 6, **bhaṇa** p. 22, **kaha kaha** 'say' p. 80. **anusara** 'follow' p. 112, (*b*) in -**hi**, **jahi** (**jahi**) 'go' p. 112, (*c*) in -**isu**, **karisu** 'do' p. 62, **harijjisu** 'remove', p. 64. Of these (*c*) is possibly derived from ancient II sg. Atmanēpada -**sva** (**kurusva**).

2nd plural—six instances are found : **karahu**, p. 20 **kahahu** p. 16, 50, 56, **karao**, p. 58, **sunao** p. 38, 16, **bhuñjaha** 'enjoy', p. 18, **sajjaha sajjaha** 'be ready', p. 82.

All these are based on the ancient second person present plural in -**tha**, which at some stage in the Prakrits become **thō**>**hō** >**hu** : **ha.**

3rd. sing.—'All the eight instances are based on ancient -**tu** (**rahaū** 'may remain', p. 22, **jaū**, p. 22, (**jāu** 'may go', p. 76, **sāhau** 'may rub' p. 10, **jiau** 'may live', p. 10, **karau**, p. 10, **karao** 'may do', p. 60 **kariau** 'may be done', p. 38).

Besides the above an impersonal passive imperative in -**ai** and -**ia** is found, *e. g.*, **ehu kamma na kariai** 'let this not be done', p. 18, **sēviai** 'let him be served', p. 64, **karijjai** 'let it be done', p. 64, **dhariai** 'be kept' p. 18, **jāia** 'may go', p. 68, **ānia** 'bring', p. 68, **chānia** 'strain', p. 68. This is based on the Passive present.

24. THE IMPERFECT PARTICIPLE.

This is frequently used to describe a condition of things as it is and also sometimes used in place of the present tense finite verb. It has two forms:

(a) -antā and (b) -antē

(a) *e g.* abē bē bhaṇantā (turukkā) 'the Turks saying abe, be, p. 40, āvantā jantā kajja karantā mānava 'man, coming, going and doing (his) business. p. 48, pūhaviē pālā āvantā 'the kings (guardians of the Earth) are coming', p. 46.

(b) *e g* ....hāthi....jāthi bhāgantē gācha cāpantē 'the elephant goes running and cutting trees', p. 82, sikāra khelantē....paradappa bhaṃi bhañjantē....bāṭa santari....surutāna baiṭha 'the Sultana passed the way, hunting, breaking other's pride by making a round, and sat', p. 98.

Note 1. A few cases of -anta (bōlanta 'speaking', p 74) tuṭṭanta 'breaking' p. 106, buḍanta 'sinking', p 16, 106) and -antao (bhamantao 'roaming', p. 46) and -antō (karantō 'doing') are found.

Note 2. On page 90 jāitē 'going' and khāitē 'eating' appear as forms of this participle. I should, however, connect them with the oblique form of the verbal noun (see infra 28) plus the postposition tē,

This participle has been used in this text without any modification due to number or person. For instance on page 46 bhamantaō qualifies duaō rājakumāra 'both the princes', and on page 34 khaṇḍantē etc. qualify vaiśyābi - feminine.

The -ō and -ā (a) forms are the Nominative cases of the Prakrit participle. The ē form where it is nominative represents the māgadhī naminative in ē. In a few cases it is the locative of the participle, *e.g.* mahājanhi karō bōlantē 'while the elders spoke', p. 18.

Note.—At one place -antē has been modified to -addē (biharaddē 'roaming', p. 46) for the sake of rhyme.

In alabanā 'one who has not obtained', p. 34, is there an instance of ancient -āna- termination (alabhamānaḥ)?

25. THE ABSOLUTIVE.

This is expressed by adding (a) -i or (b) -ia e.g. gai 'having gone', ghai 'have caught'. p. 42, sādhi 'having held', p. 14; choddīa 'having abandoned', p. 70, karia 'having done', p. 76, bittharia 'having spread' p. 88). There are only about a dozen instances of (b) and in one case, the termination appears as nasalised bissamiña 'having taken rest', p. 52. In a few cases the -i of (a) appears as -ē (e g. 'having done', p. 88, 90, manusāe 'having become angry', p. 96, dhāe 'having run', p. 62, dhāñe, p. 90).

The absolutive is generally found without a postposition, only kahū appears 6 times (dhāe kahu 'having run', p. 62, damsai kahū, 'having trampled'. p. 96, suni kahū 'having heard', p. 98, thelli kahū 'having flanked', p. 100) palaṭi kahū 'having turned'. p, 110 ṭammaddi kahū having crushed', p. 8.

In jā 'having gone', p. 83, lē lē 'having taken', p. 40, the root-form itself expresses the absolutive and in bēcā 'having sold', p. 68, -ā and in pucchihi 'having asked', p. 52, -ihi appears to indicate an absolutive.

The derivation of -ia, -i is from Prakrit ia which may become -i and may disappear later (as in jā, le).

26. The Passive Voice

The synthetic passive, derivable from -ijja- and -ia- of the Prakrits, is found in 27 forms, 7 -j- and 20 -ī-. For instance:

jenhe ruṭṭha hua jama sahijjia

'by whom angered yama was put up with; p. 76,

suha muhutta ahisēka kijjia

'at an auspicious moment coronation was performed', p. 76,

aru kata dhūgaḍa dekhiathi

'and how many strong men are seen', p. 90,

jē saba kariaū appa basa

'by whom all was brought under his own control', p. 10.

The periphrastic passive, with √jā 'to go' appears only two, or three times; cūri jā basuandharā 'the Earth is shattered', p. 84 bahuta bāpura cūri jāthi 'many poor people get trampled', p. 30.

27. · The Causative.

There are about a dozen instances of the causative (*e g.* palatā 'having caused to return', p. 14, karāvae māri 'causes annihilation' p. 60, baiṭhāva 'causes to sit', p. 42), all derivable from the ancient causative in -ā and -āv.

28. The Verbal Noun.

There are four instances of the direct case (jīanā < jīvana-ka 'living', p. 20, basane pāñela 'were' able to live', p. 24, denā 'giving', p. 44, māri 'beating', p. 60) which should be connected with (*a*) ancient -ana- and (*b*) mag. -ē and ten cases of the oblique (jāi tē 'by going, p. 44 rahaitō 'to remain', p. 86, karaitē 'by doing', p. 62, sēvai 'for serving', p. 60, dīvai baṇè ·at the time of drinking', p. 68 hiṇḍae 'to make round', p. 30, kinai tē 'for buying', p. 30, bikāō 'for selling', p. 30, chuae 'to touch°, p. 68, bōlee, bōlae 'talking', p. 20). What is this oblique? Chatterji (Origin and Development of Bengali, p. 1014) calls it merely an oblique of verbal noun in -i, and takes -i as a suffix.

The direct (*a*) once ends in ·i (bujjhani- 'understanding', p. 18).

The Noun of Agency.

There is only one instance of this bujjhani -hāra 'one who understands', p. 18 - hāra being derivable from -dhāraka.

29. The Verb 'to be'.

We find the forms of three roots:

(*a*) √as, hai p. 40.

(*b*) √bhū (1) hō, p. 96. hōa, p. 36, hōi, p. 102, hua. p. 94 hōaū p. 80, huaū, p. 76, huaño p. 100, hōsai, p. 64, hōsaū, p. 60.

(2) bhai, p. 100, bhae, p. 70, bhañ, bhau, p. 98, bhela, p. 102, bheli p. 24.

(c) √rah rahu, p. 96, rahai p. 42, 86, rahiau, p. 70.

30. The Pereiphrastic tenses.

Instances of the forms of the periphrastic tenses are rare. The following have been noticed:

> āvatta hua 'was coming', p. 94.
> risiāi hai 'gets angry', p. 40.
> sahi rahiañ 'went on bearing', p. 70.
> tutti rahe 'got broken' p. 110.

31. The Compound Verbs

There are 24 instances of compound verbs:

(a) √cah expresses the aspect of desire: bhāgae caha 'wishes to run away i. e. is about to run away', p. 36. upara cadhāvae cāha ghōra' wants to (i.e. is about to) make the horse climb up', p 44.

(b) √lāg to express the aspect of the inception of an action, bōlee lāgu 'began to speak', p. 20.

(c) √pāv and √pār to express the aspect of the ability to do an action, kinaite pāvathi 'is able to purchase', p. 30, basañe pāñela 'was able to reside', p. 24, chuae pāia 'is able to touch', p.68; ganae na pārīā 'it is not possible to count', p. 46, ganae na pāriai 'it is not possible to count', p. 94, sahahi na pārai 'is not able to bear', p. 60.

(d) √jā, √lē, and √dē express the aspect of completeness or intensity of an action:

bhae, gēla 'became', p. 16, 60, bhara gae 'became filled' p. 104, dhāe gae 'having run', p. 108, lāghi jāthi 'jumps over', p. 84 bhae jā 'becomes', p 86, jitī jā 'wins', p. 86, dekhāe jā 'shows', p. 100; khāi lē 'eats', p. 40, chōli lē 'seizes', p. 86, mēli dēño 'I shall bring' p. 110, bahara kae dēla 'turned out', p. 80, dījīhi bandha 'will tie' p. 72.

ADVERBS.

32. Of Place.

(a) based on pronouns

(1) 'where' -jaṁ, p. 26, jahā, p. 108, 24, 68, jahiṁ p. 38, 90, jaidha kõ, p. 112,
' wherever' -jaṁ jaṁ, p. 98, jahiṁ jahiṁ. p. 106,

(2) ' where?' -kai, p. 6; ' somewhere ' -kahī, kahī, p 38, katahu p. 42, 44.

(3) ' here' -ia, p. 48, ñehã, p. 58, ehu, p. 96

(4) ' there' -taththa, p. 38, taṁ taṁ, p. 98, tāhā, p. 58, tahā p. 72, 108, tāhī, tāhī p. 106; ōhu, p. 96, uthi, utthi, p. 50

(5) ' everywhere' -saba tahũ, p. 38, 60, 'at one place' ēkattha, p. 8

(b) based on other old adverbs

' above' -ũppara, 34, ũppari, p. 32, upara, p. 44 uppara, p. 90, uppari, p. 50, 'inside' -bhitara p. 42, ' in front' agri, p. 66, saño, p. 112, -sōjha, p. 112, ' behind ' -pāchē, p. 94, pāchu, p. 102, 108, pacha, p. 40, pĩchè, p. 96

' outside ' -bāhara, p. 46, 80, bāharao, p. 62, ' near ' -niara, p. 110, pāsa, p. 88; 'far off' -dūra, p. 38, 52, barā drũa, p. 60; 'on all sides' -caupaṭa, p. 102, atarē paṭarē, p. 48.

33. Of time.

(a) based on pronouns

(1) 'when' -jaṁ, p. 34, jaba, p. 66, jabē, p. 18, 16, 30, 34, jābē, p. 76, jamaṇa, p. 40; ' whenever ' -jaba hĩ p. 42, ja khaṇē, p. 66, 96

(2) ' now ' -abe, p. 58, abahi, p. 62

(3) ' then ' -tā, p. 52, 116, taba, p. 100, tabbē, p. 56, 110, tabe, p. 22, 34, tābe, p. 76, tabahī, p. 42, tatō, p. 38, tau, p. 58, tou, p 52, taṁ khaṇē p. 22, 26, taṁ khaṇē, p. 60, 72, 98, 112; ' even then' -tabahu, p. 42, 70, tabbahũ, p. 58,

(4) 'sometimes' -kabahu, p. 18, 90.

(b) based on other adverbs

'to day' -ajja, p. 58, ajju, p. 100, aja, p. 30; 'up till now'
-adya paryanta, p. 50, 'first' -padhama, p. 58, 'long' -cire,
p. 44, 'in the meantime' -iththentara, p. 64, eththantara,
p. 62, 'again' -punu vi, p. 62, 76, punah, p. 56, punu, p. 12,
18, 28, 56, 58, 64, 76, 112, ṇiccai 'always', p. 4, sahasahi
'all at once' p. 90.

34. **Of manner.**

(a) based on pronouns.

(1) 'as' -jimi, p. 86, jaṅ, p. 64, jaño, p. 42, jāsavē p. 32.

(2) 'how' -kaise p. 36, kimi, p. 4, 16, 72, 80 kimi kari, p. 80,
kasa, p. 86, kāñi, p. 4, kamaṇa, p. 4, kamane, p. 48, katta,
p. 74.

(3) 'in this way' -asa, p. 18.

(b) based on other old adverbs

'in this way' ēva, p. 70, ēvañca, p. 98, ēma, p. 52, 60, 112.

35. **Other adverbs.**

'no' -na, 20 times, e.g., p. 4, 6; na, 7 times e.g., p. 8, nahi, 14
times, e.g., p. 18, nahi, p. 90, nahi, p. 68, nāhi, p. 64, 94,
nahu, p, 6, 18, ṇahu, p. 70; 'surely' -nāma, p. 4, hu, p. 6, dhua,
6 times, e.g., p. 64, avasa, p. 60, avasao, p 4, 26, bṛthā 'uselessly',
p. 20, ati 'very much', p. 36, 40, 70, sasarā 'noisily', p. 36; 'why'
-kāi, p. 98, kini, p. 82, kī, p 112, 'with' -saṅga, p. 84, satbthe, p. 112,
'et cetra' -prabhṛti, p. 86.

36. **Conjunctions.**

(a) cumulative—'and' -avara, p. 100, aru, 10 times e.g., p. 8,
avaru, 18, 22, 28, 106; 'moreover' -avi a, p. 28, api, 66.

(b) alternative—varu, p. 22, ki, p. 22.

(c) adversative—'but' pai, p. 20, 64, 72, 42, pae, p, 50, 'but
not' -na ūṇa, p. 22, na ūṇa, p. 22, na ūṇa, p. 22, ṇa uṇa,
p. 20, na ñuṇa, p. 20;

'if' -jai, 8 times, p. 6, je, p. 100, jaño p. 22, jo, p. 74, jan, p. 42, nam, p. 112, nam, p. 22,

'then' -atha, p. 16, 56, tā, p. 6, taṁ, p. 62, tau, p. 70, tōv,i p. 102, tō, 6 times, *e.g.*, p. 60, tai p. 112, taño, p. 100, 'therefore' -taisana, p. 6; 'as if' -jani, 8 times, *e.g.*, p. 48.

(*d*) subordinative -ke; p. 74.

37. Emphatic forms.

(*a*) -hu, -o, -u are added after nouns, pronouns, adjectives and adverbs to give an inclusive sense, *e.g.*, dhruvahu 'of Dhruva also', p. 34, baddeo 'big men also', p. 26, biggahau 'battle also', p. 72. There are about 30 such forms in the text. These terminations go back to khalu>khu>hu>u : o.

(*b*) -hi, -i is added to the nouns, pronouns, adjectives and adverbs to expressive a restrictive sense, *e.g.*, dhamma pasārai 'extension of virtue itself', p. 72, padhamahi 'at the very first', p. 82. There are about a dozen such forms in this text. The termination possibly goes back to ēva, -h being emphatic.

THE SIBILANTS IN THE BUDDHIST DOHAS.

Prabodh Chandra Bagchi.

Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasād Śāstri published, a few years ago, a number of Buddhist songs (caryas and dohās which he discovered in Nepal. He characterised the language of thees texts "old Bengali". Dr. S. K. Chatterji, however, after a more detailed study of these texts came to the conclusion that the songs only are written in what can be called " old Bengali " but the Dohās according to him present a dialect " which is a kind of Western (Śauraseni) Apabhramśa as its -u- nominatives, its -aha- genitives, its -ijja- passives and its general agreement in forms with the literary Western Apabhramśa amply indicate." (The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language I, p. 112). This dialect according to him played the same role, as the Brajabhākhā did in later times, in relation to the Eastern languages. He however admitted that though it was a Western dialect some old Bengali idioms and words had crept into it.

M. Shahidullah has recently made an intensive study of these texts, (Les Chants Mystiques de Kanha et Saraha, Paris, 1928) and has tried to establish that the language of these dohās is an Eastern Apabhramśa. In phonology he notices the preservation of palatal ś. It is the most important characteristic of the old Bengali and, according to Mārkandeya, of the Odhri dialect too In Sarvānanda's commentary to the Amarakośa (1159 A. D.) the two sibilants are found and an occasional confusion of the two sibilants is attested in some of the inscriptions of the Pālas.

The text published by H. P. Śāstri is very corrupt and the large number of mistakes, it seems to me, is to be attributed to the fault of the copyist. As the Mss. of the Dohās on which H. P. Śāstri based his edition are now lost, M. Shahidullah had to depend only on the Tibetan translation for making his emendations, which are very valuable. But such emendations are helpful in making out the sense of the text but are not so useful for determining the forms of the words.

During my last stay in Nepal in 1929 I came upon a fragmentary plam-leaf *MS* of the Dohākoṣa of Saraha. In the same *MS.* I found two more fragmentary *dohās* which were not known hitherto. The *MS.* contains the date 220 Nepal Era *i e.* 1100 A. D. I discovered another *MS.* in a private collection which contains two *dohās*, one of Tillopāda and the other of Saraha. The text of Saraha's *dohā* is the same as published by Śāstrī and emended by Shahidullah The *dohā* of Tillopā was hitherto unknown. My edition of these *dohās* will be shortly published by the Calcutta University. But on collating the two *mss.* of the Dohākoṣa of Saraha I find that there is only one sibilant in the text and *it is always dental*. The two fragments of the other *dohā* of Saraha and the *dohā* of Tillopa present the same characteristics. Therefore the main phonological ground on which Shahidullah characterised this Apabhramṡa as Eastern is baseless.

It is in the following cases in the Dohākoṣa of Saraha that Shahidullah found the palatal sibilant preserved. In the following list I will mention in order the number of the stanza in Saraha's *dohā* (text as published by Shahidullah), the word as established by Shahidullah and then its correct form as found in the newly discovered *MS* of the *Dohākoṣa.*

   3 beṡẽ (but in 5, 6, 10 besa)= besẽ

   7 ṡunaha = sunaha

    ṡiālaha = siālaha

  19 ṡattha = sattha

   (but in 58 and 70 sattha)

  27 ṡaṡi = sasi

   pabeṡa = pabesa

   ubeṡa   = ubesa

  36 biṡuddho = bisuddha

  37 dosẽ (Śāstrī's text doṡẽ)= dosẽ

  46 sai (Śāstrī's text ṡai) = sai

  65 deṡa = desa

66 bisaa (Śāstrī's text biṣaya) = bisaa

   (but see 69, 72, 94, 103 where it is bisaa)

68 aṇimisa (Śāstrī's text aṇimiṣa)= aṇimisa

73 biṣayāsatti = bisayāsatti

76 dosa (Śāstrī's text doṣa)= dosa

86 deśahi = desahi

92 bisariaü (Śāastrī's text biṣamai,= bisariaü

96 kuliśa = kulisa

99 duriasesa (Śāstrī's text duriaṣeṣa)= duriāsesa

In all other cases in the Dohākoṣa as published by Śāstrī and as emended by Shahidullah it is consistently the dental s that is used instead of ś and ṣ.

saalāsesa (61), sakai (54), sakkai (17), saranta (66), sarisa (50, 78, 86), sarira (91), sallatt (77), sambara (89), siri (56, 68), sisa (4), suaa (95), sukka (100), suṇṇa, suṇa (16, 72), sudda (48), suddha (108), sunai (75), sunahu (57), sojjha, Sojjhu (5,3 101), sosa (10, 51, 93), sohai (85), sohia (40), pasu (23), pāsa (87), baisī (2, 4), biṇasai (55), parisahu (57), paḍabesi (86, 88) bisarisa (86, 88), bisuddha (72), bisama (27).

Saraha, Fragment I, ase, darisanē, sissa, paissai, paisaï, biṇasaï, bhuanāsi, paisi, aise, bisahi. *Sarah Fragment II,* barisantē, disai, paissaï, dīsa, kīsa.

Tillopada—suṇṇa, disai, kīsa, bisohahu, bisahi, dosa, ubaasē.

These are sufficient to indicate that in the Apabhraṁśa of these Buddhist *dohās* the use of sibilant was regularly confined to the dental *s*. The confusion that appears in the text published by Śāstrī is certainly due to the modern Nepalese copyist who can hardly distinguish between the dental and palatal sibilants in old manuscripts. Though I have not been able to discover any new manuscript of the Dohākoṣa of Kanha we will now be quite justified in reconstructing the few words which contain the palatal *s*: sasi (5), sattha (12), asesa, besa (21), sihara and sabasa (25) as even in these *dohās* of Kanha we see some regular use of dental *s* instead

of the palatal siriphala (2), sunna (8), sosa (14), pasa (23), and sijjhai (24).

It therefore follows that there is nothing in the phonology of the dialect used in these *dohās* which would justify us in considering it to be an " Eastern Apabhramśa " if we understand by it some dialect from which Bengali is descended. Prof. Jules Bloch is quite clear on this point in his preface to the book of Shahidullah: " We may call it oriental because it is found in Eastern texts and because there are some Eastern influences but it is not so if we wish to find in it the base of the modern Eastern languages". Under these circumstances we can still consider the language of these *dohās* as Western Apabhramśa which was adopted by the Buddhist scholars of the Magadhan School for writing these texts sometime between the 8th and 10th centuries A. D.

THE PERSONAL PRONOUNS FIRST AND SECOND PLURAL IN THE DARDIC AND KAFIR LANGUAGES.

G. MORGENSTIERNE.

In an instructive article [1] Professor J. Bloch and Dr. H. Smith have recently discussed the treatment of Skt. **sm, ṣm** in middle and modern Indo-Aryan, and have added considerably to our understanding of the conflicting tendencies which have determined the development of these groups of consonants.

Yet many difficulties remain, especially in Dardic and Kafiri, as will appear from a survey of the forms of the personal pronouns, first and second plural, in these dialects. And, apart from the development of **sm, ṣm**, many other problems will meet us at every step of our investigation.

In Lhd we find [as(s)ī], ⌊tus(s)ī⌋ [2], derived, with **sm, ṣm** > **s(s)**, from **asma-, tusma-**, like must other modern I-A forms.

The same is the case with Kshm. 1. [**as'**], gen. [sôn*]; 2 tŏh', [tuhondu]. Note, however, that the treatment of -ṣm- does neither coincide with that of -**sm**-, nor with that of -ṣ- (*cf.* **noš** 'daughter-in-law', **haš** 'mother-in-law'), but with that of -**ṣ**- (*cf.* **hühur** 'father-in-law').

In Shina, too, the same type prevails, apart from the 1 pl. nom. **be**, about which further down. The Gilgit forms are: 1 obl. [ǎso], 2 nom. and abl. [tsho]. Regarding the aspirated **tsh**, *cf.* [bátshar] 'calf' etc. I heard **tsāh** 'you' in the dialect of Pales in the Indus Kohistan.

Further developments to the abl. forms appear in the dialects of the Indus Kohistan:

Gauro 1 gen.	[asǎ]	2 nom. [tus],	gen.	[tusǎ]
Chilis „	[azǎ]	„	„	„	[tsǎ]
Maiyǎ „	[zǎ]	„	„	„	[sǎ].

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1. Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique, XXIII, pp. 261-73.
2. Froms not noted by myself are given within square brackets,

The more archaic forms, found in Gauro, have also been preserved in Palola, a dialect spoken in Ashred and other villages in Southern Chitral, and closely related to Sh., and its offshoot Ṣavi, from the Kunar valley near Asmar. *cf. e.g* Pal. 1 dat **asãm.** 2 nom. **tus**, dat. **tusãm.**

In Sh., and connected dialects, too, the development of -ṣm- differs from that of -ṣ-, which generally remains. Likewise in Torwali and Bashkarik (= Garwi), the westernmost dialects where the type *tuṣma- is found, the forms are twa (<*tuha) [Stein tō, thō], and **tha**. But *e.g.* Torw. [muš] (prob. = mūṣ) 'mouse', **paiṣ** 'mother-in-law', Bashk. muṣ, čiš, and čā'ṣ 'flea' (<*praṣ-), *cf*. Torw. kəṣən, Bashk. kĩṣin 'black' <kṛṣṇa-. In fact, in no Dardic dialect does ṣ n result in ṣ, and the development to s, h can scarcely have passed through a stage *ṣṣ.

The **sm** of **asma**- becomes m in Torw **ma**, Bashk. **mã**; and among all the dialects further west. Prasun is the only one which presents the development **sm>s**.

In most of the Western Dardic dialects we find **sm>s**. Thus Dameli[1] 1 obl. **amã**, Gawar Bati **amõ** 'we' Kalasha **hãma, hõma** (abl.) Kati **emo**, Waigeli **amĩ, yãmo**, Ashkun **ima**, Pashai **(h)amã** etc., Tirahi **mã**.

To a great extent the same dialects have also **m < [2] ṣma*** : Dam. **myã** 'you' (obl.), G. B. **mẽ**, Kal. **memi, mĩmĩ** (obl.), Ashk. **yãm - ba** (gen. ; one sub-dialect has nom. **yã**). Pashai **ima, (h)emã, myã, mõmã**, Pras. **muũ, mĩu.**

Ashk. is the only dialect which, if appearances do not deceive, has preserved the y- of **yuṣma**-. But **myã, mĩũ, mã, mẽ mĩ, ima** etc. must probably be derived from ***ymĩ**, syncopated from ***yum (h)ã. h** is not a Kafiri sound, so it is very doubtful whether **ṣm (sm)** in these dialects has passed through a stage *mh.

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1. Dam. is a dialect with Kafiri affinities which is spoken in one village in Southern Chitral, near Arandu.

2. Or ***sm**. In Kafiri **us** apparently did not become **uṣ.**

Kati šo 'you' is very difficult to explain. A derivation from *šya (or *sya) < *š^{m}ya-) (s^{m}ya) <*y(u)šma- (*yusma-) seems possible. But it would presuppose either a preservation of šm(sm) till after the contraction of *yušma- > *yšma- > *šmya- had taken place, or a development of šm (sm) to *š (s) in this word, while sm resulted in m in 'emo' (we)[1]. Another possible derivation would be from *yūṣa- (yūsa-) > *ysa- etc.

N. W. Pashai mōmā, Kal. mēmī, mīmī seem to have been formed through reduplication, in order to obtain the same number of syllables as hamā, and hāma, hōma 'we'.

Prasun, the most isolated among the Kafir dialects, has s < sm in nom. ásē 'we'. gen. as cf. e. y. Mahrāṣṭrī nom. amhe, gen. amha (ṃ). 2 gen. aṣ-eṇ might possibly be derived from *usma-, cf. Singh. umba, oba, explained in this manner by H. Smith (l. c. p. 272). I cannot make any guess at the origin of the suffix -en; But Munji mox 'we' (*ahmaxam), mof 'you' (*(yušmaβya) show how different case endings can be utilized for the purpose of distinguishing between the 1 and 2 pl., when the stems have become homonymous.

But Pras. mīū 'you' with m < šm, and original y- is difficult to reconcile with an eventual development of aṣ- < *usma-. On the other hand, mīū can scarcely be borrowed. At any rate none of dialects adjoining Pras. present a similar form.

Khowar, which is the dialect where the development of sv, šv into sp, šp has been carried out with the greatest regularity, has ispa 'we' < *spa < asma[2].

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(1) A development šm > š is not probable. Kati gariš, Ashk. gerés, Waig. garáš 'midday' cannot, as proposed by Bloch (l c. p. 263), be derived from grišma, which would result in Kali *gr'īš, Ashk. M. *glīš, or similar forms. gəriš etc. < *gha-asya- cf. Khow. graniš, Pash L. lyenī < *ghranasya-, formed from I. E. *g^{w}horos, and g^{w}hrenes- (cf. Skr. ghraṃsa- 'heat of the sun', Breton groez < *g^{w}hrens- etc.). *ghranasya- might possibly result in Kati *gr'īš > *gər'iš but not in gəriš.

(2) Wakhi (i) spa 'our' has been borrowed from Khow.

There remains a number of forms containing **v** (**w**) and **b.**

The **bě** 'we' of Shina, Palola, and the dialects of the Indus Kohistan, Bloch (l. c. p. 264) 'hésite a faire remoter à **bhe** attesté (assez mal, il est vrai____) en prakrit, et remontant hypothétiquement a *ambhe*. This hesitation is well founded. The coexistence of **be** < *(am)bhe < *asme, and **as-** < **asma-** in the same dialect would be surprising, and, besides, Palola regularly preserves the aspiration of mediae. On the other hand, a derivation from **vayam** is phonetically legitimate, and several Prkrkit dialects have 1 pl. nom. **vayaṃ** etc., while generalizing the base *tusma- in the 2 pl.

But Shumashti [1] **ãbə** 'we' cannot be be derived from **vayam**, but probably from *a(m)bhe. The obl. bases, **ama** and **ima**, have been borrowed from Pashai. Kalasha **ãbi** 'we' one is inclined to explain in the same manner. The loss of aspiration in intervocalic position is not impossible in Kal[2]. Besides, there is a possibility of *ãbhe and *bě having been contaminated.

The different treatment of *mh in **ãbi** 'we', and **hamã** 'us' may, perhaps, be due to an original difference of accent, *ãmhe (ãm-he?) resulting in **ãmbhe** > **ãb(h)i**, and *amhã- (aṃhã-?) in (h)amã. At any rate a derivation of **ãbi** from **vayam** seems to be excluded.

If the explanation proposed is correct, **ãbi** 'you' in its turn ought to be derived from *umbhe. But Kal. is not so eccentrie in its vowel changes as Prasun, and the development u- > ã- seems very strange.

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1. Shumashti is spoken in a side-valley of the lower Kunar, and is surrounded by Pashai dialects, by which it has been influenced. Its nearest affinities are with Gawar Bati; but the personal pronouns differ in the two dialects.

2. I know no certain instance of the treatment of aspirated mediae in a similar position in Kal. Neither **gūhum** 'wheat', nor **jip** 'tongue' present exactly the same phonetical conditions as **ãbi**.

The homophony between Kal **ābi** 'we' and **ābi** 'you' can be tolerated in the nom., where the verb will show which person is meant. In the oblique cases we find the two distinct bases **hamā** and **memī**.

Khowar **bisa** 'you' is the more archaic form. The more usual **pisa** has probably got its **p** from **ispa**[1]. These forms cannot be derived from **yusma-**, which would have resulted in Khow. ²**iṣpa**. **bisa** points to ²ᵉ**bsa** < ²ᵉ**v(a)sa**. Bloch (l. c p. 266) has shown that an initial labial in some cases dissimilates a following **sm** into **ss**, and it is possible that ²**vasma-** (formed on the analogy of **asma-**, with the initial of **vah**), ²**vusma-** resulted in ***vas(s)a**, while **asma-** developed into ²**aspa-**.

Shumashti nom. 2 pl. **vī** must be derived from an older from ***vē**. In this dialect ancient **vi-** becomes **i** (**isi** '20', **ire** 'man'), but **vē-** > **vi** (**vīu** 'willow'). Now several Dard dialects present traces of the development of **-as** into **-e**, known also from the dialect of the Kharoshthi inscriptions[2]. Waig. **se**, Torw. **sē**. Shumashti etc. **ase** 'that', are probably derived from ***sas**. Consequently **vī** can be derived from ***vas**. Regarding the use of the enclitic pronoun for the nom., cf. Parachi **wà** 'you'.

Ashk., Waig. **vī**, Dam. **bi** 'you' (nom.) must be explained in the same way. All these dialects belong to the same geographical area as Shum. In Dam **v-** regularly becomes **b-**. The genitives in the various Waig. dialects are: **vāmə**, **imbà - ivimbä** (**-bä** being the suffix of the gen.). Here, perhaps, a contamination of the types ***yumhe** and ***ve**(< ***vas**) may have taken place.

In Dam. the 1 sg. **ai** is used for the pl., too. The reason for this may be a wish to avoid a homophony between ***bi** 'we' and **bi** 'you. In Tirahi the sg. **tu** is used for the 2 pl.[3] but the 1 pl. is **mā** < ***ahmā-**.

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(1) Or dialectically ***psa** < ***bsa**?
(2) Konow, CIL. II, I, p. CXII.
(3) Or **tu** < **tuh** < **tus** ?

The suggestions offered here regarding the derivation of the personal pronouns 1 and 2 pl. in the Dardic and Kafir dialects do not pretend to solve all the difficulties. In many, perhaps in most cases, the lack of material from older stages of the development of these dialects does not permit us arrive at any certain conclusions, and too much remains mere guess work. Still I hope that these pages may contribute a little to the knowledge of a most interesting group of Aryan languages, for the study of which Sir George Grierson has laid the firm foundation.

The following table gives a survey of the forms appearing in the Dardic dialects of the personal pronouns, 1 and 2 pl. The arrangement is approximately geographical. The forms of the 1 pl. in each dialect are given in the first line, those of the 2 pl. in the second. Where distinct bases for the nom. and oblique bases exist, the nom. is given first Dialect forms are put within brackets.

Prasun	Kati	Kalasha	Khowar	Shina	Gilg.
śǝ̄, aṣ	emo	ābi, hōma, (hāma)	ispa		[bě, áso]
mīū, asen	šo	ābi, mīmi, memi	piṣa, (biṣa)		[tsho]

	Ashkun			Waigeli	
	ima, imba, (imōa)		amī, (yāmä), amèbǝ, (yōmō, yamumbǝ)		
	vī, (yä), yämba		vī (ivī), vāmǝ (Imbä, ivĪmbǝ)		

Palola	Gawro
be, asim	be, aṣǝ̄
tus, tusim	tus, tusǝ̄

Pashai N. W.	Pashai N. E.	Shumashti	Gawar Bati	Dameli
hamā	ama	ābǝ, ama	amō	ai, amā
mōmā	ima	vī, ima	mē	bi, myä

Bashkarik	Maiyä	Chilis
mǝ̄	[be, zǝ̄]	[be, azǝ̄]
tha	[tus, sǝ̄]	[tus, tsǝ̄]

Pashai W.	Pashai E.	Tirahi	Torwalik	Kashmiri
amā	hamā	mā [ao, mě̃n]	ma [mō]	[asʲ]
myä	hě̃mā	tu [tao]	twa [t(h)ō]	tŏhʲ

THE OLDEST GRAMMAR OF HINDUSTANI.

Suniti Kumar Chatterji.

§ 1. Johannes Josua Ketelaer, who was born at Elbingen in Prussia and served in India under the Dutch East India Company during the first two decades of the 18th century, wrote, in Latin, the first grammar of Hindustani. The exact date when the work was prepared is not known; it was published from Leyden in 1743, being incorporated in a volume of dissertations on Mohammedan, Biblical and other oriental subjects written and edited by David Mill (Millius), —but it was evidently written before 1716 when Ketelaer went to Persia, where he died. The tentative date suggested for the work is c. 1715.

§ 2. Signor Emilio Teza first brought the work to the notice of modern scholars, in January 1895, when he read a paper ('Dei primi Studi delle Lingue indostaniche alle note di G. A Grierson') before the Reale Accademia dei Lincei of Rome, supplementing the article which Sir George A. Grierson wrote on the 'Early Study of Indian Vernaculars in Europe' which appeared in the JASB. for 1893, Part 1. In the proceedings of the ASB. for May 1895, an abstract of Signor Teza's paper was given by Sir George, in which he included a note on the life of Ketelaer by W. Irvine. Signor Teza evidently had not seen Ketelaer's book, but he had found a mention of it in the Preface of the Hindustani Grammar by B. Schultze, published from Halle in Saxony in 1744; and Ketelaer's Version of the Lord's Prayer in Hindustani quoted by Teza (and then by Sir George) seems also to have been taken from Schultze. In the LSI., Vol. IX (Western Hindi and Panjabi), pp 6-8, the biographical note on Ketelaer has been given, together with a brief account of Mill's work and Ketelaer's Grammar, some peculiarities of which have been noted by Sir George. The Lord's Prayer as translated by Ketelaer has also been reproduced, in which one or two misprints have crept in. This is the fullest description of the work I have seen.

§ 3. The value of the work of Ketelaer in studying the development of Hindustani is quite apparent. The formation of Hindustani is one of the yet unsolved problems of New Indo-Aryan Linguistics. Ketelaer's grammar is a rare document giving an early observer's record of a current form of the language while it was still in a fluid stage. European missionary and commercial activity working under the stimulus received from the spirit of curiosity roused by the Renaissance, had naturally to take into note the languages of the land, in India and elsewhere. Already in the 17th century grammars of Tamil and Goanese were written and published by the Portuguese missionaries. Bengali seems also to have been studied with some care during that century; but the first grammar and vocabulary of the language to see the light was that by Padre Manoel da Assumpçaõ, which appeared in 1743 from Lisbon, in Portuguese and in the Roman character (a reprint of this grammar, with a Bengali translation, and with considerable extracts from the vocabulary, has been published by the Calcutta University under the joint-editorship of Mr. Priyaranjan Sen and myself). The first Hindustani grammar, going back to over two centuries from now, is well worth a detailed consideration.

§ 4. In 1921 while I was in England I was fortunate in accidentally securing at a second-hand bookseller's a copy of Mill's entire work (the full title of which is given in the LSI., IX, p. 7, and I do not repeat it), and this has enabled me to study Ketelaer's work. In addition to the Hindustani grammar (*De Lingua Hindustanica*, forming the first chapter, pp. 455–488, of the *Miscellanea Orientalia*), Ketelaer seems also to have been responsible for *three* Hindustani vocabularies in Mill's work. It may be mentioned that Ketelaer's authorship of the Hindustani grammar is acknowledged in Mill's Preface; and there mention is made of his writing the Hindustani miscellanies in the ' Belgic ' idiom (Dutch is obviously meant) which were translated into Latin by Mill. The Hindustani grammar is followed by the ' Rudiments of the Persian Language of to-day, as in use in

Hindustan, and in the Courts of the Mohammadan Kings of India',
forming Section I of Chapter II of the *Miscellanea Orientalia.*
This grammar is a very short one (pp. 489 - 503) and in all likeli-
hood it is from Ketelaer, too. Added to the grammar is a list of
some 140 verbs (pp. 503—509) given in three columns, in Latin,
Hindustani and Persian; and a vocabulary of some 650 words, in
Latin, Hindustani, Persian and Arabic (pp. 510 – 598) ; and follow-
ing this, forming Section II of Chapter II of the *Miscellanea
Orientalia,* is a collection of what appeared to Ketelaer to be
homonyms or slightly different words from Hindustani (pp. 599—
601). This last should have come along with the Hindustan
grammar, forming Chapter I of the Miscellany. The Persiien
and Arabic words are given in the Arabic character, but tha
Hindustani is everywhere in the Roman. In the above-mentioned
quadrilingual vocabulary ('Etymologicum Orientale Harmonicum'),
there is in the foot-notes a learned lexical and comparative com-
mentary on the Arabic words which is evidently from Mill himself.
Mill gives references to the occurrence of the Arabic words in
the Arabic verson of the Bible, and quotes Hebrew equivalents.
In considering Ketelaer's work, these Hindustani vocabularies
have also to be taken into account.

§ 5. Ketelaer's grammar begins with a note on tha
Devanagari Alphabet which is illustrated by a plate opposite
p. 456, the text referring to the Devanagari letters in this plate
by means of numerals written under them. The letters as re-
produced in this plate are in a very indifferent hand, and are based
on the script as employed in Western Hindustan and Rajputana.
There is a heading—Oṃ Śrī **Gaṇeśaï namaḥ**. Then follow from
the second line the letters of the Devanagari script, with numbers
under them for reference to the pronunciation given on the page
opposite. The letters go on in the usual order, after the benedic-
tory **oṃ nama sidhaḥ**. The following forms are note-worthy,—
इ ई for **i I,** उ ऊ = **u ū,** रि री लि ली = ṛ ṝ ḷ], and ए ऐ ओ औ for
e ai ō au. The vowels end with अं अः (in the plate occurring as

श्र श्रा:). The pronunciation as indicated seems to have been written down by some one with a very bad ear for foreign sounds and a worse way of representing them—it may be that Ketelaer himself was not responsible for it. For example श्रं श्र: printed in the plate as श्र श्रा: are indicated in the pronunciation tables as **ang gha** (for [ʌŋ ʌɦə]= **am ah**). This is how the pronunciation of the Devanagari letters is sought to be expressed:

क = **k** (' like keph of the Arabs '), ख = **k** (' like kaph of the Arabs'), ग = **gha** (' pronounce like غ of the Arabs'), घ = **dgja** (' like Arabic ج '—evidently the Egyption value of ج was known to the writer), ङ = **nia**, च छ ज झ = **tgja, tscha, dhea, dgja,** ञ = **nia** (' does not differ from letter No. 6 = ड़'), ट ठ ड ढ = **tha, tscha, dha, dhgja,** ण = **nrha** (this is an attempt to indicate the value of ण = ड़ँ), त थ द ध न = **ta, tha, dha, da, na,** प फ ब भ म = **pa, pha, ba, bham, ma,** य र ल व = **ja, ra. la, wa,** श ष स ह ळ = **sjang, k'cho, sja, ha, lang** (the North Indian value of ष as **kh** indicated as **k'cho,** is interesting to note), and क्ष = **k'cha.** Then follow the consonant conjuncts with vowels—**pa, pā, pi, pī** etc. In two other plates the Devanagari letters are given again three times, with Roman transliterations along with the letters on the plates. In the plate opposite p. 458 are given the Devanagari letters twice, under headings *I. Devanagaram* and *II. Balabandu,* and they figure again in a following plate. *I. Devanagaram* is badly copied out for the plate, and uses ल for the ळ: this would seen to be taken from some North Indian pandit. *II. Balabandu* evidently comes from Mahārāṣṭra, judging from the style of the letters. The two transcriptions in this plate differ from each other, and although the aspirates and the cerebrals have not been properly rendered, they are on the whole much better than the absurd equivalents given in the text. In this plate, श्रं श्र: are transcribed as **am aha** (for [ʌm ʌɦə])and च as **ttza** and **stshae** (for a छ = **ch** pronunciation). The last plate of Devanagari reproduces a beautiful Benares hand, and the transliteration is much better done, with the aspirates

properly differentiated from the pure stops by h; the values of the letters were taken down from a Bengali—perhaps an East Bengali pandit;—they are almost identical with the transliterations given for the Bengali letters (equally beautifully written and reproduced) in the plate following: in both of these, ङ ञ ङ are transcribed as **oua ya ana,** following the Bengali names of these letters [ūwŏ, ijŏ, anɔ], च छ as **ɛa ɛha** (or **ɛcha**), corresponding to the East Bengali values [tɛɔ, ɛɔ], य as **ɛja** (*i.e.* ja, Bengali pronunciation of य being j), स as **ɛha,** ख as kha, and अं अः as **ang ach** (in North India अः would be pronounced as **aha**). These various transcriptions of the Devanagari alphabet during the first half of the 18th century have some slight interest in New Indo-Aryan phonetics. In addition to the above, K.'s grammar includes another plate giving the *Lantsha* and Tibetan alphabets, as well as the Mongol equivalents of these, with Romam transliteration. These plates of alphabets, together with the notes and references in this introductory section,—it may be the entire section on the letters—seems to be Mill's addition; but K. might have brought the alphabets written on sheets of paper from India.

§ 6. The grammar proper begins from the third page of the work. There is nothing said about the pronunciation of Hindustani—the author seems to take it for granted that his Dutch values of the Roman letters are known to his readers, and he starts at once with the *Declinationes Linguae Hindustanicae.* K's attempt to render the Hindustani sounds he heard is quite interesting, and is not without significance in the study of Hindustani phonology.

§ 7. The *vowels* which K. heard seem to have been the same, or very much the same found in Hindustani of Western Hindustan.

ă is represented by **a** commonly, by **e** frequently and by **o** rarely: *e.g.* **ɛachti** (**ɛaxtī**), **bandoech** (**banduq**), **karta** (**kartā**); **tsjenga** (**ɛaṅgā**), **carres** (**ɛaraj**), **telle** (**talē**), **gea** (**gayā**), **der** (**dar**), **nenga**

(nanga), kesmet (xizmat, xidmat), benaje (banāī); koo mat (kahō mat), somsje (samjhe), etc. ๏ in hๆeddi(haddī), karrom๏t (karāmāt) etc. is exceptional.

§ 8. ā is represented by a, aa: beetha (bēṭā), ·ka (-kā), boedia (burhiyā) admi (ādmī), ank or anck (āṅkh), kja (kyā,) kiswaste (kis wāstē); baab (bāp), maa (mā̃), nimaas (namāz), jaad (yād), peaar (pyār); etc. Exceptions are—ao in naom (nām), ๏ in gๆli (gālī), ay in kay tsjoeke (khā cukā), boeray (burā; or ? burā'ī), auw in derriauw (daryā), o in karrom๏t (karāmā̃t). Finally, -ā is often denoted by -e or -๏, especially in the verb forms: e. g. degge (dagā), poeranne (purānā), teere (terab, 13) beside teera (terā = thy), me packerte (maĩ pakaṛtā), me paetste (maĩ puchtā) me dounte (maĩ dhū̃rhtā), ay๏ hoe๏ (āyā hū'ā), etc.

§ 9. i = i, rarely ie: gin (√gin), sicheghe (sikhēgā, sikhū̃gā), tiesra dien (tisrā din); in duwanna (diwāna), we have u for i. [ie, is often written as je especially at the end of a word].

ī = ie, also i : tier (tīr), darie (dāṛhī), nietsje (nīcē), alamgiere ('ālam-gīrī); teeri (terī), patsjayi (pātšāhī), etc. In a few instances it seems finally -e indicates -ī: e. g. alamgiere ('ālamgīrī). Final -ī also = y (i.e. ii): bhay (bhāī), koy (kōī), dsjamway (jawāī), boeray (burāī).

§ 10. u is represented by u, o and oe, and ū generally by oe: sust (sust), poeranne (purānā), bod (but), moft (muft), Godda (xudā), bunga (huṅgā) poeroeb (pūrub for pūrab), pokkar (pukār), dsjoeroe (jōrū), toesj๏ (tujhē), boellonga (bhuluṅgā), etc. The digraph oe (= u, ū) is peculiarly Dutch.

§ 11. ē is generally indicated by ee, also by e : beethase (bēṭā-sē for bēṭe·sē), teei (tel), andeer (andhēr), deete (dētā), tsjyé (cāhiyē) etc. Transcriptions like toesj๏ (tujhē), with ๏ for ē, are exceptional.

§ 12. ō is indicated by oo, also by o: dhoobi (dhōbī), doost (dōst). toop (tōp), ankkon (ākh-kō), gorra (ghōṛā), me dsjoetboltethๆ

(maĭ jhūṭh bōltā thā), tsjoori (cōrī,), koo (kahō), soo (so'ō), hougea
(ho gayā), etc. We have oe in dsjoeroe (jōrū), *Cf.* auw, kauw'
dsjauw = āō, khāō, jāō.

§ 13.* From the frequent use of e and o for short i and u, it
is likely that these short values of e and o were actually heard:
e. g. tommare (tumhārā), sāheb (sābib), goelam beside golammi
(gulām, gulāmi), hoekem (hukm).

§ 14. ai: it seems that K. heard the modern sound of [æ] or
[æĕ], and this he indicated by e, ey, æ and also in a weak position
by a: *e.g.* me (maĭ), he (hai), medda (maidā), peyssa (paisā), beth,
betth (baiṭh), kensch (khaĭc), sethan (šaitǎn), paedda (paidā);
ghoebba (xub hai), bhel (bail), kapprel (khaɔrail), innekom pakker-
taja (inhĕ kō or inkō pakarṭǎ hai), etc.

§ 15. au: the modern values of [ɔ) or [ɔ̌] seems to be in-
dicated by K.'s transcriptions o, oo and ou: kon (kaun), tsjockje
(caukĭ 'watch'), oor (aur) loondi (launḍī), tsjoute (cauthā), hathorie
(=hathauṛī), doure (dauṛō), etc.

§ 16. The present day Hindustāni modification of vowels —
especially of ā̆ — in connexion with a following h seems also to
have characterised the language heard by K. The grɔup ah then
as now = [æ] : *e.g.* bhen (bahin: the pronunciation heard by K.
was probably [b'ɛːn]), pelle (pahilā), dhaina haat beside dana haat
(for [dæhna: ɦaːth] = dahina hāth), penne (pahinē), ney (nahĭ),
tsjoeprea (cūp rahā), ree (rahe), (but *cf.* ro = rah, imperative
2 sg.), reena (rahɪā), gerra (gahrā, gahiɾā) etc. In tɔjyó, tsjeyte
we have doubtless an attempt to represent cahiyǎ, cǎhtā [c̃ǽǽie,
c̃ǽǽtaˑ], which we after hear for cāhiye, cāhtā. *Cf.* also merwan =
mihrwān.

§ 17. Loss of vowel: an unaccented short vowel is often
dropped: brabber (bǎṛabar), frusta for *frista (fĕrišta), ghlas
(xǎlās), bras (bāras).

The converse process of vowel insertion also is noticed:
boellana (bhulnā), isseka (iskā), innekon (inkō).

§ 18. Nasalised vowels: at times the nasalisation is dropped, but generally there is an attempt to indicate it by an **n**: **me** (**mal**, also **mẽ**), **hastæ** (**hastā**), **ghawar** beside **gemaer** (**gāwār**); **oenth** (**ũt**), **ontsjata** (**?ũcātā** = 'height'), **ank** or **anck** (**ãkh**), **ocanse** (**wahã-sē**); the prepositions **-kon**, **-son** (**-kõ**, **-sõ**), **aandhoe** (**ãru** = 'juvencus'), **kenschna** (**khaĩcnā**), etc. *Cf.* **bhaina haat** = **bāyã hãth**.

§ 19 The **consonants** are those now found in Hindustani. The foreign sounds of **q, x, f** and **z** seem already to have been commonly heard— at least in court circles—for K. attempts to indicate them. The case of **q** is not so sure, and it is quite likely that ordinarily **k** was substituted for it.

k is denoted usually by **k**, and frequently by **kk** and **ck**; *e. g.* **kaam** (**kām**) **kar** (**kar**), **akkele** (**akelā**), **hockum** (**hukm**), **lacksie** (**lakṛī**), **poekkar** or **pokkar** (**pukār**), **-kon** (**-kõ** = **-kō**), **tsjoeke** (**cukā**), **paak** (**pāk**), **karnekon** (**karne kō**), **uska** (**uskā**). *Cf.* **taxier** = **taksir** (for **taqsir**).

kh, the Indian aspirate, presented a difficulty to K Usually he writes **k**, specially initially; but **kh**, and even **kgh** are employed, as well as **kk** and **ch** (the value of the last was [x], the velar fricative). Thus - **kapprel** (**khaprail**), **rak** (**rakh**), **rakkena** (**rakhnā**), **sukka** (**sukhā**), **dichaya**, **sichaya** (**dikh-**, **sikh-**), **khaoungæ** (**khāũgā**), **kghattæ** (**khātā**), **kaytsjoeke** (**khā cukā**), **duchie** (**dukhī** = sick), **kensch** (**khaĩc**). In **raag** (**rākh** = ashes), we have **g** with the usual Dutch value of [x] for **kh**.

g is usually transcribed by **g**: **girre** (**girā**), **gied** (**gīt**), **gautatha** (**gāwtā thā** = **gātā thā**), **dilgien** (**dilgīn**), **gona** (**gunāh**). **g** certainly had the present value of an unvoiced spirant **g** - [ǧ], or [x]—in Dutch of the 18th century, as we can see from the treatment of [x] in Hindustani words (see below). To represent the stop sound with this spirant **g** of Dutch, it offered some difficulties to Ketelaer. In one instance we have the use of **ch** - [xj for **g**: **jachte-jāgtā**: here the use of **j** (which has the sound of **y** in Dutch) for the palatal fricative (=**j** as in English) also is inexplicable.

g is sometimes represented by gh: ghir beside gir (gir), ghai (gāē), ghawar besides gemaer (gáwār), gherden (gardan), aagh (āg), me sicheghe (mai sikhegā for sikhuṅgā). The interchange between aspirates and unaspirated stops is exceedingly common in K , who seems to have appreciated the difference, but could not always successfully note them, and frequently made mistakes. See note below, under § 37.

For gh, K. uses g: gora (ghōrā), gaas (ghās); also gh, *.g.* ghe, (ghar) beside ger.

For the guttural nasal ṅ, occurring in Hindustani only before (h) and g(h). n is employed: ank or anck (āṅkh), hassonga (bāsegā, kbāsūṅgā), tsjenga (caṅgā), etc. Final ṅg = ngh, as in rengh (raṅg), singh (siṅg).

§ 20. The foreign sound of q might have been heard, but it could not have been common: it would seem that [k], or [x] was substituted for it in India, at least among the people in some parts. We have no attempt at consistency : *e.g.* khalm (qalam), nachara (naqqāra), bandoech (banduq), ghasie (= xāzī, for qāzī) wacht (waqt : vaxát for waqt is common in the Panjab), carres karres (qarz), kanuna (qānūn) etc.

Hindustani seems to have already adopted the foreign sound of [x], and Ketelaer has taken pains to indicate it. He uses g (with its Dutch value of [x]), gh and ch, as well as k for this sound : *e.g.* godda (xudā), gesmet beside ghesmet and kesmet (xizmat, xidmat), ghallie (xālī), ghoen (xun), ghabber (xabr), chartsjeraa (xarc ŏ-rāh), biandighanna (baudīxāna), ghossjali (xuš-hālī), sachtie (saxtī), dosek (duzax), baksnese (baxšné-sē), etc. The spelling Godda = xudā may have been partly due to Ketelaer's fancied connexion with the Dutch word God [= xod].

[g]: this sound would seem not to have been common—probably it was pronounced, as now, as g, except among learned circles. Ketelaer writes g: golani, goelam (gulāmī, gulām) garieb (garīb), deggabasi (dagābāzī), deggæ (dagā), tsjogglie (cuglī), morga, morgi (murgā, murgī), etc.

§ 21. c, ch, j, jh presented difficulties to K., and we find a number of curious devices employed For c, we have usually tsj (*i.e.* tš), but tsch (as in German), ts, sch and s are also used: tsjockjedaar (caukīdār), moetsje (mūcī), tsitter (cittar, citr = citra), mirritsch (miric), kenschte, kenste (khaīctā), tsijand (caud), etc. tsjettia = tsjettja (caccā) shows the Dutch use of tj for c.

ch is represented by tsj (like c), as well as ts, s: poetsjonga (puchūṅgā, puchēgā), tsjorre (chorā), poetste (puchtā), tsjoekna for tsjokra (chōkrā), tsjinaal (chināl), ries (rīch), t'sjain (chāē̃ = Skt. chāyā), etc.

j — by dsj (the proper way, = dž), and by sj, ds, dz, dj, and s: *e.g.* dsjieve (jīw, jī), dsjieuv (jibh), dsjate (jātā), ne dsante (na jāntā), dzamah beside dsjamma (jāma), sjawaab (jawāb), sjad (jad), sjagghe (jāgāh), sjoanna (jawānā), madzmaa (majmu'a), dzaladie (jaldī), wadzudi (wajūdī), hadjam (hajjām), pāssieste (pasījtā) etc. Quite contrary to Dutch (and continental) pronunciation is the use of j in jokoy (jō kōī), jachte (jāgtā) and jutte (jutā).

jh: dsj, s are used: dsjoet (jhuṭh), somsje (samjhe), boos (bōjh) toesjes (tujhē).

§ 22. Ketelaer has not been able to distinguish, at least in his transliteration, between the cerebrals and the dentals: and the aspirates and pure stops are also confused. Thus — tapoe (ṭāpū), rootie (rōṭī), pethie (peṭī), _koetonga (kuṭuṅgā), koethena (kuṭnā), tookrie (ṭōkrī), beetha (beṭā), moetha (mōṭā); djoet (jhuṭh), beth, betth (baiṭh), oethoute (uṭhautā = uṭhātā); dhoeba (ḍubā), der (ḍar), tidda (ṭiḍḍā); dounte (dhūṛhtā), loondi (launḍī), etc.

§ 23. r rh, derived from intervocal and final single ḍ, ḍh — the so-called cerebal r and its aspirate — are represented in a number of ways: lerreghe (laṛegā), dourr (dauṛ), karwa kerwa (kaṛwā), barra (baṛā), toorte (toṛtā), garriwan (gāṛiwān), aandhoe (='juvencus', āṛū), raand (rāṛ), gora (ghōṛā), (beside gorra), cerre (saṛā); boedia (buṛhiyā), boedha (buṛhā or buḍḍhā), lackrie

(lakṛī), orrhega orre orrhena (ōṛhegā, ōṛhā, ōṛhnā), darie (dāṛhī), etc.

§ 24. The dental t th d dh are represented by t th d dh, but there is interchange of the aspirated and non-aspirated forms in Ketelaer's transliteration: tom (tum), tier (tīr), doost (dōst), touttha (tuthiyā), haat (hāth), tha (thā), tannadaar (thānādār), patter (patthar), hathonie for hathorie (hathauṛi), mothie (mōtī), kosttha (kuttā), batthie (battī), hatti (hāthī), deete (dētā), also dithe, faidah (fā'ida), andeer (andhēr), gedde (gaddhā, gadbā) (also ghedda), koedhe (kūdeˋ, dhimer (dhīmar), dooe (dhōwē), dhoed (dūdh), dhoela dhoelen (dulhā dulhan), doel (dhūl), ghido (= gīdh), dhee (deh = body), etc. etc.

n is represented by n (in printing, frequently n has been put in for r): nischan (niśān), gonna (gunāh), noen (nūn, dialectal for lōn = salt), etc.

§ 25. p ph b bh: there is confusion between pure stops and asp'rates: parwet (parwat = parbat), peyssa (paisā), kappra (kaprā), pethie (peṭī), oepper (upar), patsjayi (pātšāhī); pharte (phārtā), phergte for phengte (phěktā), phitkeri (phitkārī), poslaute (phuslāwtā = phuslātā); beetha (beṭā), baab (bāp), bod (but), boed (bhūt), bhay (bhāī), boelle (bhulē), gabroe (gabbru), etc. The use of v in dsjieuv = jībh is curious. For m, the transliteration is m: maa (mě), kham (khām), sjamidaan (šama'dān), etc.

§ 26. f occurs in words of non-Indian origin, and K. writes them f, differentiating from the native ph. Examples are copious. In one place it seems we have f for ph in a native word: tsjolte ✓ serte for tsjelte ferte = caltā phirtā. In court circles at least, f seems to have become established.

§ 27. y is indicated by j—jaad (yād) kjon (kyǒ), gaija (gāiyā = gāyā) and by y—sichaya (sikhāyā); cf. tsjyó =cāhiyē for cāhiyē.

§ 28. r and l are represented by r and l, sometimes doubled: beakarre (byāh karē), sjullaab (julāb), gullaab (gulāb), etc.

§ 29. Hindustani **w** is represented by **w** and **v**, and **uw**: **lakriewala** (lakṛīwālā), **haweli** (hawelī), **hauwa** (bawā), **dsjieve** (jīw = ī), **karwā** (kaṛwā), **meyuwa** (mēwa), **auwe** (äwē), **ewwel** (awwal), **mervan** (mihrwān), **khavige** (khāwēgā); oeaanse = wahāsē, **soorrauri** = zōrāwarī, give oe and u for **wa**. A nasalised **w** is indicated by **mw** and by **w**: **dsjamway** (jāwāe = son-in-law), and **ghawar** beside **gemaer** (gáwār). After -ā in certain forms, a **w** sound occurred in Ketelaer's time: this is dropped now: *e.g.* kauéna (= khāwənā, now khānā), me gauta tha (mai gīwtā thā for gātā thā), **gaawena** (gāwənā, *cf.* Bengali gāonā, for gānā), aɔwena dsjauwena (= āwənā, jāwənā = ānā jānā), etc. The groups wŏh, we are represented by **whe**.

§ 30. **s**: the following will illustrate K.'s transliteration: **isseka** (iskā), **paroosje** (paṛōsī), **tisra** (tisrā), **soei** (sūī), **cissa** (sīsā), **peyssa** (paisā), **circa** (sirka), **cir** (sir, sar), **cerre** (sarā), **doost** (dōst), **hasse** (hāsē), etc. etc.

The word **sac** (= true) occurs as **tjets** and as **tsjets**: did this simple form prove a jaw-breaker for Ketelaer?

z was no doubt naturalised in Standard Hindustani, certainly in court circles. K. indicates it by **s**, rarely by **z**: **kesmet** (xizmat, xiðmat, xidmat), **nimaas** (naɔnāz), **tierendaas** (tīrandāz), **dosek** (duzax), **soorrauri** (zōrāwarī); **hazaar** (hazār), **darazje** (darāzī), **filsoos** (fīlsōz = fatīlsōz), **dzazia** (jizya).

§ 31. **š** does not belong to the sound system of Vernacular or Prakritic Hindustani—it was an imposition from without, from Persian, reinforced by Sanskrit. K. seeks to indicate it by **sj** and **sch**, but often writes simple **s**: **sjamidaan** (šamaᶜdān), **patsjayi** (pātšāhī), **baksnese** (baxšnē se), **nischān** (nišān), **nalasch** (nāliš), **ghossjali** (xuš-hālī), **baxus** (baxšiš), **sahanai** (šahnāī) etc

§ 32. **h**: the Arabic ḥ [ḥ], pharyngal sound (unvoiced fricative) had fallen together with the Hindustani h (voiced glottal fricative), and this Hindustani sound is initially represented by

h: bass- (hǎs-), haat (hāth), hiera(hīrā), hatti (bāthī), hazaar (bazār), hadjam (hajjām), hockem, -um (hukm), he (hai), etc. Medially and finally it is usually dropped: bea (byāh), ghossjali (xuš-hālī), oeaanse (wahǎ-sē), nanna jutte (nanhā jutā = sandals) chartjeraa (= xarc-ě-rāh), pakkertaja (pakartā hai), sja (šāh), sjay (syāhī), patsjayi (pātšāhī), loy = lou (lōbu) etc. In this matter, it is clear that K.'s pronunciation was modified by that of the outlying dialects, by perhaps Gujarati. In sabauai (šahnāī), the -h- is retained, propped a vowel on either side. Final h (hā-i-muxtafī of Persian) is at times shown: salselah (silsila), hakmah (hakmah), faidah (fā'ida), etc.

The loss of h in the middle of a word, with attendant modification of a preceding a, has been noted before (§ 16).

§ 33. '= the Arabic sound of 'ayn (voiced laryngal fricative —voiced form of ḥ [ḥ]) seems to have been ignored, as now: pronunciation of ' in Hindustani is found as an affectation among the educated classes. K. does not seek to indicate it in malum (ma'lum), dua (du'ā), and in words like taaeta (tā'at), taalima (ta'lim), memaar (mima'r), madzmaa (majma'), saata (sā'at), the aa obviously indicates a long ā sound. (The final -a in the above-indicated Arabic words is to be noted).

§ 34. A final -t and -p occasionally figure as -d and -b, following German and Dutch pronunciation of final voiced consonants as unvoiced: bod (but), gied (gīt), haadse for haatse (= hāth sē), kéamed (kiyāmat), boed (bhūt), baab (bāp). Conversely there occur ferriaat (faryād), madet (madad), mart (mard).

§ 35. In doen- (= dhūrh) and phergte = phengte (phenkta) we have assimilation of a following consonant to a preceding nasal.

§ 36. Ketelaer frequently doubles consonants: - oepper (upar) moessaffer (musāfir), brabber (barabar), telle (talě), aggi (āgě), dsjennē (janā = 'born'), hassaab (hisāb), gonna beside gona (gunāh), karringe (karengě), reddi for neddi (nadī; also found as naddī in Hindustani), passarie (pasārī), kissāo (kisān), jutte (jutā), -walla (-wālā), etc.

The doubling in Hindustani is as often correctly represented as not:—dajoemma (jummā), batthie (battī), tsitter (cittar = citra); but matsie (macchī), iset (izzat) do not show doubling.

§ 37. The above, in which words are taken both from the grammar and the vocabularies, indicates the character of the transliteration occurring in Ketelaer, with its phonetic and phono'ogical implications. The third list of words gives some Hindustani vocables which appeared to Ketelaer (as a German and Dutch speaker) to be difficult to distinguish from similar words. He appreciated the semantic value of the aspiration of stops, but his frequent inability to distinguish the aspirated and the unaspirated sounds in his transcription, which has been indicated before, might partly be due to his being more familiar with a Gujarati habit of employing the glottal stop for the aspirate. He distinguishes between bāg 'garden', bāgh 'tiger' and bhāg! 'flee!', but writes them respectively as baagh, bhagh, bag, putting the aspirate in the wrong place in the last two words; and he gives as similar words dhaal (dhāl = 'shield'), daal (dāl) = 'pulses', and dall (dhāl = low grounl); dharie, elsewhere printed as darie (dārhī) and darroe (dāru).

§ 38. From his grammar, it is plain that Ketelaer does not describe the standard Hindustani language. His is a popular *Lingua Franca* which he seems to have first picked up at Surat, and then probably he improved his knowledge of it during his stay at Lahore, Delhi and Agra. Here, too, he could have got the best Hindustani only in the royal entourage, the local dialects (except at Delhi) being forms of *patois* differing considerably from Standard Hindustani. Ketelaer became familiar with some of the special grammatical forms of Hindustani, but his grammar shows he could not use them, he was largely content with the *Bāzār* dialect with which he managed. His knowledge of the common grammatical forms of this, too, was not very deep; and his stay at Surat did not help him to retain any correctness of his Hindustani, if he had at all acquired it in the north. At times it looks as if he

wanted to compensate his want of positive knowledge by theorising. The grammar that he could prepare is very meagre indeed, and wanting in both completeness and system. It is based rather on the haphazard notes of a busy man of the position of Ketelaer, than on a scholar's detailed and leisurely study. Local Gujarati influence from Surat is noticeable—in the treatment of the -h- in the interior of words (*e.g.,* forms like **bhen=bahin, pelle=pahilā, gher=ghar,** in the use of āp- for the first personal pronoun (already noticed in the LSI., IX, p. 8), in the use of -ṅgā for the future 2nd and 3rd persons (see below, § 45) and in a few words which have non-Hindustani forms (*e. g.,* **ghido = gīdh**).

§ 39. The *Declension of the Noun* in Ketelaer.

The two genders masculine and feminine are recognised, but Ketelaer ignores the feminine form of the genitive and the adjective, and he does not give anywhere the feminine forms of the verb. He notes, however, the pronominal genitives **meeri, teeri, hammari, tommari**(=mērī, tērī, hamārī, tumhārī)inqualifying feminine nouns, in a special paragraph under pronouns. He writes—**rootie hammare, uska londi** (= rōṭī hamārī, uskī laundī) etc This non-recognition of the feminine forms of the genitive, the adjective and the verb is an important characteristic of *Bāgār* Hindustani outside the Western Hindi area.

For the number, Ketelaer gives rightly the nominative plural form of the masculine -ā nouns (= -ē) and of feminine nouns ending in a consonant (− -ē̃). But in other nouns he gives plural forms not found in present day Hindustani. He ignores the oblique case for -ā nouns, and his use of the oblique for the plural is peculiar. It is clear that Ketelaer wanted to reduce his Hindustani declension to a system— nouns in -ā, nouns in -ī, nouns in -ū, nouns in consonants, both masculine and feminine—and merely supplied a regular set of inflexions which had some agreement merely with current forms.

Of the post-positions he notes the following:—Genitive -**ka** (-**kā**; he also once gives -**ke**), Dative -**kon** (-**kõ**), Accusative -**kon**

(-kŏ), Ablative -se (-sē; he gives also, though not in his paradigms, other forms of it as -sem = -sḗ and -ssoe - -sū, sŭ). In his texts, he gives the locative -mḗ (as -me), and the dative wāstē (waste). But he does not mention the ágentive -nē. This is another point showing that his Hindustani is not the standard speech.

Paradigms.

(*i*) beetha (- beṭā).

	Singular.	Plural.
Nom.	beetha	beethe.
Gen.	beethaka	beethonka (- beṭŏ̃ kā)
Dat.	beethakon	beethonkon (- beṭŏ̃ kŏ)
Acc.	,,	,,
Voc.	e beetha (- ai beṭā)	e beethe
Abl.	beethase	beethese.

(*ii*) boedia (buṛhiyā): pl. nom. boedien (= buṛhiyḗ), pl. obl. boedion (buṛhiyŏ̃).

(*iii*) admi (ādmī). pl. nom. and obl. admion (ādmiŏ̃).

(*iv*) beethi (beṭī) pl. nom. and obl. beetia (beṭīā = beṭīâ?).

(*v*) aandhoe (ãṛu 'juvencus'), pl. nom. and obl. aandoeon (= ãṛuŏ̃).

(*vi*) dsjoeroe (jōru), pl. nom. and obl. dsjoeroeon (jōrūŏ̃).

(*vii*) baab (bāp), pl. nom. and obl. baabé (= bāpē?)

(*viii*) ank (ãkh), pl. nom. and obl, anké (= ãkhḗ).

§ 40. The **Pronouns**

Ketelaer notes the difference in number between me and ham (maĩ—ham), and toe and tom (tu—tum): Gujarati and Marathi which he had occasion to know at Surat, evidently helped him to find out this distinction in Hindustani (Gujarati nom. sg. hũ, obl. sg. mẽ, pl. amē: Marathi mĩ –āmhī). Elsewhere (p. 463) he has remarked on the use of ham—hammare and tom —tommare for the is singular also. The LSI. has noted that apre for the first person due to Gujarati influence : Gujarati gen. pl. is apaḍo, apaṇo—and the r in apre is probably the result of an attempt to represent the -ḍ- (= -ṛ-) or the -ṇ- (resembling -ṛ).

First Person.	Second Person.
N. me—ham	toe (tū)—tom (tum)
G. meere (mērā)—apre (= apne)	teere (terā)—tommare
D. mukon (mōkŏ)—ham kon	teerekon (terekŏ)—tomkon
Ac. meera—hammare	teera—tommare
Voc. e me—e ham	e toe—e tom
Ab. mese—hamse.	toese—tomse.

In addition he brings in mujhe and tujhe (misjee, toesjee) later under the Verb.

The third Personal Pronoun is given as nom. sg. whe (= wŏh), plural nom. and obl. inne (= in). The oblique sg. form are given as isseka, issekon, accusative whe, ablative isse.

The Interrogative Pronoun is thus illustrated:

kon he (kaun hai), kon heoeder (kaun hai udhar), kon dourte, bolte (kaun daurtā bōltā), kja ghabber (kyā xabar), kja tsjeyte (kyā cāhtā?), kjon ney (kyŏ nahī), kiswaste, kjon (kyŏ), kitte (= kittā).

The Relative and other pronouns are omitted. The feminine forms meeri, teeri, hammari, tommari are illustrated.

§ 41. The Pronoun is followed by a note on the negative particles na, mat, ney; and illustrations of the use of mat are given, like mat dsjauw (mat jāo) and gisre mat (gire mat).

§ 42. We have then a paragraph illustrating by examples the formation of abstract substantives in ie (-ī), e.g. ghoeb —ghoebje (xub—xubī), alla—allahie (allāh- allābi), andeer—andeerie (andher —andheri), etc.

§ 43. Comparison of adjectives is next taken up: kalla—issoe kalla (kālā—isse kālā) and sabsoe kalla (sab-sŏ for sab-se kālā), karwa—issoe karwa—sabsoe kerwa (karuā, karwā), etc.

§ 44. Word-formation is illustrated once again, the affixes -ār and -dār and -ār (goana—gonnagaar, dsjimien— dsjimidaar = zamīn- zamīdār, sonna—sonnaar = sŏnār etc.), the

affixes -cī, wālā (toop —tooptsie = tōp, tōpcī, karnai —karnaitsjie, lackri —lackriewalla etc.) being given. Tierendaas (tīr-andāz) and deggedaas for deggebaas (dagā-bāz) are wrongly explained as showing an affix daas (=ᵉdāz). The feminine-forming affix -en (= -an) is noted, as in dhooben, malen, mootsjen (dhōban, mālan, mōcan).

Next, Ketelaer seeks to explain the suffix of endearment -jī, which he gives as dsjieve = jīw: he thinks,—from baab dsjieve, saheb dsjieve, maa or bhen or bibi dsjieve (bāp, sāhib, mā, bahan, biwī,+jī), that beetha dsjieve, beeti dsjieve (= bẹtā-jī, bẹtī-jī) are allowed in addressing, in the sense of 'dear son, dear daughter'.

The employ of the word fallaan (fulān) is explained, and then comes a further note on comparison, with two sentences—admi gorasoe ghoobha (ādmī ghōṛā-se xub hai and hāthī bhelse barrahe (hāthī bail se baṛā hai).

§ 45. The rest of the grammar is taken up with *Conjugation* (pp. 466—485). Ketelaer's treatment of the verb makes it quite clear that his Hindustani is the ' ungrammatical ' *bāzār* dialect. The feminine forms of the verbs are unknown to him, and he gives no hint about the passive construction of the past tense of the transitive verb. The three persons have only *one* form, in both the singular and the plural. One interesting point is that in the future the form for the first person singular is extended to the second and third persons, and the nasal from the first person singular infects the other persons and number. In the *bāzār* Hindustani of Bombay and of Gujarat towns, one hears ham jāengā, wōh jāengā, we lōg karengā, sẹṭhjī kal āengā etc. A similar usage is seen to characterise Ketelaer's Hindustani; and the form without the -n̄- and that with the -n̄- Ketelaer through mistake differentiates as being two types of the future (*s. g.* in giving the paradigms for root kar, he gives first, as Futurum, singular me, toe, whe karonga, plural ham, tom, inne karonge, and then, as Futurum Secundum, singular me, toe, whe karrega, plural ham, tom, inne karrige).

Some of his **paradigms** are given below:

(*a*) Substantive verb **he**:

Present, sg. **me, toe, whe he**, pl. **ham, tom, inne hoe** (*i. e.* **hai, hŭ**).

Imperfect, sg. **hoea**, pl. **hoeé** (**hūā, hūē**).

Perfect, sg. **hoeétha**, pl. **hoeéthe** (**hūethā**, for **hūā thā**, and **hūē the**).

Pluperfect, sg. **hougea**, pl. **hougee** (**hō gayā, hō gayē**).

Future, sg. **hunga**. pl. **hunge** (**hŭṅgā**, pl. **hŭṅgē**).

Second Future, sg **hoónga**, pl. **hoónge** (= **hōwuṅgā, hōwuṅgē**).

Imperative, sg. **toe ro**, pl. **tom ree** (**rah, raho**).

Infinitive, **hoea, hoeé** (**hūā, hūē**).

(*b*) Root **kar**.

Present, **kartaə**, pl. **karte** (karta, karte).

Imperfect, **kartatha**, pl. **kartethe** (kartā thā, kartē thē).

Perfect, **kartsjoekaə**, pl. **kartsjoeke** (kar cukā, kar cukē).

Second Perfect, **kia**, pl. **kie** (kīā, kīe: active construction).

Pluperfect, **kiathā**, pl. **kiethé**.

Future, **karonga**, pl. **karonge** (= honorific?).

Second Future, **karrega**, pl. **karrige**.

Imperative, **toe karro, tom karre**.

Infinitive, **karre, karne**.

Roots **kgha-** (**khā**), **pie** (**pī**), **gau** (**gāw = gā** ' to sing '), **baə-** (**hās**), are similarly conjugated. There are some inaccuracies, and discrepancies. A further number of verbs —some 50—follow, with some of the tenses indicated. The **Passive Verb** comes next: the following instances will indicate the treatment:

Singular, **miȝjaə sichte, toesjaə sichte, ikkon sichte**, plural **hamkon sichte, tomkon sichte, innekom sichte** (mujhē, tujhē, ēkkŏ, hamkŏ, tumkŏ, inkŏ sikhta for sikhātā)= I am taught, thou art taught etc.

So, **misjaə poslaute** (= mujhē phuslāwtā, phuslātā)= I am deceived; **toesjaə galli deete** (= tujhē gāli dētā)= you are abused;

etc. The proper passive apparently is not known or understood by the author.

Other forms (*e. g.* Causatives, Compound Verbs' etc.) are not treated. The conjugation –and the grammar – ends with illustration of a compound tense – the future conjunctive, as it is called – of some verbs in the three persons and both numbers: *e.g.* **sjad** or **tab me sichaya hoeæ** (= ' postquam doctus fuero ', **jad** or **tab maI sikhāyā huā), .sjad toe moeæ hoeæ** (= **jad tu muā huā), sjad whe hadjam kar hoeæ** (**jad woh hajām kar** [for **kīā**] **huā—** 'postquam tonsus fuerit'), **sjad tom bea karre huā** (= 'postquam matrimonio juncti fueritis' = **jad tum byāh-kīe hue),** etc.

§ 46. Hindustani texts in the shape of translations of the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer which come next complete the grammar. The translations are devoid of any merit, and are specimens of what was later derided in India as ' missionary vernacular.' It is a pioneer's work, and is therefore often difficult to follow, at times even unintelligible. The ordinal forms of the numerals are found in the Ten Commandments:

pelle hockum (= **pahilā hukm), dusra, tisra, tsjoute, paansme, tsjæme, ʳaatme, aathme, noovme** and **desme.** The Lord's Payer has already been given in the LSI.; here I quote one of the command-ments: **tom koy bod**(=**but) oor usse brabber mat benauw, sjon**(=**jyõ) asmaan me oepper he, oor nietsje** (= **nīce), sjimien me = zamIn mẽ) he, oor sjimien-mē telle** (= **zamīn-kē talē) he, oor panime sjimien me nietsje he** (= **zamIn-kē nIce hai), tom inneka** (= **inkā) aggi** (= **āgē) issed** (= **izzat)** **mat karro, oor inne** (**inhẽ) gesmet** (= **xizmat, xidmat) mat karro; waste, me saheb tommara al'a he** (= **is wāstē, ki maI sāhib aur tumbārā allāh hũ), we jo gonna ginte baab ka usse beeta kon** (= **wa jō gunāh gintā, bāp-kā usse beṭa ko), tisre oor tsjoute kabila, we gonne karte, oor de!assa kar, hazaar se, we jo ham peaar karte oor meera firmaas rakte** (= **rakhtā).**

§ 47. It would appear that the vocabularies are in some respects more useful than the grammar. Despite a number of misprints—and it must be said, to the credit of the editor and the

printers, their number is much less than what could be expected—we get from them a faithful enough picture of the nature of the elements of spoken Hindustani of two hundred years ago—its *Sprachgut*. It is already fairly highly Persianised, but a good many old Hindi words still are in common use. Some of these latter have become obsolete now; others, including the foreign Persian and Perso-Arabic vocables, have slightly altered their meanings. These vocabularies are well worth a special study.

§ 48. Inspite of some inevitable errors of omission and commission, Ketelaer's Hindustani grammar throws a good side-light on popular Hindustani of the early part of the 18th century, when we have a speech which, inspite of a few archaisms which are to be expected quite naturally, is in singular agreement with the typical *bāzār* Hindustani as current as a *Koinē* or *Verkehr-sprache* at the present day in all the towns of North India, and in most of the towns of the South.

[**Note.** The above paper was written in March 1931. In October 1932 I received a communication from Dr. J. Ph. Vogel of the Kern Institute, Leyden, Holland, in which he very kindly gave me some particular about Ketelaer's Grammar. The original was written by Ketelaer in Dutch, when he was in India. A Ms. copy of Ketelaer's original Dutch work is preserved in the State Record Office at the Hague, Holland. This copy was made by a clerk at Lucknow in 1698. The title of the document is:

Instructive oft onderwijsinge der Hindoustanse en Persicanse talen, nevens hare declinatie en conjugatic, alsmede vergeleijkinge, der hindous-tanse med de hollandse maat en gewighten mitsgaders beduydingh eeniger moorse namen etc. Door Joan Joan Josui Ketelaar, Elbiyensem. En gecopieert door Isaaq van der Hoeve, van Uytreght. Tot Leckenauw. Ao. 1698.

(Instruction or Teaching of the Hindustani and Persian Languages, also their declension and conjugation, together with a comparison of the Hindustani measures and weights with the Dutch, moreover the meaning of some Moorish names etc. By

John Joshua Ketelaar of Elbing [a town on the Baltic, not far from Dantzig, where K. evidently was born]. Copied by Isaac van der Hoeve of Utrecht. At Lucknow, A. D. 1698).

It is quite clear that the grammar was written before 1698, —at the end of the 17th century.

Dr. Vogel thinks that Millius, who was professor of ancient languages in the University of Utrecht, translated the work from Dutch into Latin. The original Dutch work has never been published. (S. K. C. 10 October 1934).

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The Linguistic Society of India.

Statement of Income and Expenditure for the period from 1st December 1933 to 31st January 1935.

INCOME.

	Rs.	A.	P.
Opening balance	654	3	7
Subscription	355	0	0
Grant from the Panjab University	500	0	0
Sale of the Bulletin	138	0	0
Total	1,647	3	7
Less Expenditure	573	0	9
Balance in hand	1,074	2	10

EXPENDITURE.

	Rs.	A.	P.
Printing	513	8	0
Discount on Cheques Received	2	12	0
Clerk	10	0	0
Stationery	4	15	0
Postage	41	13	9
Total	573	0	9

GAURI SHANKAR,
Honorary Secretary,
Linguistic Socie[ty of] ndia.

35

MATERIALS FOR A SKETCH OF TULU PHONOLOGY

BY

L. V. Ramaswamy Aiyar M. A., B. L.,

(Maharaja's College, Ernakulam)

GENERAL

Tuḷu or Tuḷuva ¹bhāṣa (as it is called by native speakers) is a Dravidian dialect spoken by nearly half a million people inhabiting the central portion of the district of South Canara in the Madras Presidency, between the river Kalyāṇapuri and Chandragiri. The area where Tuḷu is spoken is bounded on the north and the east by Kannaḍa regions, while to the south lies the Malayāḷam-speaking district of Malabar. Within the Tuḷu-speaking area, the Indo-Āryan dialect Koṅkaṇi and the culti-vated Drrvidian speech Kannaḍa are spoken by a not inconsider-able element of the population. As Tuḷu is not a written dialect, the official language of the localities is Kannaḍa. Though the influence of Indo-Āryan on the one hand and of the Dravidian speech Kannaḍa on the other, has led to the borrowing by Tuḷu of a fairly large number of words from these speeches, the Tuḷuva bhāṣa has kept up its dialectal individuality in a remar kab measure in the spheres of Phonology and Grammar.

The people who speak this dialect belong to different castes and communities, but the non-Brahmin Baṇṭs among them appear to keep up even to-day the social traditions of the Tuḷuva people as exemplified by the Aḷiya-Santāna system of matriarchy still prevalent amongst them. The Brahmins, however, form to-day the chief custodians of Indo-Āryan culture. Uḍupi, the centre

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(1) The term [tuḷüve] possesses a meaning "soft" in expressions like (tuḷüve guj̃zæ) soft jack-fruit. Whether indeed there is any connection between this word and the name of the people, one cannot say.

of Tuḷuva culture, is the seat of eight important religious maṭhas where Brahminical learning is fostered. The religious zeal of the Tuḷuva Brahmins had from a very early period brought them in contact with the Nambûdiri Brahmins of Malabar. It is a very remarkable fact that the Tuḷuva Brahmins have from an early time commanded respect throughout the Malabar country as being fitter to perform the function of the temple priest than any other group of non Malayậḷi Brahmins. From the point of view of spiritual eminence, the Malayậḷis have accorded to the Tuḷuva Brahmins very much the same recognition and homage that they have been according to the native Nambûdiri Brahmins of Malabar. Cf. in this connection the terms embirân 'my spiritual lord' and pôt't'i 'worthy of praise' 'the praised one', names by which the Tuḷu Brahmin settlers in Malabar are called by the Malayậḷis. As I have said, this apparently has been a direct result of the cultural intercourse that has existed from an early time between the Brahmins of Malabar and of Tuḷuva nâḍu.

The Tuḷuvas appear to belong to an ancient stock of people as their name is referred to in the ancient Tamil[1] classics. History tells us that they may once have been the subjects of Sâtîyaputra. Notwithstanding this fact, the Tuḷuvas have not cultivated their language as a literary dialect. Apart from a few Pauranic and Sanskritic legends and religious songs preserved on palm-leaves in the Brahmin families and also folk-songs current among non-Brahmin Tuḷuvas, there exist no records (literary or inscriptional) of the past condition of this dialect. The Paurânic legends and songs do not seem to be very ancient; yet they are useful to us in elucidating a few dialectal variations, and also the peculiar changes undergone by Tuḷu borrowings from Sanskrit

(1) Cf. the verse in Aganânûru, one of the oldest of extant Tamil classics :

        pâgalârkai-p-paṛaikkaṭ-pîli-t
        tôgai-k-kâvit'-t'ruḷunâḍ-anna

"____The Tuḷuva country famed for its arbours filled with peacocks feeding on the pâgal fruits."

(and probably Prakrit also which at one time was current in South India). So far as the folk-songs are concerned, they are invaluable to the student of the history of the Tuḷu language, as they preserve some very old forms of Tuḷu words.

Valuable material regarding the grammatical and glossarial features of the present-day condition of the dialect has been collected by the Mangalore missionaries whose unique pioneer zeal in the exploration of the languages of these parts deserves to be recognised with gratitude. A Tuḷu translation of the New Testament (1859), a grammar containing the outlines of morphology and syntax (1872), and a Dictionary which is fairly exhaustive (1886) are some of their publications which furnish the student with rich linguistic data. These works, however, were all written several decades ago, and were primarily aimed at imparting to missionaries a working knowledge of the language. To the modern linguistician interested in details and minute dialectal variations, they are inadequate. Particularly in Phonology and in Grammar where the dialectal differences vary on a communal as well as a regional basis, the modern linguistician has to depend on his own independent investigations for the requisite information.

As the dialects of the Madras Presidency did not fall directly within the scope of the Linguistic Survey of India, Tuḷu was omitted from the list of Dravidian dialects described in the Fourth Volume of this series.

The present writer whose interest in Dravidic studies led him to the study of Tuḷu also, happened to spend some time in the Tuḷu-speaking talukas of South Canara, and he utilised his visit to observe the phonetic and the morphological peculiarities of some of the sub-dialects of Tuḷu. He has subsequently also been able to verify his observations carefully by comparing them with the views of Tuḷuvas resident in the Cochin State. He has embodied all these observations of his in the following sketch.

The alphabet originally employed by Tuḷuva Brahmins in writing out the legends on palm-leaves was a modification of the

Malayâlam script. The reason for this preference was apparently the intercourse that existed between the Tuḷuvas and the Malayâḷis from an early period. The Mangalore missionaries, on the other hand, printed their Tuḷu works in the Kannaḍa script, and this was probably more in the fitness of things, in view of the close proximity of the Kannaḍa-speaking areas to Tuḷuva naḍu and of the large influence exercised by the former on Tuḷu, particularly in vocabulary.

TULU PHONETICS.

The symbols employed in this sketch for the representation of Tuḷu sounds are adapted from the notation of the International Phonetic Association. They are mostly the same as those which the present writer has used in his " Brief Account of Malayâḷam Phonetics."

Tabular representation of Tuḷu Sounds.

VOWELS.

	Front.	Central or Mixed.	Dorsal.
Closed	[i]	[ɪ] [ü]	[ɯ] [u]
Half-Closed	[e]	[ë] [ö]. [ə]	[o]
Half-Open	[æ]	[ɐ]	[ʌ] [ɔ]
Open	[a]	[ä]	[ɑː]

Non-syllabic [ĭ] and [ŭ].'

'These sounds approach the values [j] and [ŭ].

Position on the mouth-roof, according to Jespersen's notation.	Bilabial —b	Labio-dental —d	Inter-dental —d to e	Alveolar —f	Post alveo-lar and Palatal —g	Retroflex or Cacuminal —h	Velar —i to j	Glottis.
	Lip with Lip.	Teeth.	Teeth with fore-blade.	Upper gums with tip of tongue.	Front palate with blade.	Palatal dome with tip of tongue.	Back plate with after-blade.	Glottal.
Plosives —	[p], [b]		[t], [d]		[k'], [gʲ]	[ʈ], [ɖ]	[k], [g]	
Affricates —					[ĝ]], [ĵz]			
Nasals —	[m]			[n]	[ɲ]	[ɳ]	[ŋ]	
Laterals —				[l]	[ʎ]	[ɭ]		
Rolled —				[r]				
Fricatives —	[ʍ]	[v]	[s]	[ʃ]	[j]	[ʂ]		[h], [ɦ]

The number of " phonemes " in Tuḷu is thirty only, these being represented in this sketch by the following I. P. A. symbols:

[p], [b], [t], [d], [ṭ], [ḍ], [k], [g], [c͡j], [ɟ͡ɟ], [m], [n], [ṇ]. [l], [ḷ], [r], [ʋ], [s], [ṣ], [ʂ], [j], [ɦ] — [i], [e], [æ], [ɑ:], [o], [u], [ɯ], [ʌ].

Owing to the large influence exercised by Sanskrit on Tuḷu lexicology, Tuḷu borrowings from Sanskrit show also the aspirate consonants. It may be noted here that, while the proportion of Sanskrit words in the dialect of the Tuḷuva Brahmins is exceedingly high, the number of Indo-Āryan adaptations in the common people's dialect is also not negligible.

There occur in Tuḷu a number of other sounds also which can only be described as "phones" or speech-sounds, belonging as they do to one or other of the above phonemes. The most prominent among these are the following:—

[v], [ŋ], [ɳ] —
[ï], [ü], [ė], [ö], [ə], [ɤ], [ä].

The contexts in which these occur are alluded to below in connection with the description of the phonemes themselves.

The phonation of Tuḷu sounds, generally speaking, shares many common features of south Dravidian enunciation. In the present sketch I shall point out only the unique peculiarities of Tuḷu while, for information about the common features, I would refer the reader to my "Brief Account of Malayālam Phonetics."

1.   [p]   This bilabial surd occurs initially and intervocally in Tuḷu words:—['puda] dove; ['po:di-] or ['po:ḍi-] to fear; 'Aḍepu] closing.

Intervocally, the short sound is quite stable and pure particularly in secondary or derivative positions; contrast with this the intervocal enunciation of Tamil surds which become voiced mediae.

Tuḷu [p] involves no aspiration normally, but its phonation is accompanied by greater muscular tension than in Tamil or in Malayâḷam.

2. **[b]**—In initial positions this plosive is devocalised a little, but it can never be mistaken for [p]. Intervocally [b] does occur in Tuḷu in a stable form. ['bʌnj̑zi] belly; [bʌr-] to come; ['ʌḍəbæ] adulteress; ['ubi-] to swell.

3. **[t]** This is an interdental surd, in the production of which sometimes the tip of the tongue may be spread not only over the teeth but over the teeth-ridge also.

Tuḷu lacks the alveolar plosives [ṭ] and [ḍ] of Tamil-Malayâḷam. The voiced alveolar [ḍ] in the Tamil consonant group [nḍr] and in Malayâḷam [nḍ] is produced with the tip of the tongue on the fore-gums while the voiceless alveolar [ṭṭ] of Malayâḷam is produced farther backward in or immediately behind the region of the back-gums.

Historically, **Tuḷu** has changed the old alveolar group [nḍr] to [nj̑z]:—

Tuḷu	Tam	Kann
['onj̑zi] one —	['ondrɯ] —	['oṇḍu[
['kʌnj̑zi] calf—	['kʌndrɯ] —	['kʌṇḍu].

4. **[d]** This sound occurs initially in native words:—['dʌvər-] to become loose) ; ['dʌll-] to beat.

Compare Kannaḍa and Telugu.

Medially, [d] in Tuḷu may in some cases be the result of secondary changes peculiar to this dialect. **(Vide Phonology below).**

5. **[ṭ], [ḍ]** : These are genuine cacuminals produced with the tip of the tongue on the dome of the palate.

They are not found initially in native Dravidian words.

The consonant group [ṇṭ] in Tuḷu, like the consonant groups [ɲcʃ], ṇt], [ŋk] and like intervocal surds in derivative positions in this dialect, is quite stable, unlike in Tamil.

6. [k] : The phonation of this velar plosive calls for no remarks, except that when compared with Tamil [k], the muscular tension is greater and that the sound shows less tendency to become weakened intervocally than in Tamil.

[k] in connection with front vowels becomes slightly "frontalised" in its point of articulation though it never reaches the position of the palatal plosive [c], e.g. ['ʌḍi-ˌkʲəi] palm of the hand; ['kʲiṇṇi] small; ['ʌkkʲi] rice.

7. [g] : The voiced velar plosive can occur initially in native words, e. g., ['ga:vü] heat ; ['guḷi] or ['guri] pit; ['ga:ṇü –] to glow.

Though not unstable in modern enunciation intervocally, a few instances illustrate the older process of "weakening" e. g.; [ugərɯ] beside [ubərɯ], [uⱱərɯ], brackishness.

A frontalised [gʲ] in connection with front vowels is found in words like the following:—[mʌgʲæ] son; [gʲi:rü] to scratch.

[c͡ʃ], [j͡z] : These are affricates as in the other south Dravidian speeches, the plosive element being partially present in the initial contact, and the fricative element in the immediately following continuant sound.

These affricates in Tuḷu are produced at a' slightly more forward position than in Malayâḷam or Tamil, especially when they are in contact with front vowels.

Compare the phonation for instance of Tuḷu ['cʃu:ḍü] heat and ['c͡ʃikkæ] dwarf.

[j͡z] occurs initially in native words e. g , ['j͡zʌdər -] alternating with [c͡ʃʌdər-] to be dispersed; ['j͡za:r -] to slide; ['j͡ziræ] small; ['j͡zorⱱu] child.

[m] calls for no remarks.

10. [n̠] : This is an alveolar produced at the fore-gums in connection with front vowels and at the back-gums in connection with back vowels.

It is distinct as a phoneme from [n̪].

In connection with dental plosives it becomes dental, involving as its production does the spreading of the fore-blade, e. g. ['pon̪d·] to rise; ['un̪t-] to stánd up.

It may be interesting to note that while the dental nasal occurs in Malayálam initially and medially, Tuḷu (like modern Tam; Kann. and Tel.) posseses [n̪] only in the consonant groups mentioned above.

11. [ɲ] : A "palatal" nasal produced at about the same position on the mouth-roof as for [c͡ɟ] and [ɟʐ]

Besides being a common sound in the consonant groups [ɲc͡ɟ] and [ɲɟʐ], it occurs initially in a very few native words e. g. [ɲʌrӕꜱ] alternating dialectally with ['nʌrꜱӕ] bark, rind.

12. [ṇ] This cacuminal nasal characteristic of Dravidian is being displaced by the alveolar [n] in the common dialect of Tuḷu; nevertheless, it is conspicuous in the speeches of certain areas and communities :—

       ['meṇṇu] spark, [mennw].

       ['kʌṇṇu] eye, ['poṇṇu] or ['pøṇṇu] girl.

As in other Dravidian dialects [ṇ] does not occur in initial positions of Tuḷu words.

13. [ŋ] : This velar nasal never occurs in its short form, nor is it found initially. It is found in the consonant groups [ŋk] and [ŋg]. In the adaptations ['ʌŋɘna] courtyard and ['kʌŋɘnӕ] plate, [ŋŋ] stands for Skt. [ŋg]. Cf. also ['ʌŋɘŋŋoḷu] limbs, a native plural of Skt. ['ʌŋgʌ].

14. [l] : The alveolar lateral when in connection with front vowels is produced at the fore-gums while the articulation is slightly more backward i. e. near the back-gums, when influenced by neighbouring back vowels.

[1] does occur in **Anlaut**-positions of **Tuļu** native words as the result of Accent-shift and Aphesis, e. g., ['lʌmb] to wash beside ['ʌ₁ləmb-]; ['lepp-] beside ['voˌləpp-] to call, etc.

15. [ļ] : The individuality of this characteristic Dravidian cacuminal is conspicuous still in **Tuļu**, though the colloquial favours a tendency to decerebralise the sound: – ['ʌļəʊ-] to measure; '(aːļɯ) person ('kʌļļa) deceitful; ('baːļɯ) sword.

16. [r] : The *points* of articulation vary slightly with different speakers. It is only post-dental (i. e. articulated at the edge of the upper row of teeth) in some instances, while it is fully alveolar in others. The most forward limit is the teeth-edge and the most backward is the region of the back-gums. The rolled or trilled ṛ of Tamil and Malayâḷam is not found in **Tuļu**. Historically, it had undergone peculiar modifications.

17. [ʊ]: Initially, the current bilabial fricative of the common variety of modern **Tuļu** is developed from an original non-syllabic [ŭ] occurring initially before dorsal vowels of native words. The representative of initial [ʊ] of Tamil, Telugu, Kûi and **Malayâḷam** is [b] in **Tuļu**, as in the other b- dialects of Dravidian viz., Kannaḍa, Brâhûi and Kurukh. Tuļu [ʊ] involves a slightly greater activity of the lips than Tamil or Malayalam [ʊ].

Some speakers (probably influenced by the enunciation of Indo-Aryan] give a labiodental value to this sound especially in Sanskrit words.

Medially, [ʊ] occurs in radical and derivative positions:— ['aːʊəlɯ] yawning ; ['kʌļʊæ] theft [cĵeluʊæ] handsome.

18. [s]—The interdental sibilant is a very conspicuous development in native **Tuļu** words. It is found both initially and medially:—[suː] to see; [suļi] eddy; [pʌsi] boy, child.

Note that Tamil and Malayâḷam do not generally possess [s] in native words.

The voiced variety [z] does not exist in **Tuļu** or in any other Dravidian dialect for that matter.

19. [ʂ]: This sound is produced in **Tuḷu** with the tip of the tongue forming a slight hole-like passage somewhere on the alveolar region. The fricative element in the affricate [ɕ] of **Tuḷu** is produced at a slightly more backward position. ·

[ʂ] in **Tuḷu** is found in initial positions as a variant of [t] and alternating with [s]:—[ʂird-] to correct, beside [tird]; [ʂiː] sweetness, beside [tiː].

For the inter-relationships of these sounds, see Phonology below. Medially [ʂ] is very rare in native words, the sound having changed to [s] in this position as regularly as in Kannaḍa.

20. [ɦ]: The glottal fricative is a conspicuous secondary development in native words of certain communal dialects of **Tuḷu**: [ɦuḍərɯ] lamp; [ɦʌi·] to die; [ɦudæ] river.

For the circumstances in which the glottal fricative has cropped up in **Tuḷu**, see Phonology below.

Ordinarily the sound is partially voiced, but the **Tuḷuva** Brahmins give the voiceless value to the sound in Sanskrit **tatsamas** and **tadbhavas**. Medially, a voiced [ɦ] appears only in borrowings from Kannaḍa, like [ʌriɦu] knowledge.

Vowels.

21. [i]: The phonation is the same as in other south Dravidian speeches. When followed in the next syllable by short consonants and open vowels, [i] changes to [ə] or [e]:— [iḍæ] place, beside [eḍæ]; [ilæ] leaf, beside [elæ].

In unaccented positions, a centralised variety of this sound occurs; this is symbolised in this paper by [ɨ]:—[kudɨkæ] fox; [mʌḍɨpu] folding.

22. [e]: In unaccented positions, [e] changes to [ə], and in some instances where the character of [e] is distinctly marked off, to [ë]. Finally, a more open [ɞ] is also found.

23. [æ] : This sound occurs in final positions of nouns which in Tamil have terminal [ʌi] or [ei] and in Kannaḍa [e], *e. g.* [bɑːḷæ] plantain ; [mʌræ] screen.

It is also found as a colloquial variant of [ʌ] or [ɑː] in connection with the palatal [ɲ], [cʃ] and [ɟz] :—[æɟzæ] foot-print; [cʃædər-] to disperse; [cʃæːræ] coconut palm; [ɲærk-] to slice.

24. [ɑː]: This, as in other Dravidian speeches, is the value of the long ā sound.

25. [o] : [o] in Tuḷu is not always so close as in Malayâlam or in Tamil. In the speeches of the common masses, I have heard the value of [ɔ] being given to this sound by some speakers *e.g.* in [boḷir-] to become pale; [bɔːḍ-] to wish; [bɔkkà] and.

In unaccented positions, a centralised variety [ö] appears with less lip-rounding, e. g. [dinöḍu] in a day; [mʌröku] to the tree etc.

Normal [o] of Tuḷu alternates in some speech-varieties with another sound which is allied to [e] and characterised by lip-sounding, in words which in other south Dr. dialects have [e]:—[poṇṇu] beside colloquial [pøṇṇu]; [poːḍi-] to fear, colloquial [pøːḍi]. cf. Tam. [peṇ] girl and Mal. [peːḍi] fear.

26. [u] : Lip-rounding is very conspicuous.

An original glide [ŭ] before initial [u] of native words has now developed into [ʋ] in some speech-varieties.

In unaccented positions [u] may frequently appear with a centralised value [ü]: - [kʌdü-vaːji] a kind of fish; [ku ːḍükəṭṭɯ] association; [kʌdüpa] excessive.

[u] changes to [o] in the same circumstances in which [i] changes to [e] mentioned above:—[oṇəŋɡəlɯ] dry, beside [uṇəŋɡəlɯ]; [toḍæ] thigh, beside [tuḍæ].

27. [ɯ] This is a close, back sound somewhat similar to [u] but without lip-rounding. cf. Tamil [ɯ]. This sound (replaced sometimes by [u], see 'Phonology') occurs as an enunciative of Tuḷu words after final consonants. It is noteworthy that it is found not only after some terminal plosives and fricatives but also invariably after [l], [n], [r] [ḷ], [ṇ], [m] and [j], while in literary Tamil and Malayāḷam the enunciative need appear only optionally after the last-mentioned sounds. [eːɖɯ] sheep [paːlɯ] division; [kaːrɯ] leg; [eːḷɯ] seven [aːṇɯ] boy; [miːnɯ] fish.

[ɯ] in Tuḷu is also found in declensional endings and conjugational terminations. (see below). The dative ending [kɯ] or [gɯ], Acc. [nɯ], Loc. [ḍɯ] etc. appear only with final [ɯ] unless influenced by a back vowel in the stem, in which case [u] appears instead of [ɯ]. cf. [puːku] to the flower and [ʌmməgɯ] to the mother. Among the conjugational forms, the endings of the past participle, the perfect participle, the third person imperative etc. show [ɯ] or [u] according to this rule.

28. [ʌ] : This is the short a-sound of Dravidian: Medially in unaccented positions it changes to [ə] e. g., [ˈbirəlɯ] finger; [ˈʌdəpu] closing, etc.

[ʌ] in final positions becomes slightly more open and probably a little "frontalised." This value is represented in this essay by [ȧ]

[ʌ] sometimes alternates with [ə] or even [e] after the voiced plosives, affricates and fricatives: – [ʄʌḍi-] [ʄeḍi-] tor am; [čʃʌræ], čʃeræ] head; [dʌṇṭæ], [deṇṭæ] stick.

[ʌ] changes in certain varieties to [ɔ] or [o] under the influence of neighbouring bilabials: – [ˈtʌppu], ˈtɔppu], [ˈsoppu] mistake; [ˈpʌr-püˈ] beside [por-pü-] to pluck.

Phones.

Consonants:—[ɽ]—This is the value of [r] when in contact with the retroflex sounds. As it is not a "significant" sound in Tuḷu, it may be considered to be member of the [r] phoneme.

For [ŋ] and [ṇ] and [ḷ] the dental varieties of [n] and [1], see above under the remarks for the latter.

Vowels : A number of these have already been referred to above. Apart from these, I have noted an open mixed obscure [ɐ] in the Gerundial Infinitives of Tuḷu -[pʌɲjɐræ] for speaking [tinjɐræ] for eating, etc. This]ɐ] also crops up in the rapid utterance of final [ä] in connected sentences.

Diphthongs.

The following falling diphthongs are current in Tuḷu in rapid enunciation. Deliberate utterance may lead to the disappearance of the diphthongal value: —

[ʌi], [əi], — ['kʌi] hand; [mʌi] body.
[aːi] — ['kaːi fruit
[ʌu] — ['ʌuḷu] there; [ʌuŋkü-[to press].
[oi] — ['koi] to reap; [oilü-] to reel.

Consonant Groups.

1. The native consonant groups (apart of course from long consonants), found in other Dr. speeches, occur in Tuḷu also:—

(a) Nasals and plosives : [ŋk], [ŋg], [ɲĉĵ], [ɲĵz]' [ṇṭ] [ṇḍ] [nt], [nd], [mp], [mb]—For illustrations see below under "Phonology"

(b] [I], [ḷ] [r], [ṇ] and consonants : [nilk-] to peep, stand on tip-toe; [mulpu] here; [tird-] to mend; [tirkæ] settlement; [taːḷmæ] patience; [uŋkälɯ] night-meal; [pʌṇp-] to speak, etc.

2. Apart from these, there occur in Tuḷu certain consonant groups like the following, consequent on the disappearance (in

rapid colloquial enunciation) of an intermediate vowel :
[ĉ{ʌḍpu] leanness; [ʌḍgæ] near; [ĉĵigrur] sprout; [nesrur]
morning [pʌspu] tender, etc. [oḍkâ] end, broken; [kʌḍtёlur]
what is broken.

Dialectology.

The sub-dialectal varieties of **Tuḷu** appear to have both a
communal and a regional basis. Of the regional divergences
I have not been able to make a proper study yet. The communal
variations are all interesting and significant; but among them all
the widest cleavage is met with between the sub-dialect of the
Tuḷuva Brahmins and the speech-variety current amongst the
most prominent community of **Tuḷu nâḍu**, viz. the **Bʌṇṭs** who are
cultivators and non-Brahmins. I am told that there are some
divergences (of a less significant character, however) between
the dialect of the **Bʌṇṭs** on the one hand, and that current among
other non-Brahmin communities like the [mʌnsé] or a class of
Holeyas and the [birvæ] or toddy-drawers on the other. These
differences and the regional variations have yet to be investigated
through a systematic linguistic survey of the entire **Tuḷuva** country.
In the following sketch, I have dealt with only the variations (in
Phonology, Grammar and Vocabulary) between the Brahmins' sub-
dialect and what I describe here as the folk-speech *i.e.* the language
employed by the Bants who form the largest community in
Tuḷu nâḍu.

Phonology.

(*i*) Initial [s] of the Br. dialect corresponds to [t] of the
mass-dialect in instances like the following :—

Br.	*Folk-dialect.*
to see [suː-p-]	[tu : p-]
to appear [soːĵʀ-]	[toːĵʀ-]
to leak [soːr-]	[toːr-]
to die [sʌj-]	[sʌj-] and [tʌj-]

to be obtained [sik]	[tik-]
to wear [sutt-]	[tutt-]
underneath [sittɯ]	[tirtɯ]

(*ii*) In a few, Br. [t] corresponds to certain regional forms of the folk-dialect [s] :—

sweetness [ti:pæ]	[si:pæ] or [ʃi:pæ]
torch [tu:ʈæ]	[su:ʈæ]
river [tudæ]	[sudæ]

(*iii*) Initial [ɦ] is found in **Tuḷu** in two strata of words: (*a*) Borrowings from new Kannaḍa of words with initial [ɦ] < older [p]; (*b*) [ɦ] in native words corresponding to initial [t]. Of these, the borrowings from Kannaḍa are found in varying measure all over the country and amongst all communities; but [ɦ] or sometimes voiceless [h] corresponding to [t] and [s] is more frequent among the Jains and others in the eastern and south eastern taluks of the **Tuḷu** country.

[ɦ] words	—	corresponding to [s] or [t] words
to see [hu:-p-]	—	[su:-p], [tu:-p-]
river [hudæ]	—	[sudæ], [tudæ]
to appear [ho:ʝz-]	--	[so:ʝz], [to:ʝz-]

(*iv*) Borrowings from Kannaḍa with initial [ɦ] (derived in Kann. from older [p]) are preserved in the Br. dialect with the initial aspirate, generally speaking; but in the mass-dialect, the [ɦ] disappears.

Br.	Folk-dialect
ship [ɦʌdəgu]	[ʌdəgu]
gold [ɦonnu]	[onnu]
adulteress [hʌdəbé]	[ʌdebé]
much [ɦe:rəla]	[e:rəla]

(*v*) Initial [ʝz] of the Br. dialect answers to [d] of the folk-speech in the following :—

what ? [ʝzɑ:næ]	[dɑ:næ]
why ? [ʝzɑ:jəgɯ], [ʝze:gɯ] —	[-dɑ:jẽgɯ]
to be filled [ʝziɲʝz-]	—	[-diɲʝz-]
crab [ʝzeɲʝzi]	—	[-deɲʝzi]

cf. the adaptation [ɟ̃eji-] to win, which preserves [ɟʒ] in the Br. dialect but appears with [d] as [deji] among certain non-Brahmins.

(*vi*) Br. [iddi] not, answers to folk-sp. [iɟ̃ʒi]

(*vii*) the sound corresponding to the peculiar voiced continuant [ɻ] of Tamil, Mal., old Kannada and Badaga, is in intervocal positions, [ɭ] in the Br. speech, but [r] in the folk-dialect:

fowl [ko : ɭi]	—	[ko : ri]
pit [guɭi]	—	[guri]
to fall [bu : ɭ]	—	[bu : r-]
plantain tree [bɑ : ɭæ]	—	[bɑ : ræ]

This correspondence Br. [ɭ] = folk [r] exists only in cases where the short sound appears intervocally; when it occurs in consonant groups, it assumes the value of [r] in all sub dialects in Tuɭu :

Ripe fruit [pʌrṇdɯ], black gram [urdɯ], dust [burdæ], etc.—corresponding to Tam. [pʌɻəm], [uɻüṇdɯ], [puɻudi], etc.

(*viii*) The retroflex [ɭ] [ṇ] apear to be more common in the Br. dialect.

to shine [meṇək-]	—	[menk-]
should be done [ʌmpoɭi]	—	[mʌlpoli]
to do [ʌmpuṇa]	—	[mʌlpuni]

(*ix*) Inter-vocal plosives in derivative and indexional positions appear more often unvoiced in the Br. dialect.

(*x*) Aphœresized forms are, so far as I can see, fewer in the speech of the Brahmins than in the folk-speech.

to call [ʋoɭep [	—	[lepp-]
to wash [ʌləmb-]	—	[lʌmb] or [lumb]
left [edəŋgɯ]	—	[dʌŋgɯ] or [dʌŋgɯ]
spot, stain [kʌɭəŋkɯ]	—	[lʌŋkɯ]

(*xi*) The tadbhavas from I A appear on the whole to have undergone fewer modifications in the Br. dialect.

Grammar.

(*a*) Post-positional terminations.

(*i*) The Acɔ. ending in the Br. dialect is (-ni-), while in the folk-speech it is (-nɯ-) or (-nu), the character of the enunciative

depending upon vocalic harmony with sounds of the preceding syllable in each case—

rice (ʌri), (ʌri ni)	—	(ʌri-nɯ)
country (uːru), (u.rü-ni)	—	(uːrü-nu)

(*ii*) The Abl. sing ending of the Br. dialect is (-ttɯ) or (-ttu), while the folk speech has (ḍḍɯ) or (-ḍḍu).

from the table (meːȷzi-ttɯ)	—	(meːȷziḍḍɯ)
from the garden (toːṭṭö ntu)	—	(toːṭṭəḍḍɯ)

(*iii*) The Genitive sing. affix of the Br. dialect is (-to), (-do) when preceded by a dorsal vowel in the previous syllable, while it is (-tä), (-dä) when preceded by a front vowel in the preceding syllable; in the folk-dialect the affix is generally always (-tä). (-dä).

of tree (mʌrö nto)	—	(mʌrö dä)
of water (niːrüdo)	—	(niːrüdä)

(*iv*) the sing. Gen of words denoting human beings may have [-no] in the Br. dialect:

of the mother [ʌppano]	—	[ʌppä-da]
of the boy [mɑːṇi-no]	—	[mɑːṇi-dä]

(*v*) A nasal appears in certain post-positional terminations in the Br. dialect in words which (whether native or adaptations from IA) correspond to those which in Tam., Mal. and other speeches have a final [-m]—

at the tree [mʌrö-ṇṭu]	—	[mʌrö-ḍu]
of the people [ȷzʌno nto]	—[ȷzʌnə-dä]

[Note:—[mʌrá] tree (a native word) and [ȷzʌna] people (1 A) correspond to [mʌrə-m,] [ȷzʌnəm] found in Tam., etc.]

The nasal has been carried over, in the Brahmins' sub-dialect, to the post-positional endings of some words like [uṇəsɯ], as in [uṇəsoṇṭu], etc., though the bases of these words cannot have had an original nasal as in [mʌrəm] etc.

(*b*) Demonstratives and Interrogatives.

(*i*) The aphœresized inflexional forms of [iṇdɯ], [uṇdɯ]:

[nekkɯ] to this,

[nettä] of this,

[neḍdɯ] from this,

[neṭṭɯ] at this,

[neːkuḷu] these

are not commonly found in the Br. dialect; on the other hand, the non-aphœresized

[uṇdəkɯ] or [iṇdəkɯ] to this;

[uṇdəttä] or [iṇdəttä] of this;

[uṇdəttɯ] or [iṇdəttɯ] from this;

[uṇdəṭɯ] or [iṇdəṭɯ] at this;

[uṇdəkuḷu] or [iṇdəkuḷu] these;

are met with.

(*ii*) The following differences are noteworthy in the Interrogatives:

Br. dialect	Folk-speech
[ɟɑːnæ] what ?	[dɑːnæ]
[ɟɑːjəgɯ] [ɟəːjəgɯ] } why ? [ɟəːgɯ]	[dɑːjəgɯ]
[ɟɑːla] anything —	[dɑːla]
[ojikɯ] what for ? —	[dɑːjəgɯ]
[eːrɯ] who ? —	[jɑːrɯ]

(*c*) Personal Pronouns.

Br. dialect	Folk-speech
[eːnɯ] I	[jɑːnɯ]

[imbje] he (here)—[imbe] (the "oblique" forms show [imbj-] in the folk-speech)

[imboļu] she (here) — [moːļu] [Note Aphœresis]

[iŋkuļu], [inikuļu], [niːkuļu] you — [iːrɯ]

Honorific [meːrɯ] he, she (here) is found only in the folk-dialect; in the Br. speech [aːrɯ] or sometimes aːkļu (he, she (there) does duty for both the proximate and the remote forms.

(*d*) Verbs.

(*i*) The Infinitive ends in [-ṇä] in the Br. dialect, while in folk-speech it may be [nä] or [-ni]:

Br. [ʌmpüṇä] to make — [mʌlpüni]

(*ii*) The third person singular neuter ending of all primary tenses except the future is [-ṇɯ] or [nɯ] in the Br. dialect, while in the folk-speech it is [-ṇḍɯ] or [ṇḍu], *e.g.*, it speaks [pʌṇpuṇu] or [pʌṇpɯṇɯ] — [pʌpuuṇḍu] etc.

(*iii*) the third person singular neuter ending in the negative of the Future and the Future Perfect tenses is in the Br. dialect [-ʌnɯ], but [-ʌnḍɯ] in the folk-dialect.

(*iv*) The first person plural ending of all tenses has [oː] in the Br. dialect, but [-a] in the folk-speech.

(*v*) One type of causatives is formed with [-aː] in the folk-speech but with [-oː] in the Br. dialect:

Br. [ʌmpoː] to cause to make –[mʌļpaː] etc.

(*vi*) Negative verb-forms show some divergences. While in the Br. dialect the infinitive of the particular tense-stem is combined with [iddi] not, and the pronominal ending, the folk dialect shows base plus [iɡ̃ɐi-] plus pronominal ending:

[i : bʌrpüṇiddjä] thou hast not come or dost not come — folk-sp. [i.bʌrpiɲze].

[aːje bʌttüṇiddje] he did not come — [aːje bʌttiɲze].

B. In the negatives of the present and sometimes in the present perfect tense the Brahmin dialect sometimes shows forms constituted of base plus [iri] plus pronominal ending.

[bʌrpirje] he does not come.

[bʌrpirjaḷɯ] she does not come.

V. Certain popular negative forms show divergences:

Br. dialect	Folk-speech
[bo ːtri] not wanted	[bo ːdiɲzi], [bo ːdiccʃi]
[itri] it was not	[ittiɲzi]
[aːtri] it did not become	[a tiɲzi] etc.

(vii) The prsent relative participle shows [-i] in the Br. dialect, but [-a] in the folk-speech: [bʌrpi]—[bʌrpa]

VOCABULARY.

Brahmins' dialect	Folk-speech.
[gepp-] to take	[depp-]
[kiɲɲi] young (as an adj)	[eḷija] (kiɲɲi occurs as a noun).
[bigə-da-kʌj] key	[tʌrko ːlu]
[pʌss-] to catch	[pʌtt-]
[ess-] to raise a fund	[ett ·]
[eṇd·] to stand up	[uṇt-]
[teŋŋəi] coconut	[taːraːji]
[maːṇi] boy	[a ːṇɯ]
[ɟze ːvu] girl	[ɟzoːvu] child, [poṇṇu] girl.
[gi ːr-] to scratch	[ɟzi ːr]
[paːpu] enough	[iːjəvu]
[aːtɯ] not-it	[ʌttɯ]

[ʌmp], [mʌmp·] to make	[mʌlp]
[mʌnta] all	[mɑːta]
I A [puruṣe] husband	[kʌɳdəne]
I A [ʌṣəna], [aːfiaːra] food [oɳəsɯ], [tinəsɯ].	[umpu], [nuppu]
[koḷ-p] to give	[kor-p] in Bant speech, but [taːŋk-] in the speech of the holeyas.
[lʌkka] like	[lekka]

Unique features of Tuḷu Phonetics.

1. The absence of the cacuminal [ṛ], of the peculiar Tamil retroflex continuant [ɹ] and of the alveolar plosives [t] and [d̲] found in Tamil.

2. The existence of [cʃ], [s] and [ṣ] alternating in initial positions of native Tuḷu words is a contrast to the uniformity with which one or other of these more or less uniformly occurs in the other Dravidian dialects.

3. The frequency of the occurrence of [s] in initial positions of native words.

4. The development of an initial secondary [fi] in certain communal and regional dialects.

5. The conspicuous development of on-glides before initial vowels of native words in certain varieties of speech:

6. For other unique features of Tuḷu, see end of the section on Phonological Correspondences.

INDO-ARYAN ADAPTATIONS.

I have already referred to the presence in Tuḷu of a fairly large proportion of Sanskrit words and adaptations. A good number of these words have been adapted with characteristic modifications in the parlance of the non-Brahmins also. Generally speaking, the tatsamas used to be evaluated more or less correctly

by the Brahmins till about a generation or two ago; but when the number of *laukikas* among the Brahmins began to increase, and Sanskrit ceased to be systematically studied by them, the modifications introduced into the popular dialects also began to be accepted by the lay element among the Brahmins.

It is possible that some among the following adaptations were made through the varieties of Prakrit current in south India in an ancient past. No attempt is made here to distinguish the two strata —Sanskritic and Prakritic. I seek only to give here a conspectus of the phonetic modifications as they appear today.

These modifications are very prominent in connection with

(*a*) Sanskrit consonant groups.

(*b*) Sanskrit initial [v], [s], [jz] and [j] in certain instances.

(*c*) Sanskrit aspirate consonants

(*d*) Sanskrit [h] both initial and inter-vocal.

(*e*) Some miscellaneous instances.

Without seeking to evolve any rules, I shall briefly give a few instances under each heading.

(*a*) **Sanskrit consonant groups.**

(*i*) Anaptyxis is found in the adaptation of Sanskrit consonant groups of which the second component is [r] and the first a plosive.

Sanskrit	Tuḷu adaptations
[kɹʌmʌ] order	[ˈkərəmä]
[ˈgɹhʌcʲaːr] curse	[ˈgərəcʲaːrä]
[ˈgrɑːmʌ] village	[ˈgərəmä]
[ˈgɹhʌstʌ] householder	[ˈgerəttæ], [ˈgerəstæ] or [gərestɐ]
[ˌprʌˈjʌtnʌ] labour	[peˈrəstənä]

(*ii*) In the following instead of swarabhakti we find that [r] is dropped: [ˈdɹʂṭi] sight, [diṭṭi]; [ˈʃɹŋgɑːrʌ] beauty, [ʃiŋgɑːrä]; [ˈmɹgʌ] animal, [migä].

(*iii*) Sanskrit consonant groups in which the first component is [v] have lost this [v] in the following : ['vɾndaːvʌnʌ] **Brindavana**, ['rundaːræ] or [ˌrundaːvʌnæ]; [vjʌrthʌ] futile, ['jertä] or [jertæ].

In the following instances, [v] which is the second member of the groups has disappeared : ['dviːpʌ] island, ['diːpɐ], ['dɦivʌni] sound, ['dʌni]; ['dvaːrʌ] door, [doːra]; ['jzʋʌl] to glow, ['jzʌli-[

(*iv*) The Skt. group [vj] loses its [j] element in the following : ['vjʌrthʌ] futility, ['vertä]

['vjaːjzjʌ] accusation, ['vejzjä]

[ˌvjʌ'tjaːsʌ] difference, ['vetjaːsä]

['vjaːˌpaːrʌ] trade, ['beːˌpaːrä] or ['beːrä]

(*v*) Among the other Sanskrit consonant groups, the treatment of the following is interesting :

['kʌʂtʌ] trouble, [kʌtta] – ['sthiti] situation, '[titi]or [ˈɕjiti] ['ʂʌʂthi] a 'tithi', ['ʂʌtti] – [sthʌlʌ] place, ['tʌla] ['duʂtʌ] wicked, [dutta] — [ˈjzɳaːpʌkʌ] recollection, ['jzaːpəka] or [ˈɳaːpəga].

(*b*) Certain Sanskrit initial consonants.

(*i*) [v] : Tuʃu has not preserved or tolerated [ʋ] initially as Tamil, Tel. or Kûi. it has [b] in the place of this [ʋ] or it has dropped it altogether. The modern [ʋ] of some varieties of Tuʃu is from [ū]. This intolerance of initial [ʋ] probably accounts for the following :—

['vʌjzrʌ] diamond, ['ɔjzira]; ['vʌrʂʌ] winter, ['ɔrʂä] ['vʌrjz-] to cast off, ['ɔrjzu]; [viˈbhuːti] secred ashes, [ˌiˈbhuːti]; ['vʌrnʌ] colour, ['ɔrɳa] or ['bʌɳɳ]; ['vistaːrʌ] extent, ['istaːrä], ['vʌkrʌ] perverse, ['bɔkɽä]; ['viːnaː] musical instrument, ['iːɳa.]

(*ii*) [s] appears as [t] in the following:—

['sʌndɦjaː] evening, ['tʌɳjza]; ['svʌrʌ] sound, [tɔrä] ['sʌɳcʃi] bag, [tʌɳcʃi]; [soːmʌ] [toːmä]; ['ʃukrʌ], ['tɔkɽä]

(*iii*) [d] appears as [j͡z] in the following :—

['dɑːkʃinjʌ] benevolence, ['j͡zɑːkʃinjä; ['vʌjdjʌ], ['bʌj͡zä] ;
['dʌntʌ] tooth, [j͡zʌɳtä] —

(*iv*) Skt. [j] as Tuḷu [j͡z] :— [jʌntrʌ] machine, [j͡zʌnträ] ;
['jʌtnʌ] effort, [j͡zʌ́tna] ; ['jauvʌnʌ] youth, [j͡zʌvəna]

(*c*) **Sanskrit Aspirate consonants.**

The Tuḷu Brahmins usually give correct values to Skt. aspirate consonants. The carefulness with which the aspirate is incorporated by them has resulted in the conversion of certain initial non-aspirate surds of native words into corresponding aspirates:— ['cʃʌli] cold, ['cʃɦʌḷi; ['bʌɳḍi] cart, ['bɦʌɳḍi] ; ['tʌṭṭugä] ladle, ['thʌṭṭuga].

But in the dialect of the common people, Sanskrit aspirates lose their aspiration completely : ['gʌndɦʌ] smell, ['gəndä] ; ['gʌrbɦʌ] pregnancy, [gərbä] ; [ʌ'sɑːdɦjʌ] not possible ['ʌsɑːdjä] ; ['kʌthinʌ] hard, ['kʌṭina] ;

(*d*) **Sanskrit initial and medial [h] or [ɦ].**

Though modern Tuḷu shows a stable [ɦ] in certain contexts, the older treatment of Sanskrit [h] reflects the general tendency of parent Dravidian to avoid [h]:— ['ʌɦʌ,mʌti] egotistic audacity, ['ʌmbotɯ] or ['ʌmottɯ] ; ['ʌɦʌŋ,kɑːrʌ] selfishness, [ɑːɱgaːra] ; ['aːɦɑːrʌ] food, ['aːrä] ; ['bʌɦʌlʌ] many, ['baːḻä]

(*e*) **Other peculiarities.**

(*i*) **Metathesis** is observable in
['ʌttessä] from Skt ['ʌʃvʌttɦʌ]
[ʌrkəma] from Skt. [ʌkrʌmʌ].

(*ii*) **SYNCOPE.**
['bɦrɑːɦmʌɳʌ] brahmin, ['brːɳe]
['bɦrɑːɦmʌɳʌ striː] brahmin woman, ['brɑːɳti]

(*iii*) **Miscellaneous.**

['upʌdrʌvʌ] trouble, ['upədrä] or ['upə,j͡zədra] ;
[mʌ'hɑːnʌvʌmi] a sacred day, [mɑːrnəːmi] ;
['ʃmʌʃɑːnʌ] cremation-ground, [mʌʃaːnä]

['vʌndɦjʌ] barren woman, ['mʌɲʒa]
[pr̥thviː] earth, ['podəvi] or ['pɔdəvi]
[ʌvʌsʌɾʌ] — [ʌməsəra] necessity.

PHONETIC TRANSCRIPTIONS.

I. *The North Wind and the Sun* [Brahmin's dialect]

'bʌd̃ikëpʌda 'gaːḷilaˑ 'saːdipoːpəɳaːjëlaˑ‖ 'oɲʒi dinöṇṭu |
ori 'tirügönditti ˌsaːdipoːpəɳaːjëni suːtu | 'suːrjədeːʋərlaˑ
'vaːjudeːʋərlaˑ ' aːja mittɯ ! oɲʒi 'pʌnta paːḍöṇḍërɯ‖ʌvu
'ʒaːjəgənnəga | aːja mejtɯ 'vʌstrəni ; irüʋərëḍeːrɯ geppoːpëraː |
aːkuḷu aː 'pʌntöṇtu ʒʌjitənaːkuḷˡntəlaˑ | niʂcʃejəm ʌntërɯ‖
dumbɯtä ! 'gaːḷideːʋərɯ sʌmöṇtu biːsjɐræ (e) suruvʌntërɯ‖
aːṇdəlaˑ ! aːjä vʌstrəni 'geppoːjɐræ(e) saːddɦjaːniddi‖ 'eːtɯ
gɦʌttiḍɯ [ɔr ʒoːrɯḍɯ] | gaːḷibiːsjeraː ! aːtɯghattiḍɯ aːje
vʌstrəni 'podëtöṇde‖ unduni suːtu | 'suːrjədeːʋərɯ | sʌmöṇtu
ˌprʌkaːʂə(ʋ) aːjërɯ‖ ondu sʌjrəɳæ ; aː saːdipoːpeɳaːje | 'sikæ
(sixæ) 'tʌd̃ëʋəræ(ë) 'tiːrəntæ | vʌstrəni mejtɯ gette‖
unduni suːtu | 'vaːjudeːʋərɯ pʌntöṇtu 'soːtənaːkḁ̇ḷˡntəlaˑ |
'suːrjədeːʋərɯ 'ʒʌjitənaːküḷˡntəlaː | niʂcʃəjɐntɯtɯ | aːkuḷ-
irʋərlaˑ pera poːjërɯ‖

LITERAL TRANSLATION.

North wind-and wayfarer-and

One day-in one wandering-being way-farer (Acc.) having
seen, sun-god-and wind-god-and him over a wager made. That
what-for-it asked-if, his body-from cloth (Acc.) two-persons of
who fling-off-makes he (honorific Plural) that wager-in won-has-he
decision made-they. First wind god well blow-to beginning-made.
Yet his cloth (Acc.) fling make to power-there-was-not. How
much force-with wind blew-indeed, so much force-with he the
cloth (Acc) wrapped up This (Acc.) seen having, sun-god

(1) Long bars indicate pauses, the double ones marking full
pauses and single ones half pauses.

Short bars (placed on the left side of words or of syllables)
indicate accent, those marked on the top showing primary accent
and the others placed on the bottom showing secondary accent.

strength-with shine-became. A-little hence that way-farer heat (Acc.) resist-to able-not-being, cloth (Acc.) body-from took. This seeing wind-god wager-in defeated-one to-be-and, sun-god won-and settled-having, they both away went.

Short notes regarding the sounds.[1]

(1) The relationship between dynamic stress and 'musical' pitch in the south Dravidian speeches requires to be experimentally investigated. So far as I can see, accent in these speeches is constituted of both elements. The accent-marks (strong, medium,) given in this essay only symbolise a perceptible rise in stress or in pitch. Generally speaking, accent falls on the root-syllables of native words when separately uttered. In connected speech, two degrees of accent may be demarcated thus roughly: the strong accent which falls on the initial root syllables of important words of each breath-group, and a less strong accent on the root-syllables of other emphatic words in the breath-group.

Statements or exclamations expressive of strong feelings of course involve different degrees and varieties of accent in which pitch or intonation completely submerges the stress element.

[epꭓonɹzi kʌ$ʈʌppɑ:] what a calamity!
[ɑ:je bʌtte·] he came!
[i: po:jɐnɑ:] Did'st thou go?

are statements which could be differently intoned according as the feeling underlying each is sorrow, surprise, anger, etc.

(2) I might draw the reader's attention to the neutral or mixed vowels cropping up in these passages. (*a*) When [ʌ] occurs at the end of a word, it has a slightly more or open and frontalised value which I have represented with the symbol [a], as it is neither so dorsal as [ɑ], nor so open and so frontalised as [a].

When [a] is rapidly uttered in connected sentences, it may become [ɐ].

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(1) For full phonological and grammatical notes, on a comparative basis, of a few Tuḷu passages in both the dialectal varieties, see my "Tuḷu Texts in Two Dialects" in BSOS, IV.

(*b*) [ʌ] in unaccented syllables has the value of [ə]; but sometimes when for certain grammatical differentiations, [ʌ] has to receive a little stress or accent, then it has the value of [ɐ] which is a mixed vowel slightly more open than [ə]. For instance, in the Sec)nd Person Plural tense forms, the ending is [-ʌruɪ] as distinguished from [-eruɪ] of the Third Person forms. Here [ʌruɪ] becomes [-ɐruɪ], and [-eruɪ] becomes [-ëruɪ].

(*c*) Similarly. [e] in unaccented syllables becomes [ə], except when as in the third person plural tense endings (Masc. and Fem.) or in the Acc. terminations, the sound is definitely marked out with the value of [e], *e. g.*, pʌntá paːḍöṇḍëruɪ, made wager; sɑːdipoː peṇɑːjënuɪ, wayfarer (Acc.)

(3) For the use of [-u] and [-uɪ] as enunciatives, see below under Phonology.

(4) Except the enunciative u of old monosyllabic bases, the sounds u and uɪ appearing as enunciatives in Tuḷu words are elided in sandhi positions (*i. e.*, in breath-groups) before other vowels: [iruʋərud̠-éruɪ] who of the two, [aːkuḷ-iruveruɪ] they-two both, [tirugond-itti] wandering-remaining, etc.

(5) Note the use of [aːkuḷu] as the honorific plural in this text; some Brahmins prefer [aːruɪ], the form employed as the honorific plural in the folk-speech.

(6) I have very rarely heard [indu] employed by Brahmins who use [undu] instead.

(7) Within breath-groups, when vowels appear contiguously (without elision), the glides y and v appear according to the front or dorsal nature of the hiatus created.

(8) [tirügönd-] wandering, and [podëtöṇḍe] wrapped himself up: Note [-ond] and [oṇḍ] which have the value of conferring a particular " reflexive " nuance on the verb concerned. These " reflexive " bases are found in other south Dr. speeches

with [koṇḍ] the past stem of Dr. [koḷ], annexed to the past stems
the simple bases of the verbs concerned. In Tuḷu (as also in Mal.
colloquial), the initial [k-] has disappeared; in Tuḷu there has also
been decerebralisation of [ṇḍ] in some cases like [tirügṍnd-].

(9) Some of the peculiarities of the Brahmins' speech
reflected in this passage may be noted down here:

(i) Inflexional: The Acc. ending -ni of the Br. dialect
corresponds to -nu or -nɯ of the folk-speech.

The Abl. [mejttɯ] from the body answers to the folk-speech
[mejḍḍɯ].

The Locative [dinöṇṭu] at the day, [sʌmöṇṭu], [pʌntöṇṭu]
in the wager, show the infix [ṇ]; the forms of the folk speech
would be [dinïḍu], [pʌntöḍu], etc.

(ii) [ɟzɑːjəgənnɯgaˑ] 'why-ask if', because, corresponds to
the folk-speech [dɑːjəgənnɯga].

(iii) [suːtu] having—Folk-speech [tuːdu].

(iv) [niṣćjəjəm-ɐ̃tërɯ] decision made:

[ʌntërɯ] is the past tense of Brahmins' [ʌmp-] to make,
corresponding to the folk-speech [mʌjp-] of which the past tense
stem is [mʌjt-].

(iv) [iddi] not, as in [sɑːdɦjaː niddi], would be [iɟɟzi] or
even [iććji] in the folk-speech.

(v) The causative forms [geppoːpẹrɯ] cause to take away
and [geppoːjɐræ] for causing to take away, correspond to the
mass-dialect [deppɑːʋẹrɯ] and [deppɑːʋəræ] respectively.

[gepp-] take, of the Br. speech answers to [depp-] of the
folk-dialect; the causative base is formed from these with [-aːʋ].

II. The Fox and the Grapes   [Brahmins' dialect].

ʹkudikæːlɑ̃ː   ˑdraː kṣilɑ̃ːǁ

bʌʹḍ̥ʋüḍu ɟzɑːlä tirənti oɲɟzi ʹkudikæ | oɲzi dinöṇṭu |

ˌtinjɐræ(ə) ʹɟzɑːla sikküṇɑːtɯ | ʹsumɑːrɯ dikkɯḍɯ ˌnʌḍəttɯtɯ |

kʌṣṭəbuḍɯtɯ | kʌḍëkɯ | oɲzi ʹdrɑːkṣəda ˌtoːṭṭʋ̈ṇṭu poːtu
seːriɳɯ ǁ ˌtʌkka mʌṭṭ- ʹeːppərəjitt- oɲzi mʌröta ˌkomböḍu |

draːkʃi neloːɳṭittən-ɐni suːtu ˈ ʌuni ˈkɑːgitu pʌtjɐræ(è) |
kudikæ ˌbʌɦəḷä ˈkʌʂṭəbuḍije || ˈsumɑ ː ru sʌrti la ː gitu
ˌsuːnundɑːɳḍəlɑ· | aː kudikɐgu draːkʃi ˈsikn iddi || ʌɳc̄ɑːɳḍəlɑ· |

kudikæ | pʌkkənæ niɾɑːsä-j-ɑ ː pi jzʌntu-ʋ-ʌttu || tʌnət-ɑ ː pi

keləsa ˈmʌnt-ʌmpəntæ pirəpoːpəɳ iddi-ntu ˌniʂc̄ʃəjɐntutu |

kudikæ ˈbetla ˌlɑːgipɐræ(è) suru ŭ ʌntunu || ˌbʌɦəḷa ˈupɑːja-ŭ-
itti jzʌntu-ŭ ɑːnəndɑːɳḍəlɑ·- | ˈoːʋ-upɑːjəntɑːʋ-erlɑ· | kudikɐgu

draːkʃi sikn-ˈiddi || kʌḍë-ku | ˌbʌɦəḷä ˈʋjʌsənöɳṭu | ʌʋu toːṭṭöntu

ˈpɑːrupoːnu || pɑːrupoːnəgä | " ˈpuḷijitti draːkʃi ˌeɳku ˈboːtri
-ntu" pʌɳḍöntu poːnu || ˈɑːjɑːjənə ː -ŭ-iʂṭa nʌḍəpp,ɐntæ(è)

bʌnnəga | jzɑːnɑːɳḍəlɑ· ˌsʌmɑːdɦɑːna | ˈɑːloːc̄ʃəna mʌmpuɳä |
ˌsɑːdɦɑːrəɳ ë ˈkʌṭlæ(i)ttəno· !||

LITERAL TRANSLATION.

Fox-and Grapes-and.

Hunger-with at-all suffer-not being-able one fox one day-in
eat-to anything getting-not-having all-places-in walked-having
trouble-felt-having end-in one grapes-of garden-at gone having
reached. Somewhat tallness-being one tree-of branch-in grapes
having-remained-that having seen, then jumping catch-to fox
much trouble took. Many times jumped-having seen-yet, that
fox-for grapes obtain-not-was-possible. Yet ʻfox suddenly
disappointment having creature was-not. Self-from becoming
work all making-not away-going not-thus decidel-having, fox
again jump-to beginning-made. Many tricks having animal it
was-though, whatever tricks-with-yet fox to grapes obtain-was
not. End-in much sorrow-with he garden-from away-ran.
Away-running-while "sour-being grapes me-to want not" thus
said having went. Each-each-to hopes fulfilled-being-not happen
if, some-one-or-other consolation feeling common is-indeed!

III A Conversation [Brahmins' dialect].

Subra:jən — 'sva:mi! 'sva:mi!||

ʂri:dꞵArən—'sva:mi! nAməska:rä!||

su.—iŋkuḷu | 'mAləja:ḷöntu | 'epeḷɯ 'bAttɯrɯ?||

ʂri.— e:n-idæ bAttɯtɯ | mu:ɟɹi din—a:nɯ||

su. 'ɟɹa:jegɯ bAttɯrɯ?||

ʂri.—e:n-oḍuppɯda 'lAkʂədi:pɐlɑ· | enɐ 'ɟɹAnəŋküḷ·nilɑ· | 'sɯ:ɟɐræ(6) bo:ḍɐttɯ bAttæ||

su. · 'e:tɯ dinönta 'tAḍəʋ uṇḍu?||

ʂri —nAnä pAttɯ dinönta tAḍəv uppu.

su.—ittæ | 'devasta:no:ṇṭu ˈ pu:ɟɹæ uṇḍa: iddjæ?||

ʂri.—'ittæ 'iddi || 'po:ji tiŋgəḷɯdɯ muginɯ||

su. —Auḷu | bAꞵəḷä 'boḷḷä bAtnɯdæ!|| Aita:vərɑ | iŋkuḷe ,u:ruḍ 'e:tɯ 'nAʂtəkAʂtä bAtnɯ?||

ʂri —nAʂṭəkAʂṭəŋküḷ·oṇɟɹilɑ : pAṇjɐr-iddi|| u:rü pu:rä kʂa:m bAtnɯ!||

Translation.

subrâya : Hail! swami! (A usual form of greeting)

ʂrîdhara : Namaskara!

snbr : When did you come fro n Malabar?

ʂrî : It is three days now since I came here.

su : Why have you come?

ʂri : I came here for witnessing the **Laksa-dîpa** ceremony at Uḍupi and also to see my relations.

su : How long do you intend to stay here?

ʂrî : For ten days more.

su: Do you still officiate as temple priest (in Malabar)?

sri: Not now. My term of office expired last month.

su: I hear of great floods (and rains) there (in Malabar)!

How much loss has been caused by this in your locality?

ʂri : The losses and troubles are better imagined than described ! The whole place was stricken with famine!

IV. A passage in the dialect of the Non-Brahmin cultivators called Baṇṭs.

The evils of the Aḷiya-santâna (matriarchal) system of inheritance prevalent among the Tuḷuva Non-Brahmins.

ˈʌḷijä kʌṭṭɯdä ˈdoːʃoːḷu‖

ˈdʌkʂiṇä ˈkʌnnəḍä ɟzilləɖɯ | ˈʌḷijəsʌntaːna kuḍümbəda ˈeɟzəmaːné | krʌməprekaːrä | aːkuḍümbədä aːstidä ɟzʌʋɑːbdaːri ʌdüppüʋe‖ nʌdəpüḍu | ori ˈpʌrəbæ | ˈeɟzemaːn aːpe‖ aːjəgɯ | kuḍümbədä aːstiḍḍɯ | tʌnä ˈboḍẽdi baːloḷẽnɯ mʌllä mʌḷpüṇa mʌnəs –uppüṇḍu‖ ʌinəddɯ | aːje mʌltina pʌrədinöḷẽnɯ | ˈrʌddɯ mʌlpɐræ(è) | boːkä ʌʂenaːrthä pʌḍeːjɐræ | vjaːɟzöḷu mʌḷpːni | ʌɳéji kuḍümbölẽdɯ bʌñəḷɑ-ʋ uṇḍu‖ ʌkremögɯ ˈvjaːɟzjä mʌḷtɯdɯ | aːjənɯ dettɯ paːḍöli‖ ʌvu | aːja ʌkrəmö- ḍḍɯ ˈpʌḍkæ‖ ʌvu ˈpʌgæla. lʌḍaːjilɑ | uṇḍumʌḷpüṇḍu | bokka ˈñecéji kʌréjidä vjaːɟzjöḍḍu kuḍümbədä ˈnettər-ˈaːɟzaːji lekä | aːsti ˈkʌrəḍ aːpüṇḍu‖

Literal Translation,

South Kanara district in aḷiyasantâna family-of manager rule-according-to that family-of property-of holder becomes-well. Practice-in an old-man manager becomes. Him-to family-of property-from his wife-and-children (Acc.) big-to-make mind (desire) exists. This-on-account of he-made-which alienations (Acc.) back-restore-to and maintenance obtain-to suits filing such families-in frequently exist. Mismanagement-for suit made-having, him (Acc) removed-sent-has-to-be. It his mismanagement from worse. It enmity-and quarrel-and causes, and great cost-of litigation-from family-of blood squeezing-like, property waste-becomes.

Connected Translation.

The manager of an Aliyasantâna family is according to law a trustee of the family properties. In practice an old man becomes the manager, and his desire is to enrich his wife and children out of his trust-properties. On account of this, suits

are frequently instituted for restoring his alienations and obtaining maintenance. He has to be removed from trusteeship through a suit. This is worse than the mismanagement itself. It causes enmity and quarrels, and the family assets are squandered, like one's life-blood.

A Brief Account of Tuḷu Phonological Correspondences.

The following brief sketch aims only at visualizing the correspondence of **Tuḷu** sounds to those of other Dravidian dialects as they appear in closely allied cognates. No attempt is made to propound theories, but the illustrations are made to speak for themselves. Wherever possible, the cognates are so selected as to be representative of the southern (Tamil, Kannaḍa, Telugu, etc.,) the central (Kûi and Gôṇḍi) and the northern (Kurukh and Brâhûi) groups of the Dravidian family.

It may be observed here that the ancient primary bases of Dravidian are chiefly monosyllabic being constituted of

> (*i*) a vowel alone, or
> (*ii*) a vowel+a consonant, or
> (*iii*) a consonant + a vowel; or
> (*iv*) a cons. + a vowel + a consonant;

the dissyllabic and the rare trissyllabic bases are all perhaps derivatives formed from the primary bases with the aid of secondary affix-morphemes.

In the following sketch, therefore, I have found it practical to take up the question of sound-correspondences according to the following scheme. [Note:—The symbols I have used in this chapter are those of the R. A. S. scheme of transliteration with two IPA symbols ɯ and ə.]

I. Consonants.

> (*i*) In initial positions.
> (*ii*) In terminal positions of primary bases.
> (*iii*) In Morphemes of secondary bases.

II. Vowels.

> (*i*) In initial or radical positions.
> (*ii*) In derivatives.
> (*iii*) Enunciatives.

[In the following sketch — word bases alone are considered, as nearly all of the striking correspondences and relationships between Tuḷu sounds and non-Tuḷu Dravidian sounds would be covered thereby; there are a few cases of interesting parallelisms and divergences in the post-positional endings and conjugational terminations. These are dealt with by me elsewhere.]

I.

(1) Consonants in initial positions.

[The following consonants appear in initial positions of native Tuḷu word-bases.

k, g, c, j, t, d, n, p, b, m, r, l, s, ś, h and y and ʋ.

(1) k. Initial k- of Tuḷu answers to k- of other dialects or to the fricatives or affricates of yet others. A rough cleavage is found in Dravidian between those dialects which preserve an ancient k before front vowels and those which have changed this k before front vowels to fricatives and affricates. Tuḷu belongs to the former group, as illustrated by the following :

Kittu (fire) — Koḍagu ciccu, Tel. ciccu; cf. also Gôṇḍi cicc, Kurukh cic.

Kila, kela (some) — Tam. śila, śela.
Kebi (ear)   — Tam. śevi, Mal. cevi, Tel. cevi.
Kir- (small)   — Tam. śiṛu, Mal. ceṛ.-

(ii) Tuḷu k- before dorsal vowels corresponds to k- of the southern and central dialects and to x- of the north :

Kai (hand)   — south Dr. Kai, gei (but Tel. ceyya).
Kâlu (leg)   — south Dr. Kâl, Kûi kâlu,
Koy- (to reap) — south Dr. Koy-, Gô. koy , Kur. xoy-

(2) (i) g- corresponds to g- or k- of other dialects in certain instances :

gaṇḍu (male) — cf. Tel. gaṇḍ áḍ- (to copulate), Kann. gaṇḍu (strength, male)

gatti (firm, strong) — Kann. gatti, Tam. katti, Tel. gatti
Kîr , (to scratch)- Kann. Tel. gîr-, Tam. kîṛ-.

gâvu, kâvu (heat, glare) — Tam. kây-vu, Kann, kâv.

guri, guḷi (hole, pit) — Tam. kuḷi, Kann. Kuḷi, kuḷi, Tel. groyyi.

(3) c- (i) In a very few instances, the affricate c-[1] corresponds to the fricatives and affricates :

caḍapu (leanness) — Mal. caḍappu

cûḍu, sûḍu (heat)—Tam. śûḍu, Mal. cûḍu, Kann. sûḍu

Cali, sali (chill) — Kann. caḷi, Tam. śaḷi.

(ii) In some instances. Tuḷu c- is a rare sub-dialectal variant existing beside t- (and s- in some cases). The cognates in other dialects generally show t. —

Caṇḍi (wetness), beside } — cf. Tam. taṉ (cold, wet)
    sampu, tampu   } Kann. taṉ , Tel. tsaṉ-

Cârǽ (coconut tree) beside } — cf. Tam tâḷai ('coconut tree')
    târǽ, tâḷǽ   } in old texts.

cû, beside tû, sû (fire) — see below.

cêḷu (scorpion), beside } — Tam. têḷ, Kann. cêḷu, Tel.
    têḷu, sêḷu   } têḷu, Br. telh.

carǽ (head), tarǽ — south Dr. tala, Kûi tḷâu, Gô. talâ. Also cf. caila (oil) for Skt. taila.

4. j- (i) This sound corresponds ty c-, ś or j- of other dialects in a few cases :

jari (slope)—cf. Tam. śari- (to incline),Kann. jari, Mal. cari-

jirǽ (small) — cf. Tam. śiṟu, Tel. ciṟu.

jadar- (to be scattered), beside } — Tam. śidaṟ-, Kann.
    cadar-, kedar-   } cedar-, kedaṟ

jêvu, jôvu (child) — cf. Tam śemmal (child).

(5) ñ- is not a very common sound in Tuḷu, but the influence of the neighbouring Mal. is responsible for the sub dialectal ñ in a very few words like the following :

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(1) The influence of Malyâḷam is probably responsible for c- in these forms.

ñoṅṅɯ (shrivelled) — Mal. ñaḷuṅṅ- (to be shrivelled)
ñekk-, ñakk- (to crush) — Mal. ñekk-

(6) t- (*i*) In a large number of instances, t- answers to t- of
other dialects :

teri- (to be known) — south Dr. teri-
tëy- (to be rubbed) — ,, tëy-
tëḷɯ (scorpion) — ,, teḷ, Br. telh
tôḍ- — ,, tôḍ-

(*ii*) In the following and other instances, t-[1] alternates
sub-dialectally with s- and h ; the cognates of other Dr. dialects
generally show only t-[2].

tû, sû, hû, cû (fire) — cf. Tam. tû (bright*)*, Br. tûbe
(moon), south Dr. tî (fire)

tôj-, sôj-, hôj- (to appear) — Tom. tônd'ŗ- Kann. tôŗ-, tôr-,
Tel. tôns-, Kûi tônj-.

teḷi-, seḷi-, heḷi- (to become clear) — south Dr. teḷi- (to
become clear).

(*iii*) In a very few cases, t- appears to correspond to ś-, etc.
c- etc. of other dialects, derived from an original k-; these t- forms
are sub-dialectal :

tett-, beside sett- (to rot) — cf. Tam., Mal., Kann. keḍ-
(to become rotten), Tel. ceḍ (to be spoiled).

tutt- (to wear dress), } — cf. Tam. śut't'r- (to go round),
beside sutt } Mal. cut't'-, Kann. sutt-.

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(1) For the classification of the conditions in which some
affricates and fricatives are related to k- on the one hand and
others to t- on the other, see my papers on "Ancient Dr. k-",
"Tuḷu Fricatives and Sibilants" and "Dr. Affricates and
Fricatives".

(2) I may point out here that (*i*) t- forms are generally
more common than their variants with s- and h-; (*ii*) in some
instances the Brahmins use s- forms, while others use t- forms.
(*iii*) in some others the "low-class" communities use s- forms,
while others (including Brahmins) favour t- forms; and (*iv*) the
Jains and others in the eastern parts of Tuḷu naḍu use the
h- variants.

(7) d- (*i*) The voiced sound d- corresponds to t or d- of other dialects in many cases; the voiced d- corresponding to t- is found in southern dialects like Telugu and Kannaḍa and in the central and northern dialects also occasionally.

daver- (to become loose) — Tam. tavaṛ- (to slip off) Kann. tavaṛ-, davaṛ-

diñj- (to be crowded, crammed). — cf. Tam tiṅg- (to beside jiñj- [sub-dialectal] (to be crowded), Tel. cikk- (dense).

(*ii*) In the following instances with initial ḍ-, the sound owes its initial position to the operation of Aphæresis consequent on Accent-shift. As pointed out elsewhere by me, the change here involved the conversion of an original initial *ḍ-to d in the mass-dialect of Tuḷu. The aphæresized forms are popular in the folk-speech, while the full forms are retained in several cases in the Brahmins' dialect.

da-mma (left side) ⎫ da-ttɯ (,,), ⎪ beside eḍa (left), ⎪ eḍa-mbu (left side), ⎬ eḍa-ttu (,,), ⎪ eḍa-ṅkɯ (on the left) ⎭	cf. south Dr. eḍa(m) (left), Tel. eḍa and ḍâ [For the conversion of ḍ-to d- initially, cf. Tuḷu adaptations dambha from Skt. ḍambha, dabbi from ḍabbi, etc. and cf. also the Tel. alternants like ḍig-, dig- (to descend)
dabbɯ (crack)—[cf. aḍar⎫ to crack)] ⎬	cf. Tam. -(aḍar-vu (crack)
dapp (to plough), ⎫ ⎬ beside aḍapp ⎭	—cf. Kann. aḍak- (to press down)
daræ (fence) beside ⎫ aḍɯrɯ (boundary limit) ⎬	— Mal. aḍir boundary, limit, fence
de-k-katti (arecanut⎫ ⎬ -cracker) ⎭	- cf. Mal. aḍekka-k-katti, Kann aḍegatti aḍekottu, aḍakegatti; Tel. aḍakottu, ᾱkottu
de-k-kârɯ (space ⎫ between the legs), ⎬ beside aḍa-k-kâlɯ ⎭	—cf. south Dr. eḍa(m) (space, room)
dakk— (to cast away), ⎫ beside Br. s' dialect ⎬ aḍakk- ⎭	—cf. Kann. aḍe (to throw or strike with finger)

daṅg-, deng (to be hidden), beside **aḍaṅg** } — cf. Tam, Mal. **aḍaṅg-**(to be contained, etc.)

(*iii*) In the following Interrogatives we find an initial d- (which in some cases alternates sub-dialectally with j-) : **dǽnæ**, beside **jǽnæ** (what?)—cf. Tam (y)ên, (y)ênna, Kann. (y)ênu

dä (which)—Tam. yâ-d, yâ-v-ad, Kann yâd, yâvad,yâvad etc **dä-lä, jalä** (anything) **dä-y-egɯ, jäyegɯ** (why?) base **yâ**

(8) n (*i*) This sound generally corresponds to n- of other dialects:

nîrɯ (water) —south Dr. nîr, Kûî nîr; **nil-p-**(to stand, stay) —sound Dr. nil, Kûi nil. **netterɯ** (blood)—Kann. nettar, Gôṇḍi nettar, Br. ditar.

naḍu (middle) – south Dr. naḍu.

(*ii*) the following words (from the mass colloquial) with initial n-seem to be the result of Aphæresis:

nuppu (food, meal), beside Brahmin's **uṇ-pu** or **umpu** } —cf south Dr. **uṇ-**(to eat, take a meal).

nung (to be dried up) – cf. Tam. uṅaṅg-, Mal. uṇaṅṅ-, Koḍagu oṇaṅṅ-

nuṅgelɯ, beside **uṇangelɯ** (what is dried) } —uṇaṅg-above.

netta (of this) beside **indetta**
neḍḍɯ (from this) „ **indeḍḍɯ**
nettɯ (at this) „ **indeṭṭɯ**.

(9) **p-** corresponds to p- of other dialects:

puli (tiger) —south Dr. puli, Gô· puli.

puri (worm) — cf. Tam., Kann.. Mal. pulu, Tel. purugu, Kûi priu, Gô. purî

parɯ (tooth) —south Dr. pal

(10) b (*i*) This sound corresponds to ʋ of some dialects (Tam , Tel , Mal, Kûi. Gôṇḍi) and to b- of others (Kɪaɴ , Kuꞧukh Brâhûî).

bar- (to come) — Tan. var-, Kûi va-, Kann. bar-, Br. bar-, Kuꞧ bar-,

bâyi (month)—Tam, vây, Kann. bây, Tel. vây-i, ~~Kur bây~~
bâḷĕĕ, bârĕĕ (plantain tree)—Tam vâḷ ai, Kann bâḷe

(*ii*) In a few instances, Tuḷu initial b- also corresponds to p-
of other dialects.

bŏḍedi (wife)   — cf. old Kann. peṇḍati, Tam.
                     peṇḍâṭṭi.

bordɯ, beside }   —   cf. Tam., Mal., Kann. pôr
pordɯ (battle) }   (battle), porud- (to fight),
                     Tel. pôru,

(11) m-. (*i*) m- generally corresponds to m- of other
dialects:

mara (tree)   — south Dr. mara(m), Tel.
                     mrânu, Kui mrahnu, Gô. marâ,
                     Kuṛ mann.

min- (to shine, glitter) — south Dr. min.

murk-, muḷk- (to sink, } — Tam. muḷug-, Kann. muḷg,
to be immersed)   }   Kûi muñj-, Kur-mulx.

(*ii*) m- in mêḷi (marriage) corresponds to v-. Cf. Mal. vêḷi
(marriage), Tam vêḷ- (to desire to marry), Kuṛ beñj- (to marry).

(*iii*) (*a*) In mûḷu (here) we have Aphæresis (consequent on
Accent-shift) and change of v- to m:*i-ʋ-uḷu, [a formation exactly
like aʋuḷu (there) which is retained in Tuḷu without Aphæresis]
>ʋûḷu >mûḷu,

(*b*) mêrɯ, beside   } cf. Tam., Mal. Kann. iʋar, used as
sub-dialectal imberɯ } an honorific plural beside its other
                     meaning of normal plurality of
                     number.

mêrɯ < im(b)erɯ < iberɯ <i-ʋar.

(*c*) môḷu (she, this woman)} — cf. i-ʋ-aḷ (she, this woman)
beside Brahmins' imboḷu }

Aphæresis is responsible for môḷu she (here), as in the
instances given above.

(12) y- does not appear **fully** evaluated as a consonant
except in a few words like **yân** (1), **yaḍa** (left side) of the
mass colloqual; but a semi-consonantal y does crop up before the
front initial vowels of Tuḷu words. Tuḷu speakers themselves
do not notice this sound and do not regard it is an essential
component of the words concerned; nevertheless, the foreigner
never fails to distinguish its presence before initial front vowels
as in **yenṇe** (oil) **yeñca** (how ?), etc. A similar y exists before
front initial vowels in other south Dr. speeches.

(13) r- occurs in initial positions of a small number of native
words, as the result of Aphæresis consequent on Accent-shift:

rumb- (to feel off)	— cf. Mal. **uruv-**, Tam. **uruv-**
renkœ (wing)	— cf. Tam. **iṛakkai**, coll. **ṛekka,** Tel. **rekka, iṛakka.**
reṅk- (to roll on the ground), beside **oreṅk**	— cf. Tam. **orai-**, etc.

(14) 1- also appears initially, as the result of Aphæresis; it is
noteworthy that the Brahmins' sub-dialect of Tuḷu preserves in
many cases the older non-aphæresized forms:

lampu (tender) beside **eḷampu, eḷœ, eḷata**	— Tam. **iḷa-, eḷa-,** Kann. **eḷe,** Tel. **lê-,** Kûi **la-**
lapp- (to measure), beside Brs.' **aḷapp-**	— South Dr. **aḷa-** (to measure, etc.)
lepp- (to call), beside Brs.' (ŭ)**oḷepp-**	— Tam. **viḷi-,** Mal. **vili-,** Tel. **pilits-,** Toda **piṣ-**
lumb- (to wash), beside Brs.' **alumb-**	— Tam., Mal., Kann. **alamb-**
lakk- (to get up)	— cf. Tam., Mal., Kann. **eḷ-** (to rise), Tel. **lê-** (to get up).

(15) s- (i) s- corresponds to the fricative **ś-** of Tamil, the
affricate **c-** of Mal. and the sibilant **s-** of Kann., in the following
instances:

suḷi (eddy)	— Tam. **śuli,** Mal. **culi,** Kann. **suḷi, suḷi-.**
sutt- (to roll)	— Tam. **śut't'r-,** Mal. **cut't'-,** Kann. **sutt-**

sai-p- (to die) — Tam. śâ-, Mal. câ-, Kann. sâ-.

(*ii*) s- alternates sub-dialectally with t- in Tuḷu itself. **Vide** *supra.*

(*iii*) A few rare variants with ś- are sometimes heard in the enûnciation of some people, alternating with s- forms: **śird-, sird-,** tird- (to mend), śipæ, sîpæ, tîpæ (sweetness), etc.

(16) h-. (*i*) h- alternates sub-dialectally [1] with t- and **s-** in Tuḷu itself, as already indicated.

(*ii*) h- forms corresponding to certain Kannaḍa h- words (derived from original p- words) are borrowings in Tuḷu from Kann. (**Vide** my paper in **Ind. Ant.,** March 1933).

(*iii*) Initial h- in the following appears to be prothetic:

hêr- (to climb) beside êr- — Tam., Mal., Kann. êr.

helæ (leaf-offering) beside } — Tam., Mal., Kann. ilai,
elæ, eræ (leaf) } ele.

haiṭuɪ, beside aiṭuɪ (at that), the Loc. of avu (that).

hamar- (to be immersed), } — Tam., Mal., Kann. amar-
beside amar- }

Unique Features of Tuḷu Anlaut.

1. The sub-dialectal alternation of t-, s-, and h- in words, the cognates of which in other dialects show t-.

2. The partially voiced secondary glottal fricative h- in initial positions.

3. The occurrence of l and r in initial positions of words, as the result of Aphæresis consequent on Accent-shift.

4. Initial ḍ- < ḍ- (derived by Aphæresis).

5. The presence of the voiced sounds g-, j, d, in initial positions.

Of these features, 1 is unique in Tuḷu, 2 is met with also in Kûi, 3 is found also in Telugu and Kûi, and 4 has some parallels in Telugu. The fifth feature is shared in greater or lesser degree by many dialects of Dravidian; Tamil, Mal. and the lesser varieties

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(1) It is worthy of note here that only an extremely, small percentage of people use ḥ- forms instead of the more common forms with t- and s-.

of these speeches however do not tolerate these voiced consonants in initial positions of native words.

(2) Consonants in terminal positions of bases.

The consonants and consonant-groups (apart from attenuations like -me, -tana, etc.) appearing in Dr. word-bases are the following:

(1)   k, ṅk, g, ṅg.
(2)   ṭ, ṇṭ, ḍ, ṇḍ.
(3)   t, nt, d, nd.
(4)   v, b, mb, p, mp.
(5)   c, ñc, j, ñj.
(6)   l, ḷ.
(7)   r, ṛ.
(8)   ṇ.
(9)   y, ś, ṣ, (j).

These appear in what we might distinguish here as the primary and the secondary bases.

The following points are noteworthy in connection with Dr. word-formation:

(*a*) Primary Dr. bases (monosyllabic) may, or may not have, final consonants. In case final consonants are found, these consonants are of the following types:

(*i*) In a number of ancient bases with short radical vowels, like aḍ-u, kaḍ-u, ar-u, etc, short voiced plosives or other short voiced consonants are found.

(*ii*) In other bases with short radical vowels, either geminated surds or consonant groups formed of nasals and plosives, are met with.

(*iii*) If the radical vowel is long, single plosives (voiced or voiceless) and consonant groups formed of nasals and plosives are alone found, the geminated plosives (characteristic of (*ii*) above) being conspicuous by their absence.

(*c*) While Tamil (on account of its phenomenal tendency to voice inter-vocal surds and surds in contact with nasals) shows

no group formed of nasals and surds, the other dialects of the south (including Tuḻu) tolerate such consonant groups.

(*d*) The sounds and the sound-groups belonging to each of the sets listed above are related to one another. Caldwell's comments on this point to a certain extent bring out this inter-relationship, though some of his observations require modification and revision in the light of new facts and perspectives. The nasal constituents of the consonant group appear to be secondary growths in connection with the plosives with which they are respectively associated.

(*e*) These consonants and consonant-groups are conspicuous enough in the southern dialects to be distinguished as such, while they are present in attenuated and modified shapes in the central Indian and the northern dialects.

Primary Bases.

(1) têg- (to belch) — Kann. têg-, Tam. tigaṭṭ-, Tel. têp-, dêv-

poṅg- (to rise) — South Dr. poṅg-

tâṅk- (to take care of)}
tâṅg (to assist) }— Tam. tâṅg- (to support)

agg-æ (shoot, branch) — Mal. agu- (shoot) Kûi âk-i (branch, shoot) Tel. âku (leaf).

(2) muṭṭ- (to knock) — South Dr. muṭṭ-

kûḍ- (to be joined) — ,, kûḍ-

naḍ-u ,(middle) — ,, naḍ-u

taṇḍ-ɯ (stem) — ,, taṇḍ.

(3) (*i*) ûd- (to blow) — ,, ûd-

pond- (to rise) — ,, pond.

(*ii*) Tuḻu medial -d- corresponds to ṟ of Tamil, Mal. old Kann. and old. Tel.

tud-æ, sud-æ (river) — Kann. tuṟ-e, Tam. tuṟ-ai.

nûd-ɯ (hundred) — South Dr. nûṟ-u

nâd- (to stink) — ,, nâṟ-

pâd-æ (rock) — ,, pâṟ-ai, pâṟe, etc.

(4) This group of morphemes definitely occurs only in derivatives.

(5) (*i*) ây- (to select) —— Tam., Mal. ây-

ey- (to shoot arrow) —— ,, ey-.

(*ii*) ś rarely occurs in Tuḷu as a terminal morpheme.

(*iii*) s is another derivative morpheme. In Tuḷu, s occurs in pass- beside patt- (to be attached), in ess- beside ett- (to raise a fund) and posur- beside pottur- (to kindle), isæ (now) beside ittæ), less (having called) beside lett-.

(*iv*) j, a frequent medial sound in Tuḷu corresponds to *three* different sounds of other dialects :

a. -j- in the following answers to -y- of Tamil:

kajapu, beside kayapu (bitter taste)	—— Tam. kay-pu
koj-e- (to reap)	—— south Dr. ko-y-
pæj-i (green)	—— ,, pæy-paS; paS-

β. j in the following corresponds to ṛ:

kaj-æ (stain, blackness)	—— Tam. kaṛ-ai
maj-e- (to conceal)	—— ,, maṛ-ai-
ûj- (to percolate)	—— ,, ûṛ-
aj-i (six)	—— ,, âṛ-
ka-ñj-i (calf)	—— ,, kand'rɯ, Kann. kaṛu.
tôj- (to appear), beside tôr- }	—— Kann. tôr, tôr, Tam. tônd'r.
taj-a-p- (to cut)	—— Tam. taṛ ai-.

γ. Tuḷu -j- answers to -l- in the following.

ijji- (not)	—— South Dr. il, ill-ai; cf. Tam. ind'ri also.
pej-æ (kind of Artocarpus)	—— Tam., Mal. pala-vu, palâ.

(6) (*i*) kal-l-ɯ (stone) —— South Dr. kal.

nil- (to stand)	—— ,, nil-
bâḷ-ɯ (sword)	—— ,, vâḷ, bâḷ.
koḷ- (to cleave to)	—— ,, koḷ-

(*ii*) -ḷ- in the Brahmins' sub-dialect of Tuḷu corresponds in the following to the peculiar continuative -ḷ- of Tam., Mal., and old Kannaḍa; it may be observed here that in the folk-dialect of Tuḷu the sound corresponding to ḷ in these instances is -r-:

tâḷ ee, beside folk-speech târ-ee (cocoanut tree)

Tam. tâḷ-ai ('cocoanut tree')

bâḷ-ee, bâr ee (plantain tree) — Tam. vâḷ-ai, old Kann. bâḷ-e

kôḷi, kôri (fowl) — Tam., old Kann. kôḷi.

guḷi, guri (pit) — 	 „ 	 kuḷi

bûḷ, bûr- (to fall) — Tam viḷ- old Kann. bûḷ.

It is noteworthy that generally speaking, both the Brahmins' sub-dialect and the folk-speech alike retain -r- corresponding to ḷ- of Tamil, etc,, when this sound appears as a constituent of consonant of groups :

parndɯ (ripe fruit) — cf. Tam., Mal. paḷa-m.

portu (time) — Tam., Mal. poḷudu,

[beside also poḷtu] Kann. poḷtu, portu, hottu Tel. proddu, poddu.

urdu (black gram) — Tam. uḷundɯ.

(7) r- (*i*) This Tuḷu sound stands for the post-dental r of other dialects in instances like the following :

tîr- (to be finished) — south Dr. tîr-

nîrɯ (water) 	 — south Dr. nîr.

ner-ee (straightness) — south Dr. nêr (straight)

(*ii*) In some instances r corresponds to the cerebral ṟ of other dialects, ·which ṟ does not exist in Tuḷu now (as it has either become r or ḷ) :

pâr- (to fly), to run – Tam., Mal., old Kann. T. pâṟ-

or-ee (sheath) Tam. oṟ-ai; Mal., Tel. oṟ-a; Kann. oṟ-e.

mâr- (to sell) — Kann. mâṟ- (to sell) Tam., Mal. mâṟ (to change).

(*iii*) Tuḷu r answers to the alveolar lateral l of other dialects in the following :

iree (leaf), beside iḷee — Tam. ilai. Mal. ila, Kann. ele.

parɯ (tooth)　—　south Dr. paL.
birɯ (bow)　—　south Dr. ʋil, bil.
kârɯ (leg)　—　south Dr. kâl.
kur-k- (to shake) — south kul-u-kk-

(*iv*)　As noted above, the folk-speech shows r corresponding to ɭ of Tamil, Mal. and old Kann.

(8) ṇ - (*i*)　ṇ corresponds to ṇ of other dialects :

taṇṇɯ (cold) — Tam. Mal., Kann. taṇ-, Tel. ts-aṇ-
uṇ- (to eat, take meal) south Dr. uṇ-, Kûi un-, Gô. uṇḍ-
poṇṇu (girls) — south Dr. peṇ, poṇ

(*ii*)　ṇ in the following corresponds to ɭ of other dialects :

gâṇ (to glow)—Mal, kâɭ- (to be ablaze), Tel. kâl- (to burn)
kêṇ- (to hear)—south Dr. keɭ-, Gô. keñj-
kôṇ- (to hold)—south Dr. koɭ-, Tal. kon.

Derivative Positions.

(1) ul-k- (to be sprained) — Tam., Mal. uɭukk-. naḍa-k-æ
 (behaviour)—Tam. naḍakk-âi. kere-ṇg-ɯ (root)—Tam.,
 Mal. kiɭang-u

In the following, the affix is somewhat unique in Tuɭu :—

 pôḍi-g-æ (fear) — Mal. pêḍi (fear), Kann. pêḍi, hêḍi
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(coward)

 male-ṇg- (to recline) — Tam., Mal. malar-, Kann.
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　malag-

(2) baraḍɯ (useless) —Tam., Mal. varaḍu, Kann. bareḍu
 maraḍɯ (barrenness) —Tam. malaḍɯ
 pijiṇṭ- (to be twisted) — south Dr. piri-
 kuruṇṭ- (to contract) — „ kurul-, suruɭ-, etc

(3) kor-nd-ɯ (tender) — Tam., Mal. kolu-nd-u
 par-nd-ɯ (ripe fruit)— Tam., Mal, paɭa-m

(4) [The affixes are derivative]
 uṛ-c- (to go to stool)—cf. Tam. oɭl-kk- (to empty)
 alec-, beside alek- } — Tam., Mal. alakk-
 (to shake)

purñc- (to squeeze)— ,,   ,,   pili-

parñc- (to prattle)—cf. Tam., Mal. paṛai- (to speak)

(5) aḍavu (closing)—Tam. aḍai-vu Mal. aḍavu-

    parab-æ, paḷab-æ .cf. South Dr. pala (old) .
      (old person)

    komb-u (branch)—South Dr. kombu

    aḍep-u (lid, closure)— ,, aḍai-p-u

(6) 1 and ḷ- (In secondary position ḷ is becoming gradually
    merged in 1.]

    oyl- (to stagger)—cf. Tam ȯy-

    kuruḷ-, kurul-(to be }—Tam, śuruḷ-. Kann.
      contracted)   } kuruḷ-

    birelɯ (finger)—South Dr. viral.

    uḍalɯ (belly)— ,, uḍal (body)

(7) r—normal

    tuḍer-ɯ (lamp).—Tam. śuḍar (the sun or moon),
                     Kann. cuḍar (lamp, the sun, moon)

    ugur-u (nail) — Tam. ugir,
               Tel. gȯru

    begerɯ (sweat)—Kann. bevaru.

(8) Tuḷu sᵗ in the following is probably borrowed from
                                      Kann.

    taṇasɯ (chilliness)—Kann. taṇasu, taṇisu

    tinasɯ (food,)— ,, tinisu, tinasu

    uṇasɯ (food, meal)— ,, uṇasu, uṇisu

    gaḍɯsɯ }
    kaḍɯsɯ } (heifer)—Kann. kaḍasu (heifer)

    nigasɯ (repletion)—cf. Kann. negasu, Kann. negi-
                                   (to rise)

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    1. This -s- is related to -t-, -d-, etc. in eḷidɯ, eḷaśu (what
is young, tender), peridɯ, perisu (what is big), etc. of Tamil
eḷidu, eḷasu (what is young) and piridu, percu, heccu (what is
big) of Kannada.

(1) **Vowels in primary (radical) positions,**

(1) Tulu a, â, i', î, u. û regularly correspond to the same sounds of other dialects.

(2) e and ê : (*i*) These are normal in a number of words like the following : **eri-** (to burn) **elu, ellu** (bone), **êḻu** (seven) **êr-** (to ascend).

(*ii*) There is a rule in South Dravidian whereby a short radical i (of words of more than one syllable) followed by an open vowel in the next syllable is replaced by e : the operation of this rule is restricted to derivative words only and, further, the change occurs only when in the above circumstances the consonant immediately following the radical vowel is a short one. The literary varieties of Tamil and Mal. show in the above circumstances the i- forms, while the colloquials show e- words ; in Kann. and Tel., even the literary speeches have accepted a number of e- forms. Tuḷu shows forms with i and e side by side in some cases, and those with e alone in others :

> iḍæ, eḍæ (place)—Tam., Mal. iḍam, coll. eḍam.
> ilæ, elæ, eræ (leaf)—Tam. ilai, coll. Tam. elai,
> > Kann. ele.
> tinasu, tenasu (food)—Kann. tinisu, tinasu,
> > tenasu.
> nene-p- (to imagine)—Tam. ninai-, coll. Tam.
> > nenai, Kann. nene-
> nela (earth, soil)—Tam. nilai, coll. Tam. nelai,
> > Kann. nele
> Kereṅgu (Sweet potato)—Tam. Kilaṅgu,
> > coll. Keleṅgu

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1. pili (tiger) answering to puli of other Dr. speeches, and pilæ (pollution) corresponding to pulai, pule, pole, show ·i-.

In menṇu, mennu (spark), menc- (to shine), beside minc, there is an opening of the vowel in Tuḷu sub-dialectal forms. cf. a similar opening in sub-dialectal tenasu beside tinasu, (food).

(*iii*) In certain adaptations from IA of words with initial voiced plosives followed by -a-, and in a few native words with initial affricates followed by -a-, some of the south Dr speeches show in the colloquial a change of -a- to -e- or -ə-. Of course, the instances where this change occurs in native words vary with the speeches; in Tuḷu there are instances like the following with -a- and ə- side by side:

> taræ, caræ, ceræ (head)
>
> gaṭṭæ, geṭṭæ (clod, lump)

(*iv*) Tuḷu -ê- in the following, corresponds to -â- of some of the other dialects:

> êḍɯ (goat) — Tam. âḍɯ, Kann. âḍu,
>   Tel. êḍu.
>
> êmæ (turtle)—   Tam., Mal. âmai.
>
> êrɯ (who?)—   Tam. ârɯ, Kann. (y)âru.
>
> ênɯ (1) beside folk speech yânɯ —
>
> —Tam. yân, nân, Kann. ân, nân, Tel. nênu.

(3) ō— (*i*) normal in words like the following:

> oñji (one), ori (one person)—Tam. orɯ, ond'rɯ, Kann.
>   ondu.
>
> ôḍ- (to run) —South Dr. ôḍ-

(*ii*) In circumstances similar to those described for i>e above, there exists in South Dr. a change of u>o also. Tuḷu shows forms with u and o side by side in some cases, and words with o alone in others: uḍelɯ, oḍelɯ (belly)—South Dr. uḍal,
                                                odaḷ

> ugarɯ, ogarɯ (brackishness) —Tam. uvar.
>
> ūṇasɯ, oṇasɯ (food)—Kann. oṇasu.
>
> oræ (Sheath)— Tam. uṛai, coll. Tam. oṛai.
>
> mosaḷæ (crocodile) —Tam. mudaḷai, modaḷai Kaṇṇ.
>   mosaḷe

(*iii*) -o-or-ô- in connection with bilabials corresponds to -e (or in rare cases to -a-) of the literary speeches of South India.

ponnu (girl) — South Dr. literary peṇ, peṇṇu, coll. poṇ.

boḷpu (whiteness) —Tam. veḷuppu, Kann. beḷpu.

bôḍ — (to want, desire)— Tam. veṇḍ- Kann. bëḍ.

por-p- (to pluck)—Tam. Mal.paṟi—Kann. paṟe-.

[It may be noted that in the colloquial of Tam. itself, the bilabials have the power of changing the literary -e- to -o-]

(*iv*) Tuḷu -o- in the following answers to -a- of other dialects.

oreṭ—(to wrangle)—Cf. Tam. alaṭṭ—

oṇerɯ (moss, lichens)— „ aṇ—(to be attached closely)

ôvu (which?)—cf. the syntactic Interr. particle-â- of Tam., Mal. and Kann., and also Kûi à (which?)

(*v*) -ô- in the following corresponds to û of other dialects:

môḍu (cloudy)—cf. Tam. mûḍ-al (cloudiness)

cf. the following adaptations in Tuḷu from IA :—

môrti (image) for mûrti

môdæ (fool)   „   mûḍha

môtra (urine) „ mûtra

koṣṭa (leprosy),, kuṣṭa

(*vi*) -o- in the following few instances appears to be due to the avoidance of initial ʋ.

oḍæ (round cake).

(called vaḍe)— Tam. vaḍai.

oḷevu (curve)—,, vaḷavu, base vaḷ

oḷe (to call)—Mal. viḷi-, Tel. pil.-

Tuḷu regularly shows (like Kann. Kur. and Br.) b corresponding to ᴠ of Tam., Tel , Kûi and Gôṇḍi; the above forms with o- (apparently) < (*v*) + vowel) are possibly adaptations in Tuḷu of ᴠ words from the neighbouring Mal. It may be noted, however, that oḷe- (to call) and its counterpart le-in the folk speech are very common and frequently used while the form buḷ p (to cry out) normally corresponding to Mal viḷi, etc.) is but rarely used in common speech.

(*vi*) -u- in the following, neighboured by bilabials, corresponds to -i- of other southern dialects:

> bûr-, bûḷ - (to fall)—Tam. vîl , viḷ , Kann. bûḷ-:
>
> buḍ- (to leave)   —   Tam. viḍ-, Kann. buḍ-
>
> buḷ-p-(to cry out)   —   ,,   viḷ-i-
>
> buḷæ (standing crops) — ,,   viḷ-ai

(2) Vowels in secondary positions

(1) -i- — normal—

> er-i- (to burn)
>
> aḍ-i- (bottom)
>
> poḍ-i (powder)

(2) -a- — normal-in some cases —

kaḍ-a- (to cross), naḍa-(to walk), aḷa- (to measure), mada- (to forget.) etc.

(3) -e in verbs corresponds to ai- of Tam., and to -e- of Kann. kaḷe - (to be lost, deducted) — kaḷ ai, kaḷe-.
aḍe-(to shut)   —   aḍ-ai, aḍe.

(4) -æ-answers in nouns to Tamil-ai and Kann.—e.

bâḷæ (plantain tree) — vâl-ai, bâḷ e

iræ, iḷæ (leaf)—il-ai, elé

(3) The vowels ɯ and u as enunciatives.

(*i*) As in the other south Dr. dialects, the vocalic enunciative at the end of old monosyllabic bases with short radical vowels and short terminal consonants, is-u:

kaḍ-u (hard, firm), naḍ-u (middle), puru (snail, worm), ar-u (brim, edge), etc.

(*ii*) Monosyllabic bases with long radical vowels or with short radical vowels followed by geminated consonants or by consonant groups, show generally (see below for exceptions) the enunciative ɯ in **Tuḷu**. Colloquial Tamil in similar cases shows -ɯ, Mal.-ə, Kannaḍa and Telugu -u:

nâḍ ɯ (country) — Tam. nâḍɯ, Mal. nâḍə, Kann. nâḍ-u.
kâr ɯ (leg)   — Tam. kâlɯ, etc.

katṭ-ɯ (bond)   — Tam. katṭɯ, etc.

kaṇṇ-ɯ (eye) — Tam. kaṇṇɯ, etc.

Dissyllabic bases also show - ɯ :

pudar-ɯ (name)—Tam. peyar-ɯ, Kann. hesaru, Tel. peru

ugar ɯ (brackish) — Tam. uvarɯ, etc.

baraḍ-ɯ (barren) — „ varaḍɯ, etc.

(*iii*) Exceptions in Tuḷu to the above rule are furnished by instances where labial consonants or dorsal vowels in the neighbouring syllable are found; in all these cases the enunciative is -u and not ·ɯ :

> poṇṇ u (girl)
>
> jöv-u, beside jêv-ɯ (child, etc.)
>
> bolp-u (whiteness)
>
> ucc-u (kind of snake)
>
> moroḍ-u (empty)
>
> kapp-u (blackness)

(*iv*) Certain post-positional endings show ·ɯ; the rule of vocalic harmony pointed out in (*iii*) above is applicable here too.

ari (rice)   —   ari-n-ꭑ [Acc.] — Br. -n-i
                     ari-k-ꭑ [Dat.]
                     ari-ḍ-ꭑ [Loc.]
                     ari-ḍd-ꭑ [Abl.]

ûru (country village)—   ûru-n-u [Acc.]
                           ûru-g-u [Dat.]
                           ûru-ḍ-u [Loc.]
                           ûru-ḍd u [Abl.]— Br. -tt-u.

(*v*) The use of -u and -ꭑ in the following personal pronouns is illustrative of the same rule of vocalic harmony:

Honorific âr ꭑ (they), but âkuj-u, the plural proper.

Honorific imber-ꭑ (folk-speech mer-ꭑ) meaning this person) beside môkuj-u (these persons) the Plural proper.

(*vi*) -ꭑ or -u appears in the following conjugational forms; the rule of vocalic harmony is found here too:

(*a*) Third Person Sing. of the Present, the Past, the Perfect and the Pluperfect tenses:

Compare Third Person Present Sing. malp-uṇḍu of the folk-speech and ampuṇu of the Brahmins' dialect, with the corresponding Past Sing. malꭑṇḍ-ꭑ, antꭑṇ-ꭑ.

(*b*) Past participle — (malꭑdꭑ) antꭑdꭑ, (having made), but pôtu, (having gone), sûtu, tûdu (having seen), etc.

(*c*) Third Person Feminine Sing., Past, etc., with -aj-ꭑ : Pr. malpuvaj-ꭑ [ampuvaj-ꭑ, etc.

(*d*) Second and Third Persons Pl. (Masc. and Fem. only) of all tenses,—with -ar ꭑ, er-ꭑ : malpuvar-ꭑ, ampuvar ꭑ

(*e*) The Neg. tenses corresponding to (*c*) and (*d*) in the folk-dialect show -ꭑ.

[Note. In (*c*), (*d*) and (*e*) the enunciative is -ɯ only, as the immediately preceding syllable in these cases has no dorsal vowels]

(*f*) The Neuter Future Third Pers. Sing. with -p- shows -u only [note the influence of the bilabial];

     malpu, ampu.

(*g*) **Compare** Third Person Imperative (having -aḍ ɯ) with the so-called Potential (having -oḍ u) : malp aḍ-ɯ, amp-aḍ-ɯ (let him, her, it make) beside malp oḍ-u, amp oḍ-u (it is necessary to make) and mᴀḷtoṇḍu, antoṇḍu (making).

[Note: (1) Excepting the -u of monosyllabic words (see (*i*) above), all enunciatives (whether u or ɯ) are elided in **sandhi** in South Dr. dialects; this rule is true of Tulu also.

(2) While in Tam., Mal. and old Kann., the enunciatives need not necessarily appear after the consonants l, r, n, ṇ, ḷ, y, these enunciatives are invariably present in modern Tuḷu; of the condition of old Tulu we can have no direct idea as materials are lacking. See my paper on **Dr. Sandhi** for further information about the use of enunciatives in Dr.]

Some significant features of Tuḷu Phonology.

(1) The retention of ancient k- corresponding to the **k-derived** affricates and fricatives of certain dialects. .

(1) The sub-dialects show t-, s- and h- in initial positions, corresponding mostly to t- of other dialects.

The sub-dialectal variations are unique in **Tuḷu.**

(3) The operation of Accent-shift and Aphaeresis, resulting in l, r, d (<ḍ), j (and some cases of n and m) assuming initial positions of words.

Some specific instances of this change in **Tuḷu** are unique; but aphœresis has operated in **Kûi** and Telugu also.]

(4)   The correspondance of some cases of **Tuḷu** medial-**j**-(and **d**-) to-ṟ-of the other southern dialects.   [Unique.]

(5)   The correspondence of **Tuḷu r** (and intervocal ḷ in the Brahmin's speech) to the sound l of Tamil, etc.

[This correspondence is met with in certain Kann. and Tel. words also.]

(6)   The cleavage between Brahmins' speech and folk-**Tuḷu.**

THE RUDHĀRĪ DIALECT.

(High Rudhārī).

Where Spoken. The Rudhārī dialect, discovered by the present writer in 1930, is spoken in a region called Rudhār, which belongs to the Rājā of Chineṇi, a jāgīr in Jammu. It is situated about 70 miles north of Jammu town and borders on the lofty peak of Ṣuddha Mahādeya, a place of pilgrimage with a temple of Śiva flocked by thousands of pilgrims every year. Near it is also situated Gaurī **Kuṇḍ**, a place where Pārvatī is said to have performed the penance described by Kālidāsa in his Kumāra-sambhava. Rudhār is situated between two rivulets, the Raggī and the **Thaṇḍā Pāṇī** The Raggī is a larger stream dividing the **Khaśālī** tract from Rudhār, and falling into the Chenab at a point about 10 miles west of Ḍoḍā (the dialect of which, the Sirājī of Ḍoḍā, has been described in the **Linguistic Survey of India** Vol. VIII, Part II), and about 30 miles west of Bhadarwāh town. The most interesting place in Rudhār is a village recently named Bilandpur by the late Rājā of Chineṇi, but the old name of which is Zaṅgal "forest." It is situated on a lofty ridge about 7000 ft. high, with a natural grassy tableland on the top, and with dense forests on both sides. The other important villages are Drāmpū, Rāṇkā, Kharaōṭh, Saṅgā Charhottā and Assar. Of these five villages, the first three are situated on the lofty ridge mentioned above, and have a dialect of their own, which we shall call **High Rudhārī**, and which will be exclusively treated in this paper. The dialect of the fourth village, Saṅgā Charhottā, (which are really two villages representing a number of hamlets widely apart) may be called mid-Rudhārī, while it is called **nālerī Rudhārī** "Rudhārī of the valley" by the inhabitants. The dialect of the fifth village, Assar, a place near the junction of the second stream Ṭhaṇḍā Pāṇī with the Chenāb belongs to a region which is the lowest part of Rudhār. Its dialect is called by the inhabitants **Kaṇḍhiālū Rudhārī**—the

"Rudhārī of the Kaṇḍhī or sub-montane tract" which we shall call **Low Rudhārī**.

History. According to local tradition, **Drāmṛū** is the oldest village. It was originally independent, being ruled over by Rāṇās (petty chiefs) who were Biriāṇ Ṭhakkurs (and not **Rājpūts**) by caste. Here they had their own mintage, until they were driven out by **Rājpūt** immigrants from Chambā. These Chambyāl **Rājpūts** are said to have come from **Bhaṭṭī Chawārī** in Chambā. When Drāmṛū was seized by the **Rājpūts**, the Biriāṇ Ṭhakkurs then made a settlement at Zaṅgal, now called Bilandpur. Later, however, the Chambyāl colony at **Drāmṛū** was seized and annexed by Chineṇī, in which the whole region is now situated. It is important to take note of the fact that the oldest ruling caste here was the Ṭhakkur caste and that thǝ **Rājpūts** came later. Side by side with these two castes there was a third, thǝ untouchable caste. These untouchables are called "Meghs", and they probably came along with both the above castes from time to time It is these castes which mainly inhabit the region at present and contribute to the characteristic features of this dialect which is pre-eminently a caste-dialect.

Characteristic Features. Rudhārī has the following main features:—

I. It is a **Pahārī** dialect.

II. It is a caste-dialect.

We shall consider these points in order.

I. Rudhārī is bounded on the North by the Sirājī of Ḍoḍā. on the East by Khaṣālī , on the South by Seuṭī, Khaṣālī and Ḍogrī, and on the West by Ḍogrī. Besides these dialects, Bhadarwāhī, being spoken by a much larger number of people, is a lingua franca of these valleys and so exerts considerable influence on Rudhārī.

The Pahārī features of Rudhārī clearly appear in the following:—

(1) the preservation of Pl ʃ, as dʌʃ "ten", ʃuṇ "hear", 'ʃʌʃʃu "mother-in-law".

(2) the preservation of PI dental surd after a nasal, cf. Rudh. Bhad. dʌnt "tooth", dặt "bullock."

(3) The future tense in "l" cf.

	Rudhārī	Bhadarwāhī
"he will be"	bhòla	'bholo
"he will start"	'cʌlːla	'ɕʌlẹlo

(4) the genetive in "r", cf.

	Rudh.	Bhad.
"of the horse"	'ghoṛera	'ghoṛẹro
"of the man"	mẫṇuera	mḛ́ṇẹro

In its vowel-system Rudhārī has preserved a pre-Bhadarwāhī stage in the following:—

(1) in the Static Participle:—

	Rudh.	Bhad.
"(has or had) arrived"	'ʌora	'ǿro
" „ gone"	'gʌora	'jǿro
" „ eaten"	'khʌora	'khǿro

(2) in the Conjunctive Participle—

	Rudh.	Bhad.
"having died"	'mʌrita	'mẹrtặ
"having cut"	'kʌṭṭita	'kẹṭṭtặ
"having fought"	'lʌṛita	'lẹṛtặ

In its consonantal system, Rudhārī (High Rudhārī as spoken by the Rājpūts ánd Low Rudhārī in general) has preserved the pre-Bhadarwāhī stage of the peculiar consonants ʈ̣, ɖ̣, ɖ̣ɦ so regular in Bhad. and Khaś, cf. the following—

	Rudh.	Bhad. and Khaś.
"brown bear"	'bhrʌbbu	'ɖ̣ɦẹbbu
"brotherless woman" (a term of abuse)	nɪ'bhrei	nɪɖ̣ɦ̣ai
"sleep"	nɪddər	nɪɖ̣
"grass"	trɑṭ	ʈ̣ɑṭ
"thirst"	trɪʃ	ʈ̣ɪʃ

"shoe"	trʌppəɽ	ɖʌppəɽ
"three"	trɑe	ɖɑɪ
"ringworm"	dʌddəɽ	ɖʌɖɪ

Grammatically, its relations with the neighbouring Pahāṛī dialects may be indicated by the following examples:—

(1) "thou art":—

| Rudh. | Khaś. | Bhad. | Śeuṭɪ |
| ꞌeꞔi | ꞌʌꞔu | ʌꞔ | hǎ |

(2) "on the horse":—

High Rudh.	ꞌghoɽetɪr
Low Rudh.	ꞌghoɽebʌl
Mid Rudh.	ꞌghoɽeur
Khas.	ꞌghoɽetɪr
S′euṭī	ꞌghoɽetɪr
Sunḍhlāsɪ	ꞌghoɽebər
Bhad.	ꞌghoɽepuɽ

In vocabulary, its close relation with the neighbouring Pahāṛī dialects may be indicated by the following:—

(1) Numerals.

	Rudh.	Khaś.	Bhad.
"one"	ekk	ekk	ʌkk
"two"	duɪ	duɪ	dui
"three"	trɑe	ʧɑɪ	ʧɑɪ
"four"	ꞔəur	ꞔəur	ꞔɸr
"five"	pʌnꞔ	pʌnꞔ	pʌnꞔ
"six"	ʃɑ̀	ʃɑ̀	ʃɑ̀

(2) Sirājī influence may be noted in the deaspiration of consonants in Rudh. hʌtt "hand", ꞌhati "elephant", heṭṭ "below.".

(3) Interrogative pronouns: –

	Rudh.	Khaś.	Bhad.
"what"	chə	khjə	kuṇ
"why?"	keꞌtʌṇ	ki	ki

The following shibboleths indicate its relation with the neighbouring dialect Khaṣāli:—

	Rudh.	**Khaṣ**
"my"	màra	'mera
"thy"	tòra	'tera
"died"	'mʌriga	'mʌri gja
"above"	ṭɪkkər	bãmni
"hither"	'idi	'ira
"whither?"	kẹ̀di	kʌra
"somewhere"	kẹ̀r̩khi	kocch
"but"	pà	pʌr

The following words peculiar to Rudhārī have an interesting bearing on the history of Indian Linguistics:—

'oḍḍna	"to roof a house"
àli	"egg"
'ãkhu	"tear from the eye."

The above phenomena clearly establish the existence of High Rudhārī as a distinct dialect. That it differs considerably from the neighbouring Low Rudhārī may be noted from the following words:—

	High Rudh.	**Low Rudh.**
"whither"	kẹ̀di	'kudi
"above"	ṭɪkkər	'khʌr̩a or upper
"where"	kẹ̀r̩i	kùr̩i
"somewhere"	kẹ̀r̩khi	'kute
"in this way"	ẹ̀mbre	ĩa

In pronunciation High Rudh. differs from Low Rudh. in the change of ɟ, ɟh into ʐ, ʐh. cf.

	High Rudh.	**Low Rudh.**
"if"	ʐe	ɟe
"root"	ʐìl	ɟìl
"to sleep"	'ʐhulna	'ɟhulna
"to fall"	'ʐhaɪ̩na	'ɟhʌr̩na

In Grammar, the following differences may be noted:—

(1) As noted above, the Locative in High Rudh. has the termination tɪr, but Low Rudh. has bʌl cf.

	High Rudh.	Low Rudh.
"on the horse"	'ghoɾetɪr	'ghoɾebʌl

(2) The "potential mood" with the "can" significance in High Rudh has the root bʌṭ- or sʌn-, but in Low Rudh. it has ʃʌk-, cf.

	High Rudh.	Low Rudh.
"I can be"	ʌũ bhoĩ 'bʌṭtɑ	ʌũ bhoĩ 'ʃʌkta
or	ʌũ bhoĩ 'sʌntɑ	
	(Rājpūt).	
	ʌũ bhoĩ 'ɕhʌntɑ (Untouchables)	

II. It has been noted above that there are three castes in Rudhār. The speech of each of these castes has peculiarities of its own. And then there are over-lappings, giving rise to many complicated permutations and combinations.

(1) Phonetically the following differences may be noted:—

(*a*) Intervocalic n in Rājpūt pronunciation remains unchanged, as in 'pɑni "water," 'khɑna "to eat," but it has become ṇ in the pronunciation of the Ṭhakkurs and the Meghs.

(*b*) Suffixal k and t in the Rājpūt pronunciation remains unchanged, but in Megh-Ṭhakkur pronunciation it varies between g, g, and g, ḍ, d and ḍ, cf.

	Rājput.	Megg-Thakkur.
"from the horse"	'ghoɾeka	ghoɾegɑ, gɑ, gɑ
"on the horse"	'ghoɾetɪr	ghoɾe dɪr, dɪr or ḍir

(*c*) In Megh-Ṭhakkur pronunciation there occurs a peculiar j (soft j as in Russian mɑja "my") which lightly palatalizes the preceding consonant (for details see below p. 450). But the phenomenon does not occur in Rājpūt pronunciation cf.

	Rājput.	Megh-Thakkur.
"Mares"	'ghoṛia	ghorja
"(Women) become"	'bhõtia	bhõtja

(narrow transcription ǰa).

(d) For "can" the Rājputs and Thakkurs use the root sʌn—, but the Untouchables use the root ɕhʌn—, apparently derived from PI ksam cf.

	Rājpūt-Thakkur.	Megh.
"I am"	ʌũ 'sʌnta	ʌũ 'ɕhʌnta

(2) Grammatically, the following differences may be noted:—

(a) The Subjunctive Mood differs thus:—

	Rājpūt	Megh	Thakkur.
"I may be"	bhoũ	bhõt or bhõth	bhon
' I may go"	'gʌɕɕhã	'gʌcchã	gã̃
"I may accomplish"	'keri sã	'keri 'ɕhʌrã	'keri'sʌrã

(b) In the Personal Pronoun, the second pers. sg. has the stem tu in Rājpūt and Megh speech, but among the Thakkurs it has ti. cf.

	Megh-Rājpūt	Thakkur
"by thee"	tũi	tī
"to thee"	tuiɑn	tıɑn

But while in the 2nd person sg. the Rajpūt and the Megh coincide, in the 2nd pers. genitive plural the Rājpūt is left alone, while the Thakkur and the Megh coincide. cf.

	Rājpūt	Megh-Thakkur
"your"	tu'hara	tùra
Similarly "its"	ɪjara	èra
"his"	tɪ'hara	tèra
"whose"	kɪ'hara	kèra
"which (of the many)"	kuṇʑìna	kuṇ'ɉhɑ

(c) As regards the Past Participle, the Megh-Thakkur participle has "t" more frequently than the Rājpūt correspondent. cf.

	Rājpūt	Megh-Thakkur
"washed"	dhoa	'dhota
"drank"	pia	'pita

(d) Similar difference is visible in the Conjunctive Participle, the Rājpūts changing the final a of verbs into ę, to which ita is added, the Megh-Thakkur speech keeping the a unchanged. cf.

	Rājpūt	Megh-Thakkur
"having eaten"	'khęīta	'khaīta
"having displeased"	ru'ʃęīta	ru'ʃaīta

The classification of Rudhāri.

The above complications raise a problem for general Linguistics. Is the geographical classification of languages universally applicable? Will not the name of Rudhārī (which is a geographical name) for these caste dialects be arbitrary and misleading? Among which groups of dialects should Rudhārī be classified? Until the caste complications, noted above are explained (a subject for future research), a secure classification of the dialect will not be possible.

May we not provisionally group it along with the Khaśālī dialect? No doubt there are two difficulties in the way of its affiliation to Khaśālī. In the first place, Rudhārī has no neuter gender, while all the other dialects of the Khaś group have it. Thus cf.

	Rudh.	Other Khaś dialects.
"a big serpent"	'bara sʌpp	'bara sʌpp (masc.)
"a big house"	'bara ghʌr	'barughʌr (neut.)

Again, Rudhārī has no epenthesis, while the vowel-system of all the other dialects concerned betrays a definite influence of Umlaut. Thus the Rudhārī plural of 'mʌchli "fish" is 'mʌchlia, while in the other dialects it is is 'męchli (Khaś) or 'michli (Śeutī).

In spite of the above circumstances, it seems to be desirable to group it tentatively with the Khaśālī group, for many of the general features of this group characterise this dialect as well. For instance, (a) in Rudhārī as in all the other members of the Khaśālī group, the oblique of all non-feminine nouns ending in consonants has the suffix a, and of those ending in a has the

suffix e, cf. 'ghoraseī "with a stone (ghoṛ)" but 'ghoreseī' "with
a horse ('ghoṛa)". (b) the Dative postposition in Rudh., as
in all other dialects of the Khaś. group is n or ni. (c) in Rudh.,
parallel to Khaś, in the oblique of all nouns and adjectives
ending in i, the i is changed into ia or jʌ, as 'ghoṛia or 'ghoṛja
"by the mare". (d) Besides the above facts, social reasons
seem to require this grouping. For marriage relations between
Khaśāli and Rudhāri people are very common, and consequently
the interaction between these dialects is quite natural.

The number of speakers.

According to the estimate of the Zaildār of Rudhār, the
total number of speakers speaking the various dialects of Rudhāri
is approximately as follows:—

	Number of speakers	Number of houses
High Rudhārī	400	98
Mid Rudh.	100	25
Low Rudh.	100	21

He bases this calculation on the number of houses in which
these dialects are spoken, taking four persons as the rough
average population of each house.

A description of High Rudhārī.

We shall now take up a systematic description of the dialects.

I. Phonetically, the following phenomena may be noted:—

The vowel-system is simple. The dialect has neither mixed
vowels, as in B'had, nor epenthesis, as in Khaś and Bhad., cf.

	Rudh.	Bhad.	Khaś.
"four"	ɕəur	ɕɸr	çəur
"caps (women's)"	'ʝuʝia	'ʝyʝi	'ʝuʝi
"fishes"	'mʌchlia	'meçhli	'meçhli
"with elephants"	'hatia-seī	'hethi-seī	'hertiɑ sathi

Besides the back vowels ʌ and ɑ, as in 'cʌla "start", 'ghʌṛɑ
"pot", there occurs, in the Megh pronunciation, the front-vowel
a, somewhat like French a, after the peculiar palatalized conso-
nants, (cf. p. 445) as in the following:—

"these things (fem.) were washed"	'dhot̯a	('dhot̯a)
"these things (fem.) were spoken"	'bolḷa	('boll̯a)
"these things (fem.) were drunk"	'pitt̯a	('pit̯a)

Of the front vowels, there occur i, ɪ, ę and e but not ε cf.

	Rudh.	Khaś.
"hair"	keʃ	kɐʃ
"belly"	peṭ	peṭ
"sister"	bèn	bèn

ę is a very close e and is pronounced as in English "bed", cf.

"by him"	'ṭęni
"by whom?"	'kęni
"come!" (pl.)	'ęɕɕha

Diphthongs are of more frequent occurrence in Rudh. than in Khaś., in which, in many instances, the corresponding sounds are monophthongs or semi-vowels followed by vowels. cf.

	Rudh.	Khaś.
"servant"	nʌokər	nokər
"arrived"	ˈʌorɑ	'urɑ
"bring!"	nèɑ	ˌnjɑ̀
"to her"	tèɡn	tjɑ̀n
"to this lady"	ìan	jɑ̀ni

As compared to Khaśālī and Marmatī, Rudhārī may be called ʌ -a dialect, for it has ʌ, ɑ where the other two dialects have ę, ε, ɔ, o respectively, cf.

	Rudh.	Khaś	Marm.
"axe"	'mʌkku	'mękku	'mɔkku
"knee"	ʐɑ̀ṇu	ʐę̀ṇu	ʐɔ̀ṇu

The high falling tone is significant in this dialect, cf.

	"foot ball"	'guli
but	"kernel"	gùli
	"eat! (you)"	khɑ
but	"eat!" (thou)	khɑ̀
	"put on"	lɑ
but	"saw"	lɑ̀

(2) In the consonant-system, the following special features may be mentioned:—

(a) The suffixal or intervocalic plosives in the Rājpūt pronunciation remain unchanged, but in the Megh-Ṭhakkur pronunciation they are vocalized, as has been illustrated above (p. 444). Even the initial k of the auxiliary verb 'kẹnna "to do" becomes g, g̣ or g̱ in the latter speech, cf.

	Rājpūt	Megh-Ṭhakkur.
"I am eating"	ʌū khae 'kẹttɑ	ʌū khae 'gettɑ, 'gettɑ or 'g̱ẹttɑ

(b) Of nasal consonants, ṇ sometimes occurs at the end of words, as kʊṇ " what " bʌṇ, " forest ", but in intervocalic position it does not so frequently occur in Rājpūt pronunciation, cf. 'kẹni " by what " 'pani " water ".

(c) The alveolo-palatal fricatives c̣ and c̣h are of common occurrence in the Rājpūt pronunciation, but they are rare in Megh-Ṭhakkur speech, which preserves the original c and ch, cf.

	Rājpūt	Megh-Ṭhakkur.
" to graze "	'c̣arna	'carna
" any one "	kẽc̣	'kẽc
" fish "	'mʌchli	'mʌchli
" calf "	'bʌc̣hṛu	'bʌcchu

(d) High Rudhārī has preserved in some instances the palato-alveolar fricative ʃ for which the corresponding consonant in the neighbouring dialects is velar cf.

	Rudh.	Khaś.	Bhad.
"Mother-in-law"	'ʃʌʃʃu	ʃẽχu	ʃɪkh
"poison"	bɪʃ	bìχ	bɪkh

(e) Like other Pahāṛi dialects, Rudhāṛi has changed the initial PI v to b, as in bat "wind", 'bela "time", but in the interior of words the reverse change occurs, b becoming a bilabial ʋ, as bʌbb "father" but 'baʋɪan " to the father ", 'baʋa " O father!"

(f) An interesting phenomenon is the occurrence of significant double consonants as contrasted with merely long consonants, cf.

"he will speak"	bòl : la
but "you may speak"	bòlla
"he will open"	khòl : la
but "you may open"	khòlla
"to knead"	'sʌn : na
but "to put, accomplish or be able"	'sʌnna.

(g) But the most interesting phenomenon is the occurrence of Palatalized consonants in the Megh-Ṭhakkur pronunciation noted above (p. 444). These consonants somewhat resemble the Slavonic palatalized consonants, and not only the plosives, but also the nasal n and the lateral l participate in this phenomenon. Further examples:

"(women) drink"	'pit,a	('pitja)
"(women) will speak"	bòll,a	(bòll,ja)
"(women) will do"	kẹ̀ll,a	(kẹ̀ll,ja)
"(we women) will start"	cʌln,ʋɪã	(cʌlnʋɪja)
"(we women) will speak"	bònn,ʋɪã	(bònnʋɪjã)
"(we women) will give"	dẹ̀ʋn,ã	(dẹ̀ʋnʋɪjã).

The n, has a sound somewhere midway between French ɲ and Russian ӎ. The exact description of these consonants, however, is a subject for further investigation.

(h) As regards the consonant-groups tr, dr, bhr, it has been noted above (p. 441) that High Rudhāri as spoken by the Rājpūts has preserved them. But in Megh-Ṭhakkur speech some words have ṭ, ḍ, ḍh, as in the examples given above, but even here individuals vary.

(i) Rudhāri has great aversion to nasality. Nasality in the other dialects of the Khaś. group is an incident or often the only indication of the Grammatical Plural number, but in Rudhāri this distinctive feature of plural does not occur in oblique cases of nouns and adjectives, nor has the dialect shown any substitute for this nasality. Thus 'ghoṛe-sẹi means at the same time "with the horse" or "with the horses", and only the context will show whether one or many horses are meant. In

the nominative plural (fem.) **Khaś.** has ẓìbbã for "tongues", but Rudh. has ẓibba, without nasality. A striking example of this aversion is **mằn** "to the black bean", dative of mằ (Skr. māṣa-). In this word the vowel **ằ** has absolutely no trace of nasalisation, as it has in English "man".

More details regarding this will be noticed as we proceed with morphology.

II. Grammatically, the following general points may be noted: —

(1) Rudhārī, like other dialects of the **Khaś.** group, has a final **a** in words like 'ghoṛa "horse", 'mằṛa "my", 'kala "black", tia "was".

(2) Rudh. has no neuter gender, as noted above (p. 446). It has only two genders, masc. and fem.

(3) Like Bhad. and other dialects of the **Khaś.** group, Rudhārī shows distinction of gender even in *personal* pronoun 2nd person plural, cf.

	Rudh.	Khaś.	Bhad.
"you (men)"	tu	tu	tus
'you (women)"	tũa	tũã	'tũsa

But unlike these dialects, *it does not have* this distinction in the first person, cf.

	Rudh.	Khaś.	Bhad.
"we (men)"	ằ	ằ	ʌs
"we (women)"	ằ	ã̀	'ʌsã̀

(4) Rudhārī has no distinction for the plural number in the oblique of nouns and adjectives (p. 450).

(5) As in other dialects of the Khaś. group, the oblique (except the agent case) of all non-feminine nouns ending in consonants has the suffix **a**, and of those ending in **a** has the suffix e, (cf. p. 417); thus the instrumental sg. of the word ghoṛ which means "a stone" both in Khaś. (including Rudh.) and Bhad. is in **Khaś. group** 'ghoṛa-seĭ "with a stone," but of 'ghoṛa "horse" it is 'ghoṛeṣĭ "with a horse". In Bhad., however, 'ghoṛeṣĭ is

the form in both senses, and only the context will show whether Bhad. 'ghoṛe-sẹĭ means "with a horse" or "with a stone". The genitive in Rudh, however, is an exception, which has e in both the senses, cf. Rudh. 'ghoṛera, which has four meanings—: "of the horse", "of the horses", "of stone", "of stones".

(6) As in other dialects of the Khaś group, the final ĭ of all nouns and adjectives is, in oblique cases, changed into ia. cf.

"thy mare struck me"   tòria 'ghoṛia Aŭ 'mara.

"he made a sign with a finger" 'tẹni 'Aŋgulia-sẹĭ sart ki

(7) A feature peculiar to Rudh. is the nom. fem. pl. in ia, cf. "I ate many chupātis":—

Rudh.	mĭ 'bAṛia 'roṭṭia khaia
Khaś.	mĭ 'bẹṛi 'roṭṭi khei
Bhad.	mĭ 'mẹti 'rɸṭṭi khẹi

III. We shall now describe the grammatical peculiarities in due order.

(1) Declension of nouns and adjectives.

(a) The nominative case of fem. nouns and adjectives ends in ia, correspoding to iā in Hindī and Panjābī, cf. 'ghoṛia "mares", Khaś. 'ghoṛi, Bhad. 'ghɸṛi.

(b) The agent case sg. and pl. of all nouns and adjectives ends in e, whether the word ends in a vowel or a consonant (cf. p. 451). Thus 'ghoṛe has four meanings:—

(i) "by a horse" (ii) "by horses" (iii) "by a stone" (iv) "by stones".

(c) The dative case sg. and pl. has the termination n, Khaś. having ni (as in Curāhī) but Bhad. Jo. If the stem ends in a consonant, preterminational a is added to it, as 'ghoṛan "to the stone", but if it ends in a simple vowel, ia, ua or ia is added, cf.

"to the horse or horses"	'ghoṛian.
"to the oilman or oilmen"	'telian.
"to the man or men"	mãnuan.

If the word ends in a diphthong, the alternation may be noticed from the following examples:—

"to the rain or to the rains"   'dewɑn

"to the crow or to the crows"   'kɑwɑn.

Besides the Dative of Purpose, which has the termination n, the dialect has another dative which may be called "Acquisitive" according to the terminology of (European) classical Grammarians*. It is the Dative of use or benefit, signifying "for the use of", "for the sake of". The termination for the Acquisitive in Khaś. group (including High Rudhāri) is interesting. It is 'kɪte, PI kr̥te "for the sake of". cf.

"for myself"   'ʌpne 'kɪte.

Here, according to the speakers, 'ʌpnɪɑn (with the -n dative) will be wrong. cf.

'mīkɑ 'ʌpnekɪte bi 'purɑ 'pēsɑ nɛ̃i 'ẹse "I have no money sufficient even for myself."

(d) The genetive has the termination 'era ('ẹra after the feminines in i) for both the numbers and genders, whether the word ends in a consonant or a vowel. cf.

"of the brother or of brothers"   'bhrɑera.

"of the horse or of horses, of stone or of
           stones"   'ghoṛera

"of the man or of men"   mānuera

"of the mare or of mares"   'ghoṛieṛa

of the mother-in-law or of mothers-in-law"   'ʃʌʃʃuera

The dialect, in this respect, differs from both Khaś and Bhad. cf. the above with the Khaś. and Bhad forms:—

	Khaś.	Bhad.
' of the brother"	'bhrɑrɑ	'dh̥lɑẹro
"of brothers"	'bhrɑrɑ	'dh̥lākẹro
"of the horse"	'ghoṛerɑ	'ghoṛẹro
"of horses"	'ghoṛerɑ	'ghoṛākẹro
"of stone"	'ghoṛɑrɑ	'ghoṛẹro

*cf. Paley: Euripides (1874) Vol. II, p. 16.

"of stones"	'ghoṛara	'ghoṛākeṛo
"of the mare"	'ghoṛiara	'ghøṛeṛo
"of the mares"	'ghoṛiāra	'ghøṛikeṛo
"of the mother-in-law	ʃệxυara	'ʃɪkkhākeṛo

(e) In High **Rudhārī**, as in the other dialects of the **Khaś.** group, there are two cases –the Ablative and the Allative[1] (the "near" case)—which have the same termination **ka**, thus **'gharaka** means "near the house" and also "from the house." In Bhad. however, only the Allative has **kà**, the Ablative having **'keṛā** cf. Bhad.

"near the house"	'ghʌrekà
but "from the house"	'ghʌrekeṛā

The Allative case is also used in connection with the verb **'mɪlna** "to meet." e.g.

"Finally" all the brothers came and met **Rāma**": –'pʌtta 'sare bhrɑ 'ramka 'eɛɛhita 'mɪle. Here 'ramka is Allative, lit. meaning "near or approaching Rāma," and is used in connection with the verb **'mɪle** "met."

The following interesting sentence, in which both the Ablative and the Allative cases are used, will illustrate the difference between them—

"I am afraid of going near **Rāma**":—

Rudh. ʌũ ramaka gʌɛɛhneka 'dʌrta

Bhad. ʌũ 'rameka 'ganekeṛā 'dʌrta

Here Rudh. has **ka** in both cases, Bhad. has **ka** in the Allative, **keṛā** in the Ablative. The Allative is also used in the sense of possession e. g.

"My brother has a hundred Rupees."—

màre 'bhʌjjeka ẹkk ʃʌo rə'pʌjje ẹsən

(f) The Elative or "out of" case is signified by the postposition **māta** among the **Rājpūts** and **māga** among the **Meghs** and **Ṭhakkurs** cf.

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1. Vide Eliot's Finish Grammar, P. 145.

	Rājpūt	Megh Thakkur.
"out of the well"	khuija māta	khuija Māga

In Bhad. the corresponding postposition is mʌzerã or simply 'erã, *e.g.* khue-mʌzerã or khuerã "out of the well."

(*g*) The Locative proper has among the Rājpūts, the postposition tɪr, but among the Meghs and Thakkurs it is dɪr, dɪr or ðɪr, cf.

	Rājpūt	Megh-Thakhur
"on the horse"	'ghoɽetɪr	'ghoɽedɪr, dɪr or ðɪr.

(*h*) As in other dialects of the Khaś. group and in Bhad., there occurs the "down-from-up" or Delative case. The postposition used in this sense is tɪ̀ra or tra (in fluent speech). In slow speech the postposition used is tɪ̀rga *cf.*

"he fell down from the horse":—

tē 'ghoɽetɪ̀ra 'khɪrki ga.

"Come down soon from this tree":—

e 'buṭṭatɪra tʌole 'eeha.

(*i*) As in other dialects of the Khaś. group, there occurs a case which may be called "Directive" case, though in another paper "the Dialects of the Khaśālī group" (unpublished at the moment of writing these lines) I have called it the "prepositional dative". The former name, however, is more appropriate, as it better gives the sense of the case. When direction is implied, many of the above cases get an additional postposition n "towards". Thus the following forms of the Directive arise:—

(*i*) Allative Directive (*ii*) Locative Directive (*iii*) Illative Directive (*iv*) Relative Directive.

(*i*) Allative Directive. In the sense of "towards near", the Allative Directive is formed by the addition of the dative postposition n to the postposition ka "near",—the whole postposition being kan (Rājpūt), gan, gan or gan (Megh-Thakkur), *e.g.* "ghoɽekan "towards-near the horse".

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1. Vide Eliot's Finnish Grammar, P. 155.

So Rudb. 'ghoɾɪɑn 'cʌla and 'ghoɾekɑn 'cʌla have a shade of difference. The former means, "he moved towards the horse," the latter, "he moved towards near the horse", his object being not only to direct himself to the direction of the horse, but also to approach it. In Bhad. also the same sense is indicated by the postposition 'kaɟo, *e.g* , tɛ̃ ghoɾe-kaɟo 'cʌlo "he moved towards-near the horse'".

(*ii*) Locative Directive. In the sense of "towards-on" the Locative Directive is formed by the addition of the Dative post-position n to the Locative postposition tɪr. with a connecting vowel ɑ between, *i.e.* tɪrɑn "towards-on". Rudh. (and the other allied dialects of the Khaś. group) will not allow an idiom like "came upon" before the coming is finally effected; it would require "came towards upon" (tɪrɑn) in this sense. The following High Rudh. sentences will make this difference clear :—

'dhɑrɑtɪr deo ɑ

"The rain has come (lit. came) upon the mountain". Here the rain has actually reached the mountain, and so the ordinary termination tɪr is used.

'dhɑrɑtɪrɑn deo 'ʌorɑse

"the rain has come towards upon the mountain".

Here the rain has not yet reached the mountain, and so tɪrɑn is used. The tense "has come" is here equivalent to "has started for".

(*iii*) Illative Directive. In the sanse of "towards-in" the Illative-Directive is formed by the addition of the Dative postposi-tion n to the Illative postposition mɑ̃ —the whole postposition being mɑ̃n, *cf.* tɛ̃ phɑʈɑ mɑ̃ta 'khʌḍḍɑ mɑ̃n 'khɪrkɑ "He fell from the hill towards in the stream". The "towards-in" suggests his direction towards the stream before he is actually in it.

(*iv*) Relative Directive. In the sense of "behind-towards" the Relative[1] Directive is formed by the addition of the dative post-

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1. Vide Eliot's Finnish Grammar I'. 162.

position n to the post-position 'pʌtti "behind"—the whole post-position being 'pʌtiɑn "behind towards." cf.

tẽ màre 'bhrɑpʌtiɑn 'dʌurɑ
"he ran behind towards my brother,"

sie 'gʌuwɑpʌtiɑn ʃhʌpp 'dɪtti
"the leopard pounced behind towards the cow."

(j) As in the other dialects of the Khaś. group, the Prolative case occurs in the sense of "over" and the postposition 'tɪkre is used in this sense, cf. the difference:—

'ghoɾe tɪkre 'makhị ʋḍre 'keṭti
"the fly is flying over the horse"

but 'ghoɾe tɪr 'makhi 'bɪʃʃuri
"the fly is sitting on the horse."

(k) As regards the declension of Adjectives, masculine adjec-tives ending in ɑ are not fully declined in all the cases. In oblique cases, as in Hindī, the final ɑ is changed into e, e. g., cf.

'roɾa mãnu "good man"

but i 'roɾe mãnuɑn 'bolla "speak to this good man."

Feminine adjectives ending in i change the final i into iɑ in oblique cases. cf.

'roɾi 'kuɾi "good girl"

but ɪ̃a 'roɾia 'kuɾiɑ 'bollɑ
"speak to this good girl."

All feminine pronominal or possessive adjectives participate in this declension. cf.

tòriɑ 'ghoɾiɑ ʌũ 'mɑrɑ
"thy mare struck me."

màriɑ 'ʌmmã ʌũ 'mɑrɑ
"my mother beat me."

'rɑmeriɑ 'ghoɾiɑ miɑn du'lʌtti 'dɪtti
"Rāma's mare kicked me."

'raʒeria màliɑ miɑn 'bollɑ
"the king's mother said to me."

(*l*) The Definite Article. There occurs in the Dialects of the Khaś group a form of the pronominal adjective ending in -ʐɪ̀na (Rājpūt) or -ʝha (Megh-Ṭhakkur) in High Rudhāri. The sense of this ʐɪ̀na or -ʝha somewhat corresponds to that of the Definite Article in English. cf.

bʊ̀ḍḍaʐɪna 'keḍi ga "whither is the old man gone?"

Here bʊ̀ḍḍaʐɪna refers to the old man of the house, or the old man already mentioned. Similarly

bʊ̀ḍḍiʐɪni 'keḍi gei
"where is the old woman gone?"

ɕhẽlluʐɪna 'cʌli pja
"the kid (already mentioned in the story) started"

'bheḍruʐɪ̀ne 'cʌli gee
"the sheep (already mentioned) went away."

(*m*) The declension of numerals in oblique cases is somewhat irregular. cf.

ekk	'ekki seì	"with one"
duɪ	'duì seì	"with two"
trae	treì seì	"with three"
ʃà	ʃeì seì	"with six"
sʌtt	'sʌtta seì	"with seven"
nʌo	'nʌuwa seì	"with nine"
bì	bìa seì	"with twenty"
ʃʌo	'ʃʌuwa seì	"with a hundred"

(2) In the declension of Pronouns the following features may be mentioned:—

(*a*) The gender in the personal Pronoun 2nd person Plural has been already pointed out (p. 451).

(*b*) The genitive Personal Pronoun 1st and 2nd person sg. is peculiar:—

	High Rudh.	Khaś.	Bhad.
"my"	màra	'mera	'mero
"thy"	tòra	'tera	'tero

(c)   As in Khaś., the stem of the 1st person   plu^... ·æquentative
à — *e. g.*   ⁻ticiple

à	"we"
àra	"our"
āka	"from us"
ātɪr	"on us"

(d)   In the forms of the Demonstrative Pronouns there are variations among some villages.   In Bilandpur the pronouns are

i	"this"	(very near)
e	"this"	(less near, but visible)
u	"that"	(distant but visible)
tè	"he or that"	(distant and invisible)

In the village Kharaŏṭh, however, neither i nor u occurs.   e or u is used instead.

As in Khaś., the word for "his" and "her" is the same, *viz.,* tèra (Ṭhakkur), tɪ'hara (Rājpūt).

(3)   In Conjugation, High Rudhārī has the following notable features:—

(a)   The Verb Substantive has an interesting form 'ęsi "thou art," so much resembling the corresponding Sanskrit and (Homeric) Greek forms.   The only modern Indian language with a similar form is Bāshgalī, which has ĕsi.   A comparison with the neighbouring dialects will show the distinctive features of the Rudhārī Verb Substantive:—

		H. Rudh.	Khaś.	Bhad.
Singular	1.	'ęsã	'ʌsã	ęī
	2.	'ęsi, ęsī, ɪsi	'ʌsu	ʌs
	3.	'ęse	'ʌse	àe
Plural	1.	'esu	'ʌsū	ʌm
	2.	'ęsa	'ʌsū	ʌth
	3.	'ęsən	'ʌsū	ʌn

(b)   The terminations of the Present Indefinite Tense are simple: sg. ta (masc.), ti (fem.; pl. te (masc.); the fem. pl. has a peculiar tia (Rājpūt), ța (Megh-Ṭhakkur), cf.

(*l*) "To become":—

Khaś	H. Rudh.	'bhŏtia (Rājpūt)	'bhŏt̬a (Megh.Thakkur)
(r	Khaś.	'bhʌŏtĭ	
	Bhad.	bhocən	

Verbs ending in a vowel have a nasal final of the stem in this tense. cf.

	H. Rudh.	Bhad.
"I eat"	'khãta	'khatã
"I drink"	'pĭta	'pitã
"I become"	'bhŏta	'bhotã

(*c*) As in other dialects of the Khaś. group, there is a rich variety of Tenses, with delicate and specific shades of meaning. Besides the Present Indefinite Tense, there occurs the Durative, which is of 3 kinds:—

(*i*) Incipient Durative. This indicates that the action is either just going to occur. or its early stages have just started. It is formed by adding the Verb Substantive to the present participle. cf.

ʌû 'ʒhulta 'ęsã	"I am just going to sleep, or I am napping, overpowered with sleep."
but ʌû 'ʒhulta	"I sleep" — indefinitely with reference to time or place.
ʌû 'kʌsri 'bhŏta 'ęsã	"I am getting ill."
ʌû 'khãta 'ęsã	"I am about to take my meal, or, I have sat down to take my meal."

(*ii*) Imperfect Durative. This indicates that the action has passed the incipient stage, but is yet incomplete. It is formed by adding the present participle of the verb 'kęana "to do." *cf.*

ʌû khae 'kętta	"I am eating"
ʌû 'kęre 'kętta	"I am doing"
ʌû gʎ ęche 'kętta	"I am going".

(iii) The continuous Durative. This has a frequentative
or habitual sense. It is formed by adding the present participle
of **rāna** "to keep, remain" to the present participle of a verb. cf.

    tè səda 'khắta rāta   "he is always eating."

(d) The present and the past Perfect are formed from the
Static Participle:—

    Aũ 'kʌsri 'bhura 'ǫsã

or **Aũ 'kʌsri bhoĩ 'gʌora ǫsã**
      "I have become ill."

    tè gʌora thia
      "he had gone."

(e) As in other dialects of the **Khaś**. group, there is a
Pluperfect, which is formed by **'ʌtthi** "had been", which is used
either independently, as

    tè mãnu tęṛi 'ʌtthi   "that man had been there."
or as an auxiliary, e. g.

    tè Jerap pie 'kętta 'ʌtthi   "he had been drinking wine."

A notable feature of this **'ʌtthi** is that it is unaffected by
gender and number. Thus it remains the same whether the sub-
ject is masc. or fem., sg. or pl. cf.

    tè mãnu tęṛi 'ʌtthi   "that man had been there."
    tè zənan tęṛi 'ʌtthi   "that woman had been there."
    'tęni 'bʌṛe ǫor 'mari 'sʌore 'ʌtthi

              "he had killed many thieves."
    'tęni 'bʌṛia zənania 'mari 'sʌoria 'ʌtthi
    "he had killed many women."

It is used only in the 2nd and the 3rd person, not in the 1st
person.

It necessarily implies the absence of the subject at the time or
place referred to by the speaker.

'dera ìṛi 'ʌtthi "the camp had been here," implying that "the
camp now is not here."

    Aũ tęṛi ga tə tè 'ʌgru tęṛi 'ʌtthi
    "he had been there before I had reached there."

boll	"say!"
bòlla	"(he) said"

kẹnna   "to do"

'kẹtta (Rājpūt) 'gẹtta (Megh Thakkur) }	"he does"
'kẹre	"he may do"
kẹ̀rla (Rājpūt) kẹ̀lla (Megh-Thakkur) }	"he will do"
kẹr	"do"
kia	"(he) did"

'sʌnna }
 'chʌnna'   "to put, to finish. to be able" (generally an auxiliary in the perfective sense).

'kẹri sʌtta (Rājpūt-Thakkur) } ,, 'chʌnta (Megh)	"he finishes off"
'kẹri sae (Rājpūt) ,, 'sʌ̣e (Thakkur) } ,, chae (Megh)	"he may finish off"
'kẹri sʌlla (Rājpūt-Thakkur) } ,, chʌlla (Megh)	"he will finish"
'kẹri sʌr (Rājpūt-Thakkur) } ,, chʌr (Megh)	"finish off!"
'kẹri sa (Rājpūt) ,, cha (Megh) } ,, 'sʌra (Thakkur)	"(he) finished off"

(*j*) Besides the above moods and tenses, the following compound verbs are a special feature of Rudhārī, as of the other dialects of the Khaś. group: —

(*i*) The Past Conditional. The peculiarity consists in the optional use of tia (Rājpūt) or thia (Megh Thakkur) cf.

ze ʌũ i̯ri 'bhōta tia tǝ tā 'raẓi bhoī gàta tia
or ze ʌũ i̯ri 'bhōta tǝ tā 'raẓi bhoī gàta

"if I had been here, 1 would have recovered."

Note the peculiar use, in protasis and apodosis respectively of
'bhōta tia—gàta tia (Rājpūt)
'bhōta thia — gàta thia (Megh Thakkur)

(*ii*) The Contingentive or "Probable-mood" is a type of the Past Conditional, in which both the protasis and the apodosis are formed from the Static Participle, and the apodosis indicates

a stronger **probability** than in the case of the ordinary Past Conditional. cf.

Aũ dəwɑ pĩ 'gʌorɑ tã 'raʐi bhõi 'gʌorɑ

"If I had taken medicine, I would have (probably) recovered".

(*iii*) The Dubitative or "Perhaps mood" is another variety of the Subjunctive. It is used with the participle 'ʐęni "perhaps".

It is formed by the addition of the auxiliary **thi** to the Subjunctive, irrespective of gender, number or person. It is used only in the Past or the Present, not in the Future sense. cf.

'ʐęni tè mānu 'hʊnnɪɑ 'raʐi bhõi gλɛɕhe thi

"Perhaps the man may now recover".

'ʐęni tè ʐənɑn hiʃ 'raʐi bhõi gλɛɕhe thi

"Perhaps the woman would have recovered yesterday."

(*k*) Of the Participles, the following may be noted: —

(*i*) The Present Participle. Its form is the same as that used in the Present tense, the verbs with a final vowel having a nasality at the end. cf.

'bhõtɑ	"becoming"
'khãtɑ	"eating"
'pĩtɑ	"drinking"
'mʌrtɑ	"dying"
'bottɑ	"speaking"
gàtɑ	"going"
'kęttɑ	"doing"

e.g. i 'maṭʈhɑ mĩ kʌdĩ 'kʌsri 'bhõtɑ nẽi là

"I never saw this boy becoming ill".

(*ii*) The Past Participle. This Participle, which serves as the Past Indefinite Tense, has the following features: —

(*x*) Monosyllabic forms like

ɑ	"came"
gɑ	"went"
sɑ	"finished"
bɑ	"sown"

(*y*)   **tiɑ**   "was"   in Rājpūt and occasional Megh pronunciation.

(z) The greater frequency of t in Megh-Ṭhakkur pronuncia-
tion, cf.

'piṭa (Megh-Ṭhakkur) "drank". Rājpūt piạ
'dhoṭa „ "washed" „ dhoạ.

Some more examples: —

bhuạ	"became"	peạ	(Rājpūt	} "lay"
bòllạ	"said"	poạ	Thakkur)	
khạ	"ate"	'dɪṭṭa		"gave".
ẓa	"delivered"	nɪɡ		"brought".
'ẓʌrmạ	"was born"	muạ		"died"
'ẓiṭa	"won"	là		"saw"
rùạ	"implanted"	sạ	(Rājput)	} "finished"
'kʌṭṭa (Rājpūt)	} "cut"	ɕhạ	(Megh)	
bʌḍḍa (Megh-Ṭhakkur)		'sʌṛa	(Ṭhakkur)	

(iii) The Static Participle. A special feature is, in the case
of roots ending in a, the greater frequency of the diphthong ʌo
(cf. p. 3) as in

'khʌora	"(has or had)		eaten"
'ʌora	"	„	arrived"
'gʌora	"	„	gone"
lʌora	"	„	seen"
'ẓʌora	„	„	delivered"

More examples:—

'bhura	"(has or had)		become"
'dhora	"	„	washed"
'bollura	"	„	said"
'ẓitura	"	„	won" '
rùra	"	„	implanted"
'pɪura (Rājpūt)	} "	„	drunk"
'pitura (Megh-Ṭhakkur)			
'sʌora (Rājpūt Ṭhakkur)	} "	„	finished
'ɕhʌora (Megh)			
'peura	"	„	laid"
'dɪttura	"	„	given"
nɪɥra	"	„	brought"
'mura	"	„	died"
kɪrura	"	„	done"

{ 'kvṭṭura (Rājpūt)
{ 'bʌḍḍura (Megh-Thakkur)   "   "   cut"

As in other allied dialects, the Static Participle is also used in the Absolute sense, cf.

'bʌṇɑ 'gʌore tè duɪ bʌri bhue
"it is two years since he went to the forest"
'mî 'pɑni pɪure ǫkk 'ghʌri bhui
"it is half-an-hour since I drank water"

(iv) The Conjunctive Participle represents a vowel-system which indicates a pre-Bhaḍarwāhī stage, for the latter has epenthesis where the former has two vowels, each in a different syllable (cf. p 3).

	Rudh.	Bhad.
"having died"	'mʌrita	'mǫrtã
"having sit"	'kʌṭṭita	'kǫṭṭã
"having started"	'cʌlita	'cǫltã
"having reached"	'puzzita	'pyzṭã

When verbs end in a vowel, the final vowel is nasal cf.

     'pîta   "having drunk"
     rũita   "having implanted"
     'bhoîta   "having become"

If the verb ends in ɑ, the Rājpūt speech changes the ɑ into ǫ, but in Megh-Thakkur speech ɑ remains unchanged cf.

	Rājpūt	Megh-Thakkur
"having eaten"	'khǫîta	'khaîta
"having delivered"	'zǫîta	'zaîta
"having put on"	'lǫita	'laîta

(l) The Causatives are formed by the addition of ɑ, with the necessary vocalic changes, as pɪɑnɑ "to make drink," khʋɑnɑ "to feed."

In some verbs l is further added, as in

     zul'hlɑnɑ   "to make to sleep"
     nu'halna   "to make to bathe"

(i) A special feature of Rudhāri and the allied dialects is a compound causative passive participle in the perfective sense, cf.

mî 'maṭṭhɑ ẓul'hɑlɑî ɕhɑ

"the boy was made to sleep by me," the act being finished.

Similarly: —

ruʃɑî ɕhɑ	"was irritated"
khuɑî ɕhɑ	"was fed"
cəluɑî ɕhɑ	"was made to start"
nuhɑluɑî ɕhɑ	"was made to bathe."

(*ii*)   Causative conjunctive participle is formed by the above-mentioned rules. cf.

khuàîtɑ	"having fed"
nuhɑ'lɑîtɑ	"having made to bathe"
cə'lɑîtɑ	"having made to start"
pɪ'ɑîtɑ	"having made to drink"

(*iii*)   Causative Past Participle is simple. It ends only in ɑ (masc.) cf.

pɪɑ	"made to drink"
khuɑ	"fed"
ẓulhɑ'lɑ	"made to sleep"
nuhɑ'lhɑ	"made to bathe"
cə'lɑ	"made to start"
bol'lɑ	"called"
mɑ'rɑ	"made to beat"

This formation gives interesting doublets: —

	mî tə̃ 'mɑrɑ	"I beat him"
but	mî tè̃ mɑ'rɑ	"I got him beaten"
	'bʌkrɑ 'cʌlɑ	"the goat started"
but	mî 'bʌkrɑ 'ghʌran cəlɑ	

"I started the goat for home."

(*m*)   Denominatives, intransitives as well as transitives, are another interesting feature of Rudhārī as of other allied dialects cf.

Intransitive		Transitive	
'uccǫnɑ	"to be high"	uc'cernɑ	"to make high"
'lʌmmǫnɑ	"to be long"	lʌm'mernɑ	"to lengthen"
'rorǫnɑ	"to be good"	ro'rernɑ	"to improve"

Intransitive		Transitive	
'ɕhɪttǫna	"to be white"	ɕhɪt'terna	"to whiten"
'kalǫna	"to be black"	ka'lerna	"to blacken"
'mʌndhonã	"to be bad"	mʌn'dherna	"to aggravate"
'nɪkrǫna	"to be small"	nɪk'ŗerna	"to make small"

(*n*) The Potential mood with the "can"—significance (cf. p. 444) has two roots, *viz.*, bʌţ - or sʌn — (Megh ɕhʌn-) cf.

ʌũ 'kẹri 'bʌţţa		
,, ,, 'sʌtta (Rājpūt)	}	"I can do"
,, ,, 'ɕhʌnta (Megh)		
,, ,, bʌţna	}	"I shall be able
,, ,, sʌnna (Rājpūt)		to do"
,, ,, 'ɕhʌnna (Megh)		

Note that in Bhad. the root used in this sense is bʌţ-, in Low Rudh. ʃʌk— (cf. p. 444).

(*o*) The Passive voice, as in other dialects of the Khaś. group, is synthetic. It is formed by the addition of õ, (hõ) to the root, as 'marõta "I am beaten". It is also optionally quasi-synthetic. In this case it is formed by the addition of participles from 'gʌɕɕhna "to go", cf. 'marǭĭ gắta "I am beaten".

The synthetic form can be declined in all the Tenses and Moods, as the following examples will show:—

"I am eaten"	'khʌȭõta
"I may be eaten"	'khʌũwã
"I was eaten"	khʌũwa
"I shall be eaten"	khʌũwǒna

The Passive in Rudh , as in Khaś. group, is "Absolute Passive" because both the agent and the subject of the action are here felt as Passive, having absolutely no control over the action. The English sentence "I am beaten by him" cannot be translated in the Passive form into Rudhārī, because the Rudhārī Passive is beyond the control of the agent. This Absolute Passive, however, can be used for such a sentence as "Look here! I am beaten" 'heral ʌũ 'marõta. Here the fact of being beaten is said to occur independently of the agent. If the agent is mentioned at all, the Ablative, and not the Instrumental case, is used, cf.

tèka ʌũ 'marõ̯ta "can I be beaten by (lit. from) him?" Here the Ablative indicates that the so-called agent is no agent at all; at the most he may be a medium through which the action may independently proceed.

This Absolute Passive is often used in the involuntary sense cf.

'mĩka ʃərap 'pɪõõta
"Wine is (involuntarily) drunk by (lit. from) me."

Similarly:—

'mĩka ʐhullua "I slept involuntarily", lit. "It was slept from me".

Even the verb 'bhona "to be" takes this Absolute Passive, as it does in Sanskrit. cf.

tè 'appu raʐi bhòuɥra ('bhura being the active form) "he was cured spontaneously", lit. "he was become healed by himself."

tòre bonne-seɪ ʌũ ɕor 'bhʌõõta
"can I be a thief with thy telling?" lit. "Can I be become thief with thy telling?"

(ρ) For the future Passive participle the Infinitive of the Absolute Passive is used:—

'bhʌõõna	"to be become"
'dhʌõõnà	"to be washed"
'bollona	"to be said"
'khʌõõna	"to be eaten"
'ʐʌõõna	"to be delivered"
'ʐʌrmona	"to be born"
'ʐitona	"to be won"
'ruona	"to be implanted"
'pɪõõna	"to be drunk"
'gʌɕhona	"to be gone"
'pjɛõõna	"to be laid"
'njɛõõna	"to be brought"
'mʌrona	"to be dead"
kʌt̪t̪ona (Rājpūt)	
'bʌddhonà (Megh-Thakkur) }	"to be cut"
'ɛɕhona	"to be arrived"

ꞌbɪʃɵna	"to be seated"
ꞌlʌrɵna	"to be fought'
ꞌmarɵnɑ	"to be beaten"
ꞌɕarɵna	"to be grazed''
kàrɵna	"to be boiled"
ẕalɵna	"to be burnt"
ꞌʈalɵna	"to be evaded''
ꞌpalɵna	"to be brought up"

Note some Causative forms of these Passive infinitives or Future Passive Participles:—

ꞌpjʌõɵna	"to be made to drink"
khꞌuʌõɵna	"to be made to eat"
ẕʌrõmʌɵnɑ	"to be made to be born i. e. to be made to be begotten"
ruꞌʃʌõɵna	"to be irritated"
ẕuꞌlʌõɵna	"to be made to sleep"
nuꞌhalɵna	"to be made to bathe"
bolꞌlʌõɵna	"to be made to say"
maꞌrʌõɵna	"to be made to be beaten."

(q) For the Causative Passive participle in the perfective sense as ẕulꞌhalaĩ ɕha "was made to sleep" see p. 467, (i).

(r) The Absolute past Passive participle is another peculiarity of Rudh, and other allied dialects. cf.

	khʌũwa	"was eaten involuntarily or with difficulty"
but	kha	"was eaten"
	pɪuɥa	"was drunk involuntarily or with difficulty"
but	pia	"was drunk"
	dhoũɥa	"was washed involuntarily or with difficulty"
but	dhoa	"was washed"
	kẹrua	"was done involuntarily or with difficulty"
	kia	"was done."

The intransitive forms of this participle are also used in the impersonal sense, for which see below (p. 472).

(s) The Absolute Passive has also a Static participle, cf

bhoũɥra "(has or had) been become"

tè appu 'raẓi bhoủŭra "he recovered spontaneously"

khaủŭra "(has or had) been eaten"

kʌl 'mĩka 'mʌsɑ kɽà khaủŭra

"Yesterday I could eat pudding with difficulty," lit.

"pudding had been eaten from me with difficulty."

dhoủŭra "(has or had) been washed"

pɪuŭra "(has or had) been drunk"

(t) The Absolute Passive has also a compound participle in the perfective sense, the Causitive passive form of which has already been mentioned (p. 471, (q)). cf.

bhoủŭĩga "was become spontaneously"

'maṭṭha 'appu 'raẓi bhoủŭĩ ga

"the boy was cured spontaneously"

bòlluĩ ga "was said spontaneously"

'khʌủŭĩ ga "was eaten spontaneously"

'ẓʌrmŭĩ ga "was born spontaneously"

pɪuŭĩ gà "was drunk spontaneously"

(u) The Denominatives also have an Absolute Passive form cf. uccʌõ̞ona "to be made tall"

i 'maṭṭha uccʌõ̞ona muʃkəl ęse

"This boy can be made tall with difficulty". Similarly

ɕhittʌõ̞ona "to be made white"

rorʌõ̞ona "to be improved"

mʌndʌõ̞ona "to be aggravated"

lʌmmʌõ̞ona "to be made tall"

kɑlʌõ̞ona "to be blackened"

nikɽʌõ̞ona "to be made small"

(v) The Impersonal, which occurs in Rudh. as in other allied dialects, can be studied under the following heads:—

(t) Absolute Passive Impersonal (ii) Non-objective Impersonal (iii) Non-subjective Impersonal (iv) Categorical Impersonal.

(*i*) The Absolute Passive Impersonal is often a past participle formed from Intransitive verbs. cf.

'mɪ́ka	'hʌssʮa	"I laughed involuntarily" lit.
		"it was laughed from me involuntarily"
„	'ʐulľa	"I slept involuntarily"
„	pjeʮa	"I lay „
„	gʌɕɕhua (Rājpūt)	"I went „
„	gʌua (Ṭhakkur)	"I „ „
„	'khɪrkua	"I fell „
„	nʌʃʃua	"I ran „
„	hʌlluɑ	"I moved „
„	'puʐʐʮa	"I reached „
„	'eɕhʮa	"I came „

(*ii*) The non-objective Impersonal is a quasipassive (*i.e.* the ordinary) past participle and has no reference to any particular object. Thus

mɪ́ pʌṛa   "I read"

mɪ̃ ɕʌkha   "I tasted"

Here "I read" refers simply to the act of reading, and may be translated "I did reading".

(*iii*) The non-subjective Impersonal corresponds to English "it rains", "it thunders". cf.

'guɾkne 'lʌora   "it thunders"

'ʃine lʌora   "it snows".

(*iv*) The "cateogrical" Impersonal in the Imperative sense corresponds to Hindī cābiye, and is translated as "ought to". It is formed from the root 'lɕṛ –"to require", *e.g.* ãe tẽṛi 'gʌora 'loṛta "we ought to go there", lit., to us there become-gone needs".

IV. Syntax. The syntax of the various grammatical forms has been discussed above under their respective heads.

But the concord in Rudhārī, as in other allied dialects of the Khaś group is peculiar. The past tense always agrees with the subject in these dialects, and is not used impersonally. cf.

mî dẹdd ꞌpuchi "I asked sister" but cf. Hindī maî ne bǎhin ko pǎcha.

Again cf. ꞌrame Aū marǫ "Rāma struck me" but Hindī. ram ne mujh ko mārā. In the Rudh. sentence Aū is the nominative case.

While in Rudh. the verbs ꞌpuchi and ꞌmarǫ fully agree with their subjects, in Hindī these verbs are impersonal in the sense that they are independent of the gender or number of the subject.

PARADIGMS.

t. **Declension**

   (1) Nouns.

(a) ꞌghorǫ   "horse"

	Singular	Plural
Nominative	ꞌghorǫ	ꞌghoṛe
Accusative	ꞌghorǫ	ꞌghoṛe

	Singular & Plural
Agent	ꞌghoṛe
Instrumental	ꞌghoṛe sẽi
Dative	ꞌghoṛɪɑn
Genitive	ꞌghoṛerǫ
Ablative	ꞌghoṛekǫ (Rājpūt) ꞌghoṛegǫ, ghoṛegǫ̥ ꞌghoṛegǫ (Megh-Ṭhakkur)
Allative	ꞌghoṛekǫ (Rājpūt) ꞌghoṛegǫ, ꞌgǫ̥, gǫ (Megh-Ṭhakkur)
Elative	ꞌghoṛe mǎtɑ (Rājpūt) ꞌghoṛe mǎgǫ (Megh-Ṭhakkur)
Locative	ꞌghoṛe mǎ (Illative) ꞌghoṛetɪr (Rājpūt) ꞌghoṛe dɪr, -dɪr, ǒɪr̥ (Megh-Ṭhakkur)

Delative		⸢'ghoṛetɪrɑ (Rājpūt) ⸤'ghoṛe dɪɾɑ, -dɪɾɑ, ᶑɪɾɑ ⸤(Megh-Ṭhakkur)

Directive

Allative-Directive	'ghoṛekɑ̀n (Rājpūt) 'ghoṛegɑ̀n, gɑ̀n, gɑ̀n (Megh-Ṭhakkur)
Illative-Directive	'ghoṛe mã̀n
Locative-Directive	'ghoṛe tɪrɑn (Rājpūt) 'ghoṛe dɪrɑn, -dɪrɑn 'ᶑɪrɑn (Megh-Ṭhakkur)
Relative-Directive	'ghoṛepᴀtian

Prolative   'ghoṛe tɪkre

Vocative	Sg.	Pl.
	'ghoṛɪa	'ghoṛɪo

(*b*) 'hɑti   "elephant"

                       Sg. & Pl.

Nom.	'hɑti	
Acc.	'hɑti	
Ag.	'hɑtie	
Instr.	'hɑtie sè̃ɪ	
Dat.	'hɑtiən	
Gen.	'hɑtiera	
Abl.	'hɑtiɑkɑ, -gɑ, -gɑ, -gɑ	
All.	'hɑtikɑ, -gɑ, -gɑ, -gɑ	
El.	'hɑtiɑ mã̀tɑ, —mã̀gɑ	
Loc.	'hɑtiɑmã̀, hɑtiɑ tɪr, ᶑɪr, dɪr, ᶑir	
Del.	'hɑtiɑ tɪrɑ, -dɪrɑ, -dɪrɑ, ᶑɪrɑ.	
Direc. All. Dir.	'hɑtiɑ kɑ̀n, -gɑ̀n, -gɑ̀n, -gɑ̀n	
Ill. Dir.	'hɑtiɑmɑ̀n	
Loc. Dir.	'hɑtiɑ tɪrɑn, -dɪrɑn, -dɪrɑn, 'ᶑɪrɑn	

	Rel. Dir.		ˈhɑtɪɑ ˈpʌtɪɑn		
Prol.			ˈhɑtɪɑ-ʈɪkre		
Voc.		Sg.	ˈhɑtɪɑ,	Pl.	ˈhɑtɪo

(c) mãnu   "man"

Sg. and Pl.

Nom.		mãnu
Acc.		mãnu
Ag.		mãnʋe
Instr.		mãnʋasèí
Dat.		mãnʋən
Gen.		mãnʋera
Abl.		mãnʋaka, -ɡɑ, -ɡɑ̥, -ɡɑ
All.		„ „ „ „
El.		mãnʋamãta, -mãɡɑ
Loc.		mãnʋamã, mãnʋatɪr, dɪr̥, dɪr, ·ðɪr
Del.		mãnʋɑ tɪrɑ, -dɪrɑ̥, -dɪrɑ, -ðɪrɑ
Direc.	Aḷ-Dir.	mãnʋakɑ̀n, -ɡɑ̀n, ·ɡɑ̀n̥, ɡɑ̀n
	Iḷ-Dir.	mãnʋamɑ̀n
	Loc.-Dir.	mãnʋa tɪrɡn, -dɪrɡn, -dɪrɡn̥, -eɪrɡn
	Rel.-Dir.	mãnʋapʌtɪɑn
Prol.		mãnʋaʈɪkre •
Voc.		Sg. and Pl.

mãnʋɑ

Note. After n there is some nasality, so that in narrow transcription the word may have been written mãnuã.

(d) ghoṛ   "stone"

Sg. and Pl.

Nom.	ghoṛ
Acc.	„

Ag.	'ghoɽe
Instr.	'ghoɽasę̄l
Dat.	'ghoɽan
Gen.	'ghoɽera

Sg. and Pl.

Abl.	'ghoɽaka, -ga, ·ga, ga
All.	,, ,, ,, ,,
El.	'ghoɽa mãta, -mãga
Loc.	'ghoɽa mã, 'ghoɽatɪr, -ɖɪr, ɖɪr, ðɪr
Del.	'ghoɽa tɪra, ·ɖɪra, -dɪra, ðɪra
Direc. All. Dir.	'ghoɽakàn, ·gàn, -gàn, gàn
Ill. Dir.	'ghoɽa mãn
Loc. Dir.	'ghoɽa tɪrgn, dɪrgn, -dɪrgn, ·jɪrgn
Rel. Dir.	'ghoɽa pʌtiàn
Pro.	'ghoɽa ʈɪkre

	Sg.	Pl.
Voc.	'ghoɽa	'ghoɽo

(e) 'ghoɽi   "mare"

	Sg.	Pl.
Nom.	'ghoɽi	'ghoɽia
Acc.	,,	,,

Sg. and Pl.

Ag.	'ghoɽia
Instr.	'ghoɽia-sę̄l
Dat.	'ghoɽian
Gen.	'ghoɽiera
Abl.	ghoɽiaka, -ga, -ga, ·ga
All.	,, ,, ,, ,,
El.	'ghoɽia 'mãta, -mãga
Loc.	ghoɽia mã, 'ghoɽia tɪr, ·ɖɪr, -dɪr, -ðir

Del.		'ghoṛiatɪra, -dɪra, ·dira, -ðɪra
Direc.	All.-Dir.	'ghoṛiakàn, gàn, -gàn, gàn
	Ill.-Dir.	'ghoṛiamàn
	Loc.-Dir.	'ghoṛia-tɪrgn, dɪrgn, ðɪrgn
	Loc.-Dir.	'ghoṛia pᴀtiɑn
Pro.		'ghoṛia tɪkre
Voc.	Sg. 'ghoṛie	Pl. 'ghoṛio

(f) 'ᴀmmã͂ "mother"

	Sg. and Pl.
Nom.	'ᴀmmã
Acc.	,,
Ag.	,,
Instr.	'ᴀmmãsèı
Dat.	'ᴀmmaɳ
Gen.	'ᴀmmᴇrɑ
Abl.	'ᴀmmãkɑ,-gɑ,-gɑ,-gɑ
All.	,, ,, ,, ,,

Note. 'ᴀmmã͂ remains unchanged in the succeeding cases. Add the usual postpositions.

Voc.	Sg, and Pl.	'ᴀmmã͂

(g) 'ʃᴧʃʃu   "mother-in-law"

	Sg. and Pl.
Nom.	'ʃᴧʃʃu
Acc.	'ʃᴧʃʃu
Ag.	'ʃᴧʃʃu
Instr.	ʃᴧʃʃu sèı
Dat.	'ʃᴧʃʃʋǝn
Gen.	'ʃᴧʃʃʋerɑ
Abl.	'ʃᴧʃʃʋakɑ,-gɑ,-gɑ,-gɑ
All.	,, ,, ,, ,,
El.	'ʃᴧʃʃʋakãtɑ,-mã͂gɑ

Loc.	'ʃʌʃʋɑmã, 'ʃʌʃʋɑtɪr.-dɪr,-dɪr,-đɪr
Del.	'ʃʌʃʋɑtɪra,-dɪra,-dɪra -đɪr
Dir. All. Dir.	'ʃʌʃʋɑkàn, gàn,-gàn,-gàn
Ill. Dir.	'ʃʌʃʋɑmàn
Loc. Dir	'ʃʌʃʋɑ tɪrgn, dɪrgn,-dɪrgn,-đɪrgn
Rel. Dir.	'ʃʌʃʋɑpʌtian
Prol.	'ʃʌʃʋɑtɪkre
Voc.	Sg. and Pl.　　　'ʃʌʃʋu

(h)　ʒìb　(f.)　"tongue"

	Sg.	Pl.
Nom.	ʒìb	ʒìbbɑ
Acc.	,,	,,

	Sg. & Pl.
Ag.	ʒìbbɑ
Instr.	ʒìbbɑ sę̃ĩ
Dat.	ʒìbbɑn
Gen.	ʒìbberɑ
Abl.	ʒìbbɑkɑ, -gɑ, -gɑ, -gɑ
All.	,,　,,　,,　,,
El.	ʒìbbɑmã̃tɑ, mã̃gɑ
Loc.	ʒìbbɑmã̃, ʒìbbɑ -tɪr, -dir, -dɪr, -đɪr
Del.	ʒìbbɑ tɪra, -dɪra, -dɪra, đɪra
Direc All. Dir.	ʒìbbɑkàn, -gãn, gàn, -gàn
Ill. Dir.	ʒìbbɑ·mã̃n
Loc. Dir.	ʒìbbtɪrgn, -dɪrgn, -dɪrgn, đɪrgn
Rel. Dir.	ʒìbbɑpʌtian
Pro.	ʒìbbɑtɪkre

(*i*)   **Akkh**   (f.)   "eye"

	Sg.	Pl.
Nom.	Akkh	'Akkhi
Acc.	,,	,,

Sg. & Pl.

Ag.	'Akkhi
Instr.	'Akkhi sẹ̃i
Dat.	'Akkhiən
Gen.	'Akkhierɑ
Abl.	'Akkhikɑ, -ga, -ga, -ga
All.	,, ,, ,, ,,

Sg. and Pl.

El.	'Akkhi mãtɑ, -mãgɑ
Loc.	'Akkhi mã, 'Akkhitɪr, -dir, -dir, -đir
Del.	'Akkhitɪrra, -dɪrra, -dɪra, -đɪra
Direc. All. Dir.	'Akkhikàn, -gàn, -gàn, -gàn
Ill. Dir.	'Akkhimãn
Loc. Dir.	'Akkhitɪrɡn, -dɪrɡn, -dɪrɡn, -đɪrɡn
Rel. Dir.	'Akkhipʌtiɑn
Pro.	'Akkhiţɪkre

(2)   Adjectives.

(*a*)   'roɽa (masc.) "good"

	Sg.	Pl.
Nom.	'roɽa	'roɽe
Acc.	,,	,,

Sg. and Pl.

Ag. and other oblique cases	'roɽe
Voc.	Sg. 'roɽɪa Pl. 'roɽɪo

(b) 'roṛi (fem.) "good"

	Sg.	Pl.
Nom.	'roṛi	'roṛia
Ag. and other oblique cases	Sg. and Pl. 'roṛia	
Voc.	Sg. 'roṛie	Pl. 'roṛio

(3) Pronouns.

(a) Aũ   "I".

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	Aũ	à
Acc.	×	×
Ag.	mī̃	aē̃
Instr.	mī̃-seī̃	ā̃seī̃
Dat.	mɪan	ā̃n
Gen.	màra	àra
Abl.	mī̃ka, -ga, -ga, -ga	ā̃ka, -ga, -ga, -ga

Note. mī̃ and ā̃ remain unchanged in the succeeding cases.

(b) tũ "thou".

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	tũ	tũ (masc.) tũa (fem.)
Acc.	×	×
Ag.	tuī̃ (Rājpūt and Megh) tī̃ (Ṭhakkur)	tũē̃
Instr.	tuī̃ seī̃ (Rājpūt-Megh) tī̃ seī̃ (Ṭhakkur)	tuã seī̃
Dat.	'tuɪan (Rājpūt and Megh) tɪan (Ṭhakkur)	tuàn
Gen.	tòra	tũra (Megh-Ṭhakkur) to'hora (Rājpūt)
Abl.	tuī̃ka (Rājpūt) tuī̃ga (Megh) tī̃ga (Ṭhakkur)	tuã̃ka, -ga, -ga, -ga

Note. tuī̃, tī̃ and tũa remain unchanged in the succeeding cases.

(c) ĩ "this" (Rājpūt)

Masculine.

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	ĩ	ɯ
Acc.	"	'ɯã
Ag.	'ɯni	'ɯḗ
Instr.	'isè̜ĩ	'ɯãsè̜ĩ
Dat.	ɯjɑn	'ɯhɑn
Gen.	ɯjɑra	ɯn'hɑra
Abl.	'ika	'ɯãkɑ̀

Note. i and 'ɯã remain unchanged in the succeeding cases.

Feminine.

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	ĩ	'ɯã
Acc.	"	‥
Ag.	'ɯnia	The rest as in masc. pl.
Instr.	ìasè̜ĩ	
Dat.	ìan	
Gen.	ɯàra	
Abl.	ìaka	

Note. ìa remains unchanged in the succeeding cases.

(d) e "this" (Ṭhakkur)

Masculine.

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	e	e̜n
Acc.	"	'e̜nã
Ag.	'e̜ni	'e̜nḗ
Instr.	è̜sè̜ĩ	'e̜nãse̜ĩ
Dat.	è̜an	'e̜nan
Gen.	è̜ra	e̜n'hara
Abl.	è̜ga	'e̜nãga

Note. è and 'e̜nã remain unchanged in the succeeding cases.

Feminine.

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	e	'ẹnã̃
Acc.	″	″
Ag.	'ẹniɑ	The rest as in masc. pl.
Instr.	ɘasẹī	
Dat.	ɘan	
Gen.	ɘrɑ	
Abl.	ɘɑgɑ	

Note. ɘɑ remains unchanged in the succeeding cases.

(e) ũ "that" (Rājpūt)

Masculine. "he or it" (distant but visible)

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	ũ	un
Acc.	″	'unã̃
Ag.	'uni	'unẽ
Instr.	'usẹī	'unãsẹī
Dat.	uwɑn	u'nhan
Gen.	uwɑ̀rɑ	u'nhɑrɑ
Abl.	'ukɑ	'unãkɑ

Note. u and 'unã̃ remain unchanged in the succeeding cases.

Feminine. "she" (distant but visible).

	Singular.	Plural.
Nom.	ũ	'unã̃
Acc.	″	″
Ag.	'uniɑ	The rest as in masc. pl.
Instr.	ũasẹi	
Dat.	ùwan	
Gen.	uwɑ̀rɑ	
Abl.	ũɑkɑ	

Note. ũɑ remains unchanged in the succeeding cases.

(f) tɘ (Megh-Ṭhakkur) tẽ (Rājpūt).

Masculine.   "he" (distant and invisible).

	Singular.	Plural.
Nom.	tè, tẽ	tẹn
Acc.	„ „	„
Ag.	'tẹni	'tẹnẽ
Instr.	tèsẹī	'tẹnãsẹī
Dat.	(Thakkur) tèan} (Rājpūt) teạn}	{tẹnan (Thakkur). 'tẹn'han (Rājpūt) (Thakkur)
Gen.	(Thakkur) tèra } (Rājpūt) tı'hara	{'tẹnra (Thakkur) {'tẹn'hara (Rājpūt)
Abl	tèga (Thakkur) } tèka (Rājpūt) }	{'tẹnãga (Thakkur) {'tẹnãka (Rājpūt)

Note. tè and 'tẹnã remain unchanged in the succeeding cases.

Feminine.   "she" (distant and invisible).

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	tè (Thakkur)} tẽ (Rājpūt) }	'tẹnã
		„
Acc.	„	„
Ag.	'tẹnia	The rest as in Masc. Pl.
Instr.	tèasẹi	
Dat.	tjan (Thakkur)} tèan (Rājpūt) }	
Gen.	tèra (Thakkur) } tı'hara (Rājput)}	
Abl.	tèaga (Thakkur)} tèaka (Rājpūt) }	

Note. tèa remains unchanged in the succeeding cases.

The Relative Pronoun zè (Megh-Thakkur)

zẽ (Rājpūt) "who"

is similarly declined.

(g) kuṇ "who?"

	Singular.	Plural.
Nom.	kuṇ	kuṇ
Acc.	„	„
Ag.	'kẹni	'kẹnẽ

Instr.	kèsêi	'kęnãsęi
Dat.	kèan (Ṭhakkur)	'kęnan (Ṭhakkur)
	keąn (Rājpūt)	kę'nąn (Rājput)
Gen.	kèra (Ṭhakkur)	'kęnra (Ṭhakkur)
	kɪ'hara (Rājpūt)	'kęnhara (Rājpūt)
Abl.	kèga (Ṭhakkur)	'kęnaga (Ṭhakkur)
	kèka (Rājpūt)	'kęnãka (Rājpūt)

Note. kè and 'kęnã remain unchanged in the succeeding cases.

Feminine.

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	kuṇ	kuṇ
Acc.	×	×
Ag.	'kęnia	The rest as in masc. Pl.
Instr.	kèasęi	
Dat.	kèan	
Gen.	kèra (Ṭhakkur	
	kɪ'hara (Rājpūt)	
Abl.	kèaga (Ṭhakkur)	
	kèaka (Rājpūt)	

Note. kèa remains unchanged in the succeeding cases.

II. Conjugation.

1. Present Indefinite Tense

   (a) Verb Substantive.

Singular		Plural	
1. 'ęsã		'ęsu	
2. 'ęsi, 'ęsĭ, 'ısi		'ęsa	
3. 'ese		'ęsu	

   (b) 'bhona "to become"

	Masculine	Feminine	Masc.	Fem.
1.	'bhõtã	'bhõtĭ	'bhõte	'bhõtia 'bhõt¡a
				(Megh·Ṭhakkur).
2.	,,	,,	,,	,,
3.	,,	,,	,,	,,

(c) 'khana "to eat".

	Singular			Plural		
	Masc.	Fem.		Masc.	Fem.	
1.	'khãta	'khãti		'khãte	khãtia, 'khãt₁a	
					(Megh-Ṭhakkur)	
2.	,,	,,		,,	,,	,,
3.	,,	,,		,,	,,	,,

(d) 'mʌrna "to die"

	Singular			Plural		
	Masc.	Fem.		Masc.	Fem.	
1.	'mʌrta	'mʌrti		'mʌrte	'mʌrtia	mʌrt₁a
2.	,,	,,		,,	,,	,,
3.	,,	,,		,,	,,	,,

(e) 'bonna "to say"

	Singular			Plural		
	Masc.	Fem.		Masc.	Fem.	
1.	'botta	'botti		'botte	'bottia	'bott₁a
2.	,,	,,		,,	,,	,,
3.	,,	,,		,,	,,	,,

(f) 'sʌnna (auxiliary) "to finish, or to be able"

	Singular			Plural		
	Masc.	Fem.		Masc.	Fem.	
1.	'sʌtta	'sʌtti		'sʌtte	'sʌttia, sʌtta	
	(Rãjpũt Ṭhakkur)					
	'ɡhʌnta (Megh)	'ɡhʌnti		'ɡhʌnte	'ɡhʌnta	
2.	,,	,,		,,	,,	
3.	,,	,,		,,	,,	

(g) 'kenna "to do"

	Singular			Plural		
	Masc.	Fem.		Masc.	Fem.	
1.	'ketta (Rãj)	'ketti (Rãj)		'kette (Rãj)	'kettia (Rãj)	
	'ɡetta (M-Th)	'ɡetti (M.-Th.)		'ɡette (M-Th)	'ɡett₁a	
					(M-Ṭh.)	
2.	,,	,,		,,	,,	
3.	,,	,,		,,	,,	

(*h*) gʌchna "to go"

	Singular			Plural		
	Masc.	Fem.		Masc.	Fem.	
1.	gàta	gàti		gàte	gàtia,	gàtʲa
2.	,,	,,		,,	,,	·,
3.	,,	,,		,,	,,	,,

(*i*) 'echna "to come"

	Singular			Plural		
	Masc.	Fem.		Masc.	Fem.	
1.	'etha	'ethi		'ethe	'ethia,	ethʲa
2.	,,	,,		,,	,,	,,
3.	,,	,,		,,	,,	,,

(2) Past Indefinite Tense. For this Tense see lists under Past Participle on P. 473.

(3) Subjunctive (Present)

(*a*) 'bhona "to be"

	Singular	Plural
1.	bhoã	bhoũ
2.	bhõi	bhòa
3.	bhoe	bhoũ (Ràj.)
		bhon (Ṭh.)
		bhõt or bhõth (M)

(*b*) 'khana " to eat ".

	Singular.	Plural.
1.	khã	khʌu
2.	khei	khà
3.	khae	khʌũ (Ràj.)
		khan (Ṭh.)
		khãt or khãth (M)

---

1. In these abbreviations, M stands for "Megh," Ṭh. for "Thakkur,"

(c) 'mArna " to die "

Singular.   Plural.

   'mArã   mλrũ

   mλrĩ   mλra

   'mAre   mλrũ

(d) 'bonna " to speak ".

Singular.   Plural.

   'bollã   bòllũ

   bòllĩ   bòlla

   'bolle   bòllũ

(e) 'sAnnã " to finish, or to be able ".

  (i) Rājpūt:—

    Singular.   Plural.

    1. sã   sλũ

    2. seĩ   sà

    3. sae   sλũ

  (ii) Megh:—

    Singular.   Plural.

    1. çhã   çhAũ

    2. çheĩ   çhà

    3. çhae   çhAnt

  (iii) Ṭhakkur:—

    Singular.   Plural.

    1. 'sArã   sλrũ

    2. sλrĩ   sλra

    3. 'sAre   sλrũ

(f) 'kenna " to do ".

Singular.   Plural.

1. 'kerã (Rāj.)   'kerũ (Rāj.)

   'gerã (M.-Ṭh   'gerũ (M.-Ṭh.)

2. 'kerĩ (Rāj.)   'kera (Rāj.)

   'gerĩ (M.-Ṭh.)   'gera (M.-Ṭh).

3. 'kere (Rāj.)   'kerũ (Rāj.)

   'gere (M.-Ṭh.)   'kenn or genn (M.-Ṭh.)

(*g*) gʌchna "to go".

    (*i*) Rájpūt:—

Singular.	Plural.
1. ᵗgʌcchã	ᵗgʌcchū
2. ᵗgʌcchī	ᵗgʌccha
3. ᵗgʌcche	ᵗgʌcchū

    (*ii*) Megh:—

Same as above, except that ch corresponds to ch, as ᵗgʌcchã etc.

    (*iii*) Ṭhakkur:—

Singular.	Plural.
1. gã̀	gʌ̀u
2. gã̀ī	gà
3. gàe	gàn

In Megh speech ch corresponds to this ch, as ᵗecchã etc.

4. Future Tense.

    (*a*) ᵗbhona "to be"

	Singular		Plural		
	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.	
1.	bhòna	bhòni	bhòne	bhòni/a	bhòn/a
2.	bhòla	bhòli	bhòle	bhòlia,	bhòl/a
3.	"	"	"	"	"

    (*b*) ᵗkhana "to eat"

	Singular		Plural		
	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.	
1.	khàna	khàni	khàne (Rāj.)	khània (Rāj.)	
			khàune (M.-Th.)	khàun/a (M. Ṭh.)	
2.	khàla	khàli	khàle	khàlia,	khàl/a
3.	"	"	"	"	"

    (*c*) ᵗmʌrna "to die"

	Singular		Plural		
	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.	
1.	mʌrna	mʌrni	mʌrne (Rāj.)	mʌrnia (Rāj.)	
			mʌrnué (M-Ṭh.)	mʌrn/uiã (M.-Ṭh.)	

2. mᴧrlɑ mᴧrli   mᴧrle mᴧrliɑ, mᴧrlɑ

3.   „   „   „   „   „

(d) 'bonnɑ "to speak"

Singular   Plural

Masc. Fem.   Masc. Fem

1 bònnɑ bònni   bònne (Rāj.)   bònniɑ (Raj.)
                         bònnuɛ̃ (M. Ṭh.) bònnɪuɪɑ (M -Ṭh.)

2. bò:lɑ (Rāj.) bòlli   bòl:le (Rāj.)   bòlliɑ (Rāj)
   bòllɑ (M.-Ṭh) bòlli   bòlle (M.-Ṭh) bòllɪɑ (M.-Ṭh.)

3.   „   „   „   „

(e) 'sᴧnnɑ "to finish, to be able"

(i) Rājpūt:—

Singular   Plural

Masc.   Fem.   Masc.   Fem.

1. sᴧnnɑ   sᴧnni   sᴧnne   sᴧnniɑ

2. sᴧllɑ   sᴧlli   sᴧlle   sᴧlliɑ

3.   „   „   „   „

(ii) Megh:—

Singular   Plural

Masc.   Fem.   Masc.   Fem.

1. chᴧnnɑ chᴧɑni   chᴧnne chᴧnnɪuɪã

2. chᴧllɑ chᴧlli   chᴧlle chᴧllɪɑ

3.   „   „   „   „

(iii) Ṭhakkur:—

Same as above, except that s corresponds to ch.

(f) 'kẹnnɑ "to do"

Singular   Plural

Masc.   Fem.   Masc.   Fem.

1. kẹnnɑ   kẹnni   kẹnne   kẹnniɑ (Rāj.)
                                 kẹnnɪuɪã (M.-Ṭh)

2. kẹrlɑ (Rāj.) kẹrli   kẹrle   kẹrliɑ (Raj)
    kẹllɑ (M.-Ṭh.) kẹlli kẹlle   kẹllɪɑ (M.-Ṭh.)

3.   „   „   „   „

(g) gᴧɛhnɑ "to go"

(*i*) Rājpūt:—

	Singular		Plural	
	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
1.	gʌɛhna	gʌɛhni	gʌɛhne	gʌɛhnia
2.	gʌɛhla	gʌɛhli	gʌɛhle	gʌɛhlia
3.	,,	,,	,,	,,

(*ii*) Megh:—

Same as above, except that ch corresponds to ɛh, and the fem. 1st person plural is **'gʌɛɛhn,ia.**

(*iii*) Ṭhakkur:—

	Singular		Plural.	
	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
1.	gɑ̀na	gɑ̀ni	gʌune	gɑ̀nia
2.	gɑ̀la	gɑ̀li	gɑ̀le	gɑ̀lia
3.	.,	,,	,,	,,

(*h*) **'ɛchna** "to come"

(*i*) Rājpūt Ṭhakkur:—

	Singular		Plural	
	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
1.	'ɛchna	'ɛchni	'ɛchne	'ɛchnia
2.	'ɛɛhla	'ɛɛhli	'ɛɛhle	'ɛɛhlia
3.	,,	,,	,,	,,

(*ii*) Megh:—

Some as above, except that ch corresponds to ɛh, and the 1st. pers. fem. pl. is **'ɛchn,uia.**

(5) Imperative Mood.

(*a*) Present Imperative.

	Singular	Plural
"eat"	khɑ̀	kha
"drink"	pi	pia
"be"	bho	bhòa
"come"	ʌi	'ɛɛha (Rāj.-Ṭh.)
		'ɛɛha (M).

"go"	gà	gᴧcchà (Rāj.-Ṭh).
		gᴧcchà (M).
"say"	boll	bòllà
"give"	dè	deɑ (Rāj.-Ṭh.)
		djɑ (M).
"beat"	mɑr	màrɑ
(used with de-"give")		
"sit"	bɪʃ	'bìʃʃɑ
"start"	cᴧl	cᴧlɑ

(b) Future Imperative.

	Singular	Plural.
"eat (in future)"	khᴧijã	khᴧija
"drink ,, "	'pìjã	pìja
"become ,, "	bhoìjã	bhoìja
"come ,, "	'ęchiã	'ęchia (M. 'ęchia)
"go ,, "	'gᴧchiã	'gᴧchia (M. 'gᴧchja)
"say ,, "	bòlliã	bòllia
"wash ,, "	dhòiã	dhòia
"give ,, "	dęiã	dęia
"beat ,, "	màrãi	mària
"sit ,, "	bìʃʃiã	bìʃʃia
"start ,, "	cᴧlliã	cᴧllia

(c) Importunative Imperative.

Singular

"just eat"	khęī (Rāj), khᴧī (M.—Ṭh.)
" ,, drink"	pīe
" ,, become"	bhoī
" ,, come"	'ęchī (M'ęchī)
" ,, go"	'gᴧcchī (M'gᴧcchī)

	Singular
"just say"	bòllī
" ,, wash"	dhoī
" ,, give"	dęī
" ,, beat"	màrī
" ,, sit"	bìʃʃī
" ,, start"	cᴧlī

To indicate the plural, the plural of the future Imperative is used, as khλija, píjᾳ etc.

(6) (Absolute) Passive Voice.

ˈkhᴀδᵷna "to be eaten"

(a) Present Indef. Tense

	Singular		Plural	
	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
1.	ˈkhᴀδ̃δ̃tᾳ	ˈkhᴀδ̃δ̃ti	ˈkhᴀδ̃δ̃te	ˈkhᴀδ̃δ̃tiᾳ
2.	,,	,,	,,	,,
3.	,,	,,	,,	,,

(b) Past Indef. Tense

Singular		Plural	
Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
khλuwa	khʌūwi	khᴀūwe	khʌūwiᾳ

(c) Subjunctive

	Singular	Plural
1.	khᴀūwã	khᴀuwδ̃ũ
2.	khᴀūwoĩ	khᴀuwa
3.	khᴀūwᵷe	khᴀuwδ̃u (Rāj)
		khᴀuwᵷn (Th)
		khᴀuwδ̃t
	or	khᴀuwδ̃th } (m)

(d) Future Tense

	Singular		Plural	
	Masc.	fem,	Masc.	fem.
1.	khᴀūwõnᾳ	kuᴀūwõni	khᴀūwõne	khᴀūwõniᾳ
2.	khᴀuwõlᾳ	khᴀuwõli	khᴀuwõle	khᴀuwõliᾳ
3.	,,	,,	,,	,,

Vocabularies.

General features of vocabulary have been noted above (p. 5). An alphabetical list of words found by me exclusively in Rudhārī is given below. In the allied Khaśālī dialects these words either do not appear at all, or occur in a different phonetic form.

'ʌbbu, m., scar (of wound).

echəchkə, adj., naughty.

edhɪttha, m., a "half-empty" vessel, a vessel not full.

ʌkkəŋ, f., a piece of land set apart for public good, in honour of the dead.

'ʌggrŏbʌkhja, adv., in front.

ʌgrŏnɑ petŏnɑ, adv., before and behind.

'ʌgru, adv., further.

'ʌgre, adv., a little further.

'ʌgrɪan sɪdda, adj., horizontal (front-side).

'ʌntran, adv., inwards.

ʌn'gɑl, m. f., large wasp.

ʌŏgudi, interj., shout in addressing a dog.

'ʌppnebhŏta, adj., voluntary, without permission.

etar, m., Sunday.

othorja, m., sleet.

'ʌuli, f., the cawing of a crow.

ədhoi, m. f., a tenant.

ūkhu, m, tear (from the eyes).

əli, f., (1) egg (2) young one of honey-bee.

ʰbʌdlqr, f., cloud.

bə'ɡhornɑ }
or bə'chornɑ } to unplait or comb the hair.

beher, adv., outside.

ʰbʌŋguri, f., small tool for weeding or digging purposes.

ʰbʌori, f., sown land.

ʰbʌttmɑrgu, m. f., traveller.

bətnʌor 'phɪrnɑ, to wander.

bətkɑru, m., chisel.

ʰbʌtru, m., a thick-featured, clumsy-looking man.

bqboi, f., a kind of grass used in rope-making.

bə'khri, f., a cow within five or six months after calving.

ʰbarothoriɑ, adv., in turn.

bars, m.f., a responsible guardian.

běin, f., sister.

bei, f., creases in feet, due to cold etc.

bɛkhna, to be arrogantly aloof.

bɛla, m., adze.

bhAll, f., cattle's dewlap.

bhaɔr, f., wave, undulation on surface of water.

'bhaɔrri, f., corns on feet.

'bhaoṭhe, m. pl., a kind of pulse; Hindi **moṭh.**

'bhara, adv., just now.

bhàru, m., a wooden instrument to crush clods of earth.

'bheran, adv., outwards, outside.

bhokk, f., sound of giving a blow (fisti cuff).

bhrʌbbu, m., the brown bear.

'bhrãcu, m., gums of teeth.

'bhukna, adj., hungry.

'bhunẓleri latṭh, f., rainbow.

'bhurkli, f., N. of a small bird with a lovely voice.

bhurẓ, m., birch-tree.

'bhurdu, m., small stray threads of wool projecting from
badly woven or old cloth.

bhuṭlãa, m., Bhadarwāh.

bhũ, m, straw of wheat.

bɩal, f, early part of night.

bɩhàlṭi, m. f., an agnatic relation.

brɛbt, m., Thursday.

bu'shorna, to pout the lips.

buchorna, to unplait the hair.

'cera, adj., wide.

'cerar, m., width.

che, inter. pron., what ?

'chɛkkna, to mince.

'chɩttu, m., terror, fright.

'cholni (sha (whey)) to churn.

'cɩṇdu, m., pinching with fingers.

'cɽuri, f., continuous but gentle trickling or oozing of
water.

cu'ruṛu, m., a perennial spring.

cux'thoṛ, m., a wound.

'cAmpa, to be absorbed through the pores of the soil (said of water.)

ꞓethŏndla, adj., said of a carping, sarcastic and inconsiderate person.

ꞓap, m., N. of a tree, *Alnus nitida.*

'ꞓeila, adj., brown haired.

'ꞓhAlchAppal, m., sound of washing the feet with water.

'ꞓhAlona, to be paralysed with fear.

'ꞓhAnna (megh), to finish, to be able, to put.

'ꞓhŏtu, m., an apple of the smallest variety.

'ꞓhelṛu, m., kid.

ꞓhu'maṭe 'deni, to bring down ripe fruits by beating the tree with long sticks from below.

ꞓikhlona, to be angry.

ꞓiṇ'ṭal, m., a mischievous person.

ꞓo , f., the apple-tree.

ꞓŏgerꞓaṭh, m. f., an emaciated person with a little flesh on.

ꞓuaṭ or cuaṭh, m., a kind of solid (not hollow) bamboo

ꞓu'bare, adv., around.

ꞓŭbbu, m., ventilator on roof.

dedeia, m., sister's husband

dèna , adj., right.

dern , m., sheep and goat in general.

dhekek, adj. or adv., a little.

dhe'mana, m., orphan.

'dhruṛna, to pluck out, uproot.

'doppha, m., crust of pine-wood cut with hatchet, before it is sawed.

dufŭṇḍa, m., holy water in a Yajña.

ḍAḍḍal, m., precipice.

'ḍĀŋgi, f., bench-like wooden cot in shepherd's hut.

'ḍAŋna, to annoy, as a splinter in the eye.

ḍhAnḍɪ'ar, m., collected refuse of a whole village.

ḍùmblu, m., a small pool.

ęk'mukkha, adj., constant.

'ęnde, adv., in this way.

ęnna, adj., of this sort.

èrn, f., anvil.

gęlolą, m., grain.

gęṇḍoli, f., gourd.

gęrolą, m., pimples on the face during puberty.

gęrȓaṇą, to grunt forcibly.

gʌÙȓ, m , a cow-pen within an inhabited house.

gąlb, m., an instrument to make bullets with.

gęĩ, f., a long footstep.

gèr, m., provisions for a journey.

'ghʌḍuri, f., a field once ploughed.

ghʌm'rʌorą, adj., distracted.

'ghątią, f., lengthy songs.

ghır'phıṇḍli, f., whirlwind.

'ghrelą, m., saliva trickling down in slobbering.

ghrıṭṭh, f. spaⁿ (of hand).

ghroṇȷ, f., crease on cloth

ghruṇ'ȷherną, (trans), to crumple.

'ghruṇȷhoną (intrans), to crumple.

ghulı'aṇą, to dissolve.

gıʌũ or gjęũ, village.

gı'hąṭi, one who grinds corn.

gõ'ṭjaṇą, to pass dung.

'graṇu, m., goat's gout.

'grecci, f., a narrow and deep way, a gorge.

'greȓi, f., sparrow.

guꭤlṭa, m., the end-pillar to which the frontal beam of a cow-pen is fitted.

guąȓ, f., a cow-shed not within a house (cf. gʌÙȓ) but at some distance.

'gulghulti, f., a sumptuous meal with a large number of dishes.

guṇ'ḍoȓi, f., ulcer.

guṛ'koul, f., a bird black like the cuckoo, with a yellowish beak.

hᴀlbel, f., belladona.

'hᴀlkheṛ, f., a joint ploughing on the part of many persons with their own ploughs, without any expectation of remuneration.

hᴀõs, m., a flood.

hᴀõsàra, m., shouting to scare away birds or animals.

'haphu, m., opium.

hau, adv., yet.

'hori'ᴀgṛian, adv. next year.

huṛu'ai, f., a flood.

i'dhera, adj., (made) of this thing.

'idian, adv., to this side.

ɟephèkh, adj., quarrelsome.

'kᴀbbna, to abscond, to run away quietly.

kekraɟ, f., N. of a grey-coloured ravenous bird with a long tail.

kelaṭar, adj., arrogant, obstinate.

kᴀn'bubbi, f., ear-hole.

'kᴀṇḍa, m., a dilapidated house.

'kᴀpra, adj., variegated, with a dark ground (spoken of cattle or dog).

keṛeṛ, f., intense exertion.

kᴀùhaṛ, m., a large growth of olive trees.

'kabɟi, f., a kind of fern.

'kãdu, m., bran (of wheat).

'kãgi, f., comb.

kã'got, m., the common lizard.

'kamdhenieri gèl, f., milky way.

ke'tan, adv., why?

ker. f., backbone.

khᴧlṛu, m., a hide skin.

'khᴧṛian, adv., upwards.

khaṛk, m., N. of a tree: *Celtus Australus*.

kheɾon sidda, adj., vertical.

'kharka, adj., new.

khjep, f., immigration to a foreign land for business.

'khreru, m., descending water.

khreɾ, f., bruise due to a splinter etc.

khrəɾu, m., foot-disease among cattle, sheep and goats.

'khɾēʃɾi, adj., standing.

'khɾippi, f., a precipice with small projecting stones to
        climb through.

khuṇd, m., the pole or peg to which an animal is tied.

khu'rala, m., severe hunger.

'khuʃa, adv., willingly, of one's own accord.

kiʃt, f., small chip of wood, splinter.

'kleɲu, m., slight loss of skin by a hurt.

kōkli'aṇa, to growl (as a bear does).

kòlna, to pull out by pecking.

'krʌppna, to keep chewing or eat.ng something all the
        day long.

'krʌṭṭna (dʌnt), to gnash (the teeth).

krep'laṭ, f., long-winded talk.

'kreri, f., coarse wool.

ku'bhesta, adj., (1) naughty.

            (2) pandering to the lewd tastes of other
               people by obscene poems and stories.

ku'lʌkkəɾ, adj., stiff-necked.

kulu'hal, f. oil-press.

'kuṇʒha, Pron., which or who (of the many) ?

'kuŋgli, f., cleaned wool.

lʌpp'deni, to fire, to heat by firing.

'lʌṭru, m., that part of the pole of a palanquin which is
        put upon the shoulder.

'lãohona, to appear.

lãṭh, f, waste of time and trouble.

le'rat, adj., habitually whining (child).

leter, f., sand.

'lɪkuɽ, m., a species of fern.

lɪŋuɳi, f., tail of sheep or goat.

'lɔ̃ʈa, adj. emaciated (owing to sickness etc.) and destitute of hair.

'mʌkku, m., axe.

'mʌndhɑni, f., churning-stick.

'mʌɳɑ, m. small barrier or embankment in cultivated fields.

'mʌɲɟi, interj. shout for addressing a cat. "O cat!"

'mãdɑ, m., Maha Deva.

màru, m, spruce (a species of oak).

màruhaɽ, m, a large growth of oak-trees in a place.

meʈ, m., oracular or astrological ascertainment of some event.

meʈ 'hernɑ, to try to ascertain an event astrologically etc.

mɪ̃nɑ, m., month.

mlàɳɑ, m, blindness.

mlèɽ, m., a twist in a rope, thread etc.

'mocchnɑ, to trim a lamp.

mòkɽi, f., any avowed thing.

'mommrɑ, m, eyebrow of cattle.

mu'cɑki, f., smacking of the lips.

muʃɔ̃ddər, f., the hole of a rat or of an ant.

'muɽa, f. pl., a frown.

'nadi, f., a kind of amulet.

'nãwã, adj., new.

'nili ʃɘbəl, f., perfect verdure.

'nɪndroɽ, m., the first day of the marriage ceremony, in which the parents of the bride and the bridegroom give a dinner in their respective homes to their friends.

nɪ'sphukkhu, m., a carping, sarcastic and inconsiderate person.

nɪtlɘnɑ, to be filtered.

o'ɛɑṭ, f., jeering, ridicule.

'oḍḍnɑ, to roof a house.

oʃȁ, m., a sigh.

pecokṛu, m., pinching with the whole hand.

pelɑli, f., straw of paddy.

pe'lȁẓnɑ, to coax or cajole a person.

'pʌlcǫnɑ fighting, with loud noise, of dogs or cats with each other.

'pʌlkṛɑ, m., a halter of willow put round the neck of cattle.

'pʌlkṛu. m., puppy.

peloṭṭ, m., changing sides in sleep.

'pʌṇe, m. pl , bundles of reaped paddy.

pe'trijɑ, m., father's brother.

'pʌṭṛɑ, adv. a little behind.

'pʌṭṛɪan sȉdda, adj., horizontal (backward).

peṭʌkkha, adj., large-eyed.

pʌṭṭh, f., female kid.

pȁ, conj., but.

pa'lɑnia, m., a foster-child.

pȁṛɑ, m , a kind of wild goat, with a brownish colour.

'pɑthɑr, f., a line of reaped paddy before bundling.

'pēdɑkh, f., black strawberry.

pèn, or pᵉ̇n } m., mill-stone.

'peri, f., foot print.

'perʃɑn, m., a staircase of stone.

'peṭɑbhurȁi, f., pregnant.

'peṭberɑgi, m. f., a glutton.

'phʌṇknɑ, to become hot (said of water only).

'pheḍḍa, m., a bullock, one of whose horns turns to the right and the other to the left.

'phɪndli, f., whirlwind.

'phɪṭknɑ, to be begone (contemptuous).

phȉ, f., wooden shovel to remove snow.

pho'kernɑ, to lighten (in weight).

plețǫna, to writhe with spasms.

'poccru, m. f., a grasping person.

po'ṇhao, m., "sacred day"—the ceremony in connection with ploughing on the first day.

'poṇjru, m.. talon on claw of a bird.

'poru, m., an insect which attacks the various pulses.

potǎ, m., small wooden plate through which the axle of a spinning-wheel passes.

'poțu, m., tip of finger.

pu'nerna, to strain a liquid.

pu'nokhra, N. of a yajña for rain. Lambs are killed in it.

'puṇzwal, f., throat disease among cattle.

re, f., a species of fir-tree.

ṛheo, m., N. of a large tree with small leaves and rather weak wood.

sʌm'ṛdṇa, to ooze spontaneously (said of water).

sʌnder, m., tool.

sʌòtha, adj., slow.

seploc, m., slough of serpent.

sao, f., whitish mildew in rainy season.

satìa, f , (1) the star Arcturus (svātī)

(2) the week from the 13th of Hāṛ to the 20th of Hāṛ.

se, f., a shave.

or **sĕk}** postposition, "up to", **ejʌoj sĕk**
sĕk} "up to Asuj".

'sekla, adj., full of gravel or sand.

'sizna, to sprinkle.

'sīhaṛ, m., in tilling, the first line of furrow.

'sila, m., ear of corn.

'sithuri, f., a field twice ploughed.

so, m., delivery (cattle's).

sor, f., ice.

'subna, m., dream.

su'kʌlla, adj., easy.

sʊ'pᴀʈʈ, adv., well-done! (ironical), used with some verb, as 'kᶒnnɑ "to do".

sʊrrᶐnɑ, to be of stunted development.

'sʊrɑl̤, m. pl., hog's hair.

'ʃᴀmmɑbɑli, f., a shoe used during the season of snow. It keeps tight.

'ʃᴀʃʃu, f., mother-in-law.

ʃᴀtthər, m., a small iron bar attached to the wooden post of a flour-mill.

'ʃɑkli, f., a kind of clay.

ʃɑl, m., a small rice-field.

ʃɑ'mɑo, m., a weed which injures the paddy crop.

ʃᶒil, m., the "hedge-hog pig". A pig like animal with prickles or spines. •

ʃᶒin, f., the kite (bird).

'ʃᶓplɑbɑr, f., nonsensical talk.

(ʃēkhʊrɑ) ⎱
              ⎰, adj.   panting with the tongue coming out (said
(or) 'ʃēkhʊrɑ   of a dog).

'ʃeli, f., bran (of maize).

ʃẽph ⎱
        ⎰, f., foam.
or ʃẽph

'ʃɪnthuli, f., the prickles or spines of a hedge-hog pig (vide ʃᶒil).

'ʃinɑ, used in the impersonal phrase, 'ʃine 'lᴀorɑ "it snows."

ʃoʈʈi, f., a small hole.

ʃʊ'kɑr m., vegetable-field.

'ʃʊn̤d̤i, f., kiss.

'ʃʊt̤ru, m., waste kernel of maize, after removal of grain.

'tᴀntu, m., chips of pine-wood used as torch.

'tᶒnde, adv., in that way.

trᴀŋg 'deni, to stitch.

trᶒt̤hna, to stumble.

'trɪrnɑ, to be rent.

ᵗtroppna, to tatoo.

ᵗtᴜŋga, m., N. of a tree, a species of Cormus.

ṭʌḍḍ, f., log of wood burnt in forest.

ṭʌndholi, f., stem of a flower.

ṭʌor, f., tail of dog or bear.

'ṭʌplona, to err.

'ṭʌpru, m., hut.

ṭàia, m., bars in the lettice-work constituting the front of a cow-pen.

'ṭallia mᴜllia, f. pl., rags.

'ṭeṭrana, to cry in pain (said of a goat).

'ṭhalona, to be arranged.

'ṭhorku, m. f. tale-bearer.

ṭɪgròna, (bat) wind coming from above.

'ṭɪṃṭ̣ʲu, m., stye (in the eye).

ṭìɳʲghri, f., lullby.

'ṭoŋna, m., leg of sheep or goat (below the knee).

'ṭumbi, f., vexation, annoyance.

ᴜ'ḍãg, m. f. a very tall person.

ᴜ'dhera, adj., (made) of that thing.

ugha'rona, to be opened.

ᴜ'hãkna, to bray.

ᵘᴜ'khoṛ (uniform stress on both syllables), m., walnut.

ᴜ'lʌŋgre khane, to walk unsteadily, as a drunkard, a very old person, or a child does.

ᴜnɪàò, m., sexual appetite in a goat.

ᴜ'prʌnt, adv., beginning froᴍ, e. g. 'ʌzzakaᴜ'prʌnt 'from to-day'.

'ᴜrni, f., lamb (female)

'ᴜrnu, m., lamb (male).

usùŋgəṛ, m., close weather.

utònera, adj., belonging to that side.

ᴜ'ṭrna, (1) to fall (spoken of hair : dandruff).

(2) to be slightly removed (said of skin).

ᴜ'ṭumpra, adj., reclining.

ũʐəl, m., handful.

ūr̥ni, f. sewing by stitching two separate pieces of cloth.

'wɑlɑ, m , udder of cattle.

ʐʌũ, adv. at first.

ʐʌùgər, m. f., a person on whose shoulders the whole responsibility of a business rests.

ʐɑ̀nu, m., knee.

'ʐhʌlmʌl, m., dusk, evening time.

'ʐhʌr̥nɑ, to be lost.

ʐhõʐəl, m., tattered and wretched garment.

ʐhuꞌlɑt̥, m. f., a lazy, sleepy person.

'ʐhulnel, f., time for sleep.

ʐhuŋg, f., tangled hair owing to being uncombed.

'ʐuʐhor̥nɑ, to awaken a person by shaking his arms.

TEXTS.

I. Story of the North wind and the sun.

(a) Megh—T̥hakkur version

bɑt te dɪꞌhar̥a

bɑt tə dɪꞌhar̥a ɛɑ 'gʌlladɪr 'lʌr̥ne 'lʌore thìe, ke ã duĩo mã 'kuɲɦɑ 'jorabala 'ese. 'ɵtremã ʊꞌnala kot̥ 'laĩta ɵkk 'bʌttmargu ʊtõnã ɑ. 'tɵnã duĩo mã ɵ ʃart 'bʌni ki ʐɛ̀ 'ʌgri bʌttꞌmargʋera kot̥ khòl: lɑ, tɛ 'jorabala bhòla. tɛdɪr bɑt 'jorasi 'cʌlne 'lʌga, pɑ̀ ʐɵkhəɳ bɑt 'jorasi 'cʌlne 'lʌga, tɵkhəɳ tɛ 'bʌttmargu 'ʌpɳɑ kot̥ 'ʌpɳi 'jɪndusi 'bher̥ne lʌgɑ. bɑt phɪr 'hʌt̥i gɑ. 'phɪri dɪꞌhar̥a 'jorasi 'nɪssa. 'phɪri 'tɵni bʌttꞌmargʋe 'tʌolɑ kot̥ khòlli 'sʌr̥a (Megh ɕha). ə'dherekɪde 'bɑta 'mʌnnʌ peʌ ke ʌ̃ duĩo mã dɪꞌhara 'jorabala 'es·e.

Note.—There is no word for any direction (as "North") in most of these dialects.

(*b*) Rājpūt version.

bɑt te diˈhaɾa

bɑt tə dɪˈhaɾa èɑ ˈgʌllɑtɪr lʌɾne ˈlʌgʊre tie, ke ã̄ duɪo mã̄
ˈkʊṇz̧ĩna ˈz̧orabɑla ęs e. ˈętremã̄ ʊˈnɑla koʈ ˈlęĩtɑ ękk
ˈbʌttmɑrgʊ ʊtõnã̄ a. ˈtęnã̄ duɪo mã̄ ĩ ʃɑrt ˈbʌni ki z̧è ˈʌgri
bʌttˈmɑrgʊəra koʈ khòl:la, tè ˈz̧orabɑla bhòla. tètɪr bɑt
ˈz̧orasęĩ ˈcʌlne ˈʌga, pɑ̀ ˈz̧ękhən bɑt ˈz̧orɑs-ęĩ ˈcʌlne ˈlʌga
tękhən tè bʌttˈmɑrgʊ ˈʌpṇa koʈ ˈʌpṇi ˈɟɪndasęĩ ˈbheɾne
ˈlʌga. bɑt phɪr ˈhʌʈiga. ˈphɪri dɪˈhaɾa ˈz̧orasęĩ ˈnissa. ˈphɪri
ˈtęni bʌttˈmɑrgʊe tʌola koʈ khòlli sa. əˈdherekɪte ˈbata
mʌnna pea, ke ã̄ duɪo mã̄ dɪˈhaɾa ˈz̧orabɑla ˈęse.

II. The " Prodigal Son ".

(*a*) Megh-Ṭhakkur Version.

ˈękki mã̄nʊere duɪ ˈmʌʈʈhe thie. ˈnɪkɾe ˈmʌʈʈhe ˈʌpṇe ˈbavɪan
ˈbolla, ˈbava, ɟaˈdastɪra ze ˈhesa mɑ̀ra ˈęse, tè mɪan dęĩ ˈsʌɾa
(Megh ɕha). èdɪr ˈtęni tèra ˈhesa ˈbʌṇʈi ˈsʌɾa (Megh ɕha).
ˈkēci dɪˈhaɾe-ˈpʌtta ē̃ˈnɪkɾa ˈmʌʈʈha ˈʌpṇa ˈsara kɪch ˈghɪnita
ˈkēci dur ˈmʊlkhamã̄ ˈcʌliga. tę̀ɾi gã̄ita (Megh ˈgʌcchita) ˈtęni
ˈʌpṇi sʌb dʌolət ˈmʌnde ˈkʌmmamã̄ bərbad ˈkęri ˈsʌɾi (Megh
ɕhai). z̧ękhəṇ tèri dʌolət ˈmʊkki gei, tèˈmʊlkhamã̄ kal pea. ˈphɪri
tèan ˈtʌŋgi ˈbhone ˈlʌgi. tè ˈmʊlkhamã̄ ˈkēci ˈbʌste mã̄nʊere
ˈghʌramã̄ tè nʌokər bhoi ga. tère ˈmalke ˈʌpṇiã̄ ˈz̧ɪmɟã̄ mã̄ sur
ˈcarne ˈbhez̧a. z̧ęn ˈkã̄du sur ˈkhã̄tethie, tęn ˈbʌrɟa ˈkhʊʃjasi
ˈkhã̄ta thia, z̧e mę̀lte thie tã̄ tè tęn bi ˈkēci nʌĩ ˈdɪtte. z̧ękhəṇ
tèˈʌpṇjã̄ ˈhoʃamã̄ a, te ˈbonne ˈlʌga, mɑ̀re bavega ˈkędre ˈtʌlba
vale ˈkame ęsən, ˈz̧ęnã̄ga ˈbʌrɟa ˈroʈʈja ęsən, te ʌũ ˈbhʊkna mʌrne
ˈlʌora. ʌũ ˈkhʌra ˈʊʈʈhita ˈʌpṇe bavega gã̄ (Megh ˈgʌcchã̄)
tèsi ˈbonnã̄, mĩ pəṇˈmeʃrɑga tə ˈkʌṇe tɪã̄ga pap ˈkęrʊra ˈęse, ʌũ
ˈhʊnɟã̄ tòra ˈmʌʈʈha bʊˈlanere laɪk nʌĩ rɑ̀. mɪan ˈappu ga
ˈtʌlbavala ˈkama ˈrʌkhi ˈsʌɾa (Megh ɕha).

tè 'khʌɽɑ 'uṭṭhɑ, tə 'ʌpṇe 'bavegàn 'cʌlɑ, 'te hɑu dur. thiɑ,
tère 'bʌbbe lɑ̀, tère 'bʌbbɑn dʌ̃rd ɑi, tè 'dʌuɽɑ, tè si 'gʌle 'lʌggitɑ
'kokkɑ 'dɪttɑ. tère 'mʌṭṭhe tèsị 'bollɑ, 'bavɑ, mĩ pəṇ'meʃrɑgɑ
tə 'kʌṇe tũãgɑ pap 'kẹrʊrɑ 'ẹse. ʌũ 'hʊnjã̃ tòrɑ 'mʌṭṭhɑ bʊ'lanere
lɑɪk nʌĩ rɑ̀   tère 'bʌbbe 'ʌpṇe kamɪən 'bollɑ, khub 'roɽe 'ṭʌlle
ʌ̃nnɑ, èan (Meghìjɑn) lʊaĩ 'sʌɽɑ (Megh ɕha). ère 'hʌttɑ
ʌŋ'guṭhi tə 'pera trʌppəɽ lʊaĩ 'sʌɽɑ(Megh ɕha). ẹkk khub 'bʌɖɖɑ
'bʌcchu ʌ̃nnɑ, tè mɑ̀rɑ, 'phɪri 'ẹɕha dham khʌũ tə 'khʊʃi mʌ̃nnũ
'kide e mɑ̀rɑ 'mʌṭṭhɑ 'mʌri gʌorɑ thiɑ, 'phɪri 'ʐĩtɑ bhoĩ gɑ, e
'ghʌɟɟi 'gʌorɑ thiɑ, 'hʊnjã 'phɪri mẹlli gɑ. tã tẹn 'khʊʃi 'kẹnne
'lʌge.

tẹkhəṇ tèra 'bʌɖɖɑ 'mʌṭṭhɑ 'ʌpṇe 'bʌgɽe mã 'gʌorɑ thiɑ.
ʐẹkhəṇ te ɑ, tə 'ghʌrɑgɑ 'pʊʐʐɑ, 'tẹni 'gitera 'kʌṇe 'nʌɕnera
(Megh 'nʌɕnera) 'rʌolɑ 'ʃʊnɑ. 'tẹni ẹkk 'ʌpṇɑ mãnu 'ʃʌddaʃ
tè 'pʊchne lʌgɑ, ki e chə gʌll 'ẹse 'tẹni tèsi 'bollɑ, ki tòrɑ bɪ hɑ
'ʌorɑ 'ẹse tə tòre 'bave 'khub 'tʌkɽɑ 'bʌcchu 'marʊrɑ 'ẹse, 'kide
tè te 'raʐi 'khʊʃi mẹlli gɑ. èɑ 'gʌllɑdɪra tè roʃ ɑ, te bher 'bɪʃʃi
gɑ. tèrekɪde tèra bʌbb bher ɑ, 'tẹni tère 'chʌnde kie, 'tẹni 'mʌṭṭhe
ʌ̃pṇe 'babɪɑn 'bollɑ, ki her, ʌũ 'kẹdre bʌ̃rjaga tòrị ṭèl 'lʌorasã
'kẹnne, te tòrɑ 'bollura 'kʌdi nʌĩ thiɑ 'pʌrtʊrɑ, tã bi tĩ mɑ̀rekɪde
'ɕhẹlɽu bi nʌĩ thiɑ 'marʊrɑ. 'ʐẹkhəṇ e tòrɑ 'mʌṭṭhɑ̀ ɑ, 'ʐẹni
tòrị ja'dast 'kʌɽ ɟrjɑ gɑ lʊ'ṭaĩ 'sʌɽi (Megh ɕhai) tĩ tèrekɪde khub
'tʌkɽɑ 'bʌcchu 'marʊrɑ 'ẹse. tère 'bʌbbe tègṇ 'bollɑ, ki 'mʌṭṭhɪɑ
tũ həmeʃa mĩsi rã̄tɑ, ʐe kɪch mɑ̀rɑ ẹse tə tè tòrɑ 'ẹse; mɑ̀ri
'khʊʃi 'kẹnni 'roɽi thi, 'kide e tòrɑ bɪ'hɑ 'mʌri 'gʌorɑ thiɑ, ʌʐ'phɪri
'ʐĩtɑ bhoĩ gɑ, tə 'ghʌɟɟi gʌorɑ, thiɑ, 'hʊnjã 'phɪri mẹlli gɑ.

(b) Rājpūt version.

'ẹkki mã̄nuere duɪ 'mʌṭṭhe tie. 'nɪkɽe 'mʌṭṭhe 'ʌpṇe 'bʌbbɑn
'bollɑ, 'babɑ̀, ja'dastira ʐe 'hesa mɑ̀rɑ 'ẹse tõ mɪan dẹĩ sa. 'kɛ̃ɕi
dɪ'haɪ e 'pʌtta ē'nɪkɽa 'mʌṭṭhɑ 'ʌpṇa 'sara kich 'ghɪnita 'kɛ̃ɕi
dur 'mʊlkhamã̄ 'cʌliga. tẹ̀ɽi 'gʌɕɕhita 'tẹni 'ʌpṇi sʌb dʌolət

'mʌndə 'kʌmma-mã bərbad 'kẹri sai. ẓẹkhən tɪ'hari dʌolət 'mʊkki gei, tè'mʊlkhamã kʌl pea. 'phɪri tɪɡn 'tʌŋgi 'bhone 'lʌgi

tè 'mʊlkhamã 'kɛ̃ɛ̃i 'bʌste mãnʊere 'ghʌramã tẽ nʌokər bhoĩ gʌ.

tɪ'hare 'malke tẽ 'ʌpɳia 'ẓɪmĩamã sur 'ɛarne 'bheẓʌ. ẓẹn 'kãdu sur 'khãte tie, tẹn 'bʌria 'khuʃia sẹi 'khãta tia, ẓe mẹlte tie tã. tè tẹn bi 'ẓɛ̃ɛ̃i nẹĩ 'dɪtte. ẓẹkhən tẽ 'ʌpɳia 'hoʃamã a, tẽ 'bonne 'lʌga, mɑ̀re 'bʌbbaka 'kẹtre 'tʌlbavɑle 'kame 'ẹsu, 'ẓẹnãka 'bəddia 'roṭṭia 'ẹsu, te ʌũ 'bhʊkna 'mʌrne 'lʌgʊra. ʌũ 'khʌɾa 'ʊṭṭhita 'ʌpne 'bʌbbaka 'gʌɛɛhã, tè sẹĩ 'bonnã, mĩ pəɳ'meʃraka

tə 'kʌɳe tʊãkɑ pap 'kẹrʊrɑ 'ẹs e. ʌũ 'hʊnĩa tò̀ra 'mʌṭṭhɑ bʊ'lanere lɑɪk nẹĩ rɑ̀. mɪan 'appu ka 'tʌlbavɑlɑ 'kama 'rʌkhisa.

tẽ 'khʌɾa 'ʊṭṭhɑ tə 'ʌpɳe 'bʌbba-kòn 'ɛʌlɑ. tẽ hau dur tia, tɪ'hare 'bʌbbe lɑ̀, tɪ'hare 'bʌbbɑn dʌrd ai, tẽ 'dʌuɾɑ, tè sẹĩ 'gʌle 'lʌggita 'ʃuɳḍi 'dɪtti. tɪ'hare 'mʌṭṭhe tè s-ẹĩ 'bolla, 'baba, mĩ

pəɳ'me ʃraka te 'kʌɳe tʊãkɑ pap 'kẹrʊrɑ 'ẹs e. ʌũ 'hʊnĩa tò̀ra 'mʌṭṭhɑ bʊ'lanere lɑɪk nẹĩ rɑ̀. tɪ'hare bʌbbe 'ʌpɳe kʌmɪən 'bolla, khub 'roɾe 'ṭʌlle ɑnnã eɡn lʊ'ẹĩ sa. ɪ'hare 'hʌttɑ ʌŋ'guṭhi tə'perɑ 'trʌppəɾ lʊ'ẹĩ sa. ẹkk khub 'bəddɑ 'bʌɛhɪu ɑnnã, tè mɑ̀ra 'phɪri 'ẹɛhɑ dhɑm khʌũ tə'khuʃi mʌnnũ. 'kide ĩ mɑ̀ra mʌṭṭhɑ 'mʌri 'gʌoratia, 'ẓĩta phɪri bhoĩga. ĩ 'ẓhʌɾi 'gʌoratia, 'hʊnĩa 'phɪri mẹlli ga. tã tẹn 'khʊʃi 'kẹnne 'lʌge. tẹ'khən tɪ'harɑ 'bɔ̀ddɑ 'mʌṭṭhɑ 'ʌpɳe 'bʌgɾe mã 'gʌorɑ tia. ẓẹkhən tẽ a, tə 'ghʌrɑkɑ 'pʊẓẓɑ, 'tẹni 'gitera 'kʌɳe 'nʌɛ̃era 'rʌolɑ

'ʃunɑ. 'tẹni ẹkk 'ʌpɳɑ mãnu 'ʃʌdda, tẽ 'pʊchne 'lʌga, ki ẽ chə gʌll 'ẹse. 'tẹni tèsẹi 'bolla ki tò̀ra bhra 'ʌorɑ 'ẹse tə tò̀re 'babe khub 'tʌkɾɑ 'ʃʌkkur 'marura 'ẹse, 'kide tè tẽ 'raẓi 'khuʃi mẹlli

ga. èagʌllatìra tè chʌpp ai, tẽ bher 'bɪʃʃi ga. tɪ'harekɪte t.'harɑ bʌbb bher a, 'tẹni tɪ'kare 'chʌnde kie. 'tẹni 'mʌṭṭhe 'ʌpɳe 'bʌbbɑn 'kolla, ki her, ʌũ 'kẹtre bʌriaka tò̀ri ṭèl 'lʌgʊrasã

'kẹnne, te tò̀ra bollʊrɑ 'kʌdi nẹĩ tia 'pʌrtʊrɑ. tã bi tuĩ

màrekɪte 'ʃhęlṛu bi nęĭ tĭa 'marʋra. zękhən ĭ tòra 'mʌṭṭha a, 'zęni tòri ɹá'dast 'kʌɲɹiaka lʋ̧ʧęĭ sai, tʋĭ tɪ'hare kɪte khub 'tʌkṛa 'ʃakkʋr 'marʋra 'ęse. tɪ'hare 'bʌbbe tɪɑn 'bolla, ki

'mʌṭṭhɪa, tũ həmeʃa mĭsęi rãta, zē̃ kɪch màra 'ęse tə tẽ tòra 'ęse; màri 'khuʃi 'kęnni 'roṛi ti, 'kide ĭ tòra bhra 'mʌri 'gʌora tia, ʌz 'phɪri 'zĭta bhoĭ ga, tə 'zhʌri 'gʌora tia, 'hʋnĭa 'phɪri męlli ga.

Standard List of words and sentences in (High) Rudhārī.

	English.	High Rudhārī.
1.	one	ękk
2.	two	duɪ
3.	three	trae
4.	four	ɕəur
5.	five	pʌnɕ
6.	six	ʃà
7.	seven	sʌtt
8.	eight	ʌṭṭh
9.	nine	nʌo
10.	ten	dʌʃ
11.	twenty	bì, bi
12.	fifty	pə̃zà
13.	hundred	ʃʌʋ
14.	I	ʌũ
15.	of me	màra
16.	mine	màrá
17.	we	à
18.	of us	àra
19.	our	àra
20.	thou	tũ
21.	of thee	tòra
22.	thine	tòra
23.	you	tu
24.	of you	tũra (Thakkur) / to'hara (Megh-Rājpūt)

English.	High Rudhārī.
25. your	tu̇ra (Thakkur) to'hara (Megh-Rājpūt)
26. he	tè Megh-Thakkur) tḕ (Rājpūt)
27. of him	tèra (Thakkur) tɪ'hara (Megh-Rājpūt)
28. his	tèra (Thakkur) tɪ'hara (Megh-Rājpūt)
29. they	tẹn
30. of them	'tẹnra (Thakkur) tẹn'hara (Megh-Rājpūt)
31. their	'tẹnra (Thakkur) tẹn'har (Megh-Rājpūt)
32. hand	hʌtt or hʌtth
33. foot	per
34. nose	nʌkk
35. eye	ʌkkh
36. mouth	'khākhṛa (Rājpūt) mũ̀(Megh-Thakkur)
37. tooth	dʌnt
38. ear	kʌnn
39. hair	keʃ
40. head	ʃɪr
41. tongue	zìb
42. belly	peṭ
43. back	pɪṭṭh
44. iron	lòa
45. gold	'sunna
46. silver	'cādi
47. father	bava (one's own) bʌbb (another's)
48. mother	'ʌmmà (one's own) ma (another's)
49. brother	bɪ'ha (Megh-Thakkur) bhɪa (Rājpūt)
50. sister	bèn

	English.	High Rudhārī.
51.	man	m̃ãnu
52.	woman	ʐənɑn
53.	wife	ʐənɑn
54.	child	'mʌṭṭha, 'maṭṭha
55.	son	puttər or 'mʌṭṭha
56.	daughter	ʃkūi (one's own) ⟨'kuṛi (another's)
57.	slave	'ʌogi
58.	cultivator	'Jɪmdɑr
59.	shepherd	pu'hɑl
60.	God	pəṇmesər
61.	Devil	ʃətɑn
62.	sun	dɪ'haṛɑ
63.	moon	ʃ'canni (Megh-Ṭhakkur) ⟨'cãdəni (Rājpūt)
64.	star	'tɑrɑ
65.	fire	ʌgg
66.	water	'pãni
67.	house	ghʌr
68.	horse	'ghoṛɑ
69.	cow	gʌo
70.	dog	ʃ'kuttɑ (Megh-Ṭhakkur) ⟨ʃunà (Rājpūt)
71.	cat	bəlaṛ
72.	cock	kukəṛ
73.	duck	bλdk
74.	ass	'khotɑ
75.	camel	uṭ
76.	bird	ʃ'pʌkhru or ⟨ɛɪ'ṛollu
77.	go	gà
78.	eat	khà
79.	sit	bɪʃ
80.	come	ʌi

	English.	High Rudhāri.
81.	beat	mar
82.	stand	'khʌṛa ʊṭh
83.	die	mʌr
84.	give	dè, de
85.	run	dʌuṛ
86.	up	ṭɪkkər
87.	near	'neṛe
88.	down	ʊṇḍa
89.	far	dur
90.	before	ʌgər
91.	behind	'pʌtta
92.	who	kuṇ
93.	what	che
94.	why	kẹ'tan
95.	and	te, tə, 'kʌne
96.	but	pʌr
97.	if	ẕe
98.	yes	hã
99.	no	nãɔ
100.	alas	hae
101.	father	{'baʋa (one's own) / bʌbb (another's)
102.	of a father	'baʋera, 'bʌbbera
103.	to a father	'baʋɪan, 'bʌbban
104.	from a father	{'bʌbbaka (Rājpūt) / 'bʌbbaga, -ga, ga (Megh-Ṭhakkur)
105.	two fathers	duɪ bʌbb
106.	fathers	bʌbb
107.	of fathers	'bʌbbera
108.	to fathers	'baʋɪan, 'bʌbban
109.	from fathers	'bʌbbaka,-ga, -ga, -ga
110.	a daughter	{'kuɪ (one's own) / 'kuṛi (another's)
111.	of a daughter	'kuṛiara

	English.	High Rudhāri.
112.	to a daughter	ʼkuṛiɑn
113.	from a daughter	ʼkuṛiɑkɑ, -gɑ, -gɑ̥, -gɑ
114.	two daughters	duɪ ʼkuṛijɑ
115.	daughters	ʼkuṛijɑ
116.	of daughters	ʼkuṛierɑ
117.	to daughters	ʼkuṛiɑn
118.	from daughters	ʼkuṛiɑkɑ, gɑ, gɑ̥, gɑ
119.	a good man	ʼroṛɑ mãnu
120.	of a good man	ʼroṛe mãnuerɑ
121.	to a good man	ʼroṛe mãnuɑn
122.	from a good man	ʼroṛe mãnuɑkɑ, gɑ, gɑ̥, gɑ
123.	two good men	ʼduɪ ʼroṛe mãnu
124.	good men	ʼroṛe mãnu
125.	of good men	ʼroṛe mãnuerɑ
126.	to good men	ʼroṛe mãnuɑn
127.	from good men	ʼroṛe mãnuɑkɑ-gɑ, gɑ̥, gɑ
128.	a good woman	ʼroṛi zənɑn
129.	a bad boy	ʼmʌndɑ ʼmʌṭṭhɑ
130.	good women	ʼroṛiɑ zənɑni
131.	a bad, girl	ʼmʌndi ʼkuṛi
132.	good	ʼroṛɑ
133.	better	(ʼikɑ-)ʼroṛɑ
134.	best	(sʌbṇãkɑ-) ʼroṛɑ
135.	high	ʼucca
136.	higher	(ʼikɑ-)ʼuccɑ
137.	highest	(sʌbnãkɑ-) ʼuccɑ
138.	a horse	ʼghoṛɑ
139.	a mare	ʼghoṛi
140.	horses	ʼghoṛe
141.	mares	ʼghoṛiɑ

	English.	High Rudhāri.
142.	a bull	sằn
143.	a cow	gᴀo
144.	bulls	sằn
145.	cows	'gᴀuwa (Megh-Ṭhakkur)
146.	a dog	'kutta
		ʃunà (Rājput)
147.	a bitch	ʃ'kutti (Megh-Ṭhakkur) ʃunài (Rājpūt)
148.	dogs	'kutte, ʃunà
149.	bitches	'kuttia, ʃunaìa
150.	a he-goat	'bᴀkkra, thuàṭ
151.	a female goat	bᴀkkri
152.	goats	'bᴀkkre, thuàṭ
153.	a male deer	hᴀrn
154.	a female deer	'hᴀrni
155.	deer	hᴀrn
156.	I am	ᴀũ 'ǫsằ
157.	thou art	tũ 'ǫsi (or 'ǫsĩ), 'ɪsi
158.	He is	tè 'ǫse
159.	We are	à ǫsən
160.	you are	tu 'ǫsa
161.	They are	tǫn ǫsən
162.	I was	ʃᴀũ tia (Rājpūt) ʃᴀũthìa (Megh-Ṭhakkur)
163.	Thou wast	tũ tia, thìa
164.	He was	tè tia, thìa
165.	We were	à tie, thìe
166.	You were	tu tie, thìe
167.	They were	tǫn tie, thìe
168.	Be	bho
169.	To be	'bhona
170.	Being	'bhõta
171.	Having been	bhoĩta, 'bhoĩda (Rājpūt) (Megh-Ṭhakkur)

	English.	High Rūnhārī.
172.	I may be	bhoã
173.	I shall be	bhɔ̀na
174.	I should be	ʌũ 'bhura 'loɽta
175.	Beat	mar
176.	To beat	'marna
177.	Beating	'marta
178.	Having beaten	'marita, 'marida
179.	I beat	ʌũ'marta
180.	Thou beatest	tũ 'marta
181.	He beats	tɜ 'marta
182.	We beat	à 'marte
183.	You beat	tu 'marte
184.	They beat	tɛn 'marte
185.	I beat (Past)	mĩ 'mara
186.	Thou beatest	tuĩ (Rājpūt) or tĩ (Megh-Thakkur) 'mara
187.	he beat.	'tɛni 'mara
188.	We beat	ãe 'mara
189.	You beat	tũe 'mara
190.	They beat	'tɛnɛ̃ 'mara
191.	I am beating	ʌũ 'mare 'kɛtta 'ɛsã
192.	I was beating	ʌũ 'mare 'kɛtta tia (or thia)
193.	I had beaten	mĩ 'marura tia (or thia)
194.	I may beat	ʌũ 'marã
195.	I shall beat	ʌũ màrna
196.	Thou wilt beat	tũ màrla
197.	He will beat	tɜ màrla
198.	He shall beat	à màrne
199.	You will beat	tu màrle
200.	They will beat	tɛn màrle
201.	I should beat	(tɜ) mĩ 'marura 'loɽta
202.	I am beaten	ʌũ 'marhɔ̃ta or 'marɔ̃ta
203.	I was beaten	('tɛni) ʌũ 'mara

	English.	High Rudhārī.
204.	I shall be beaten	Aū 'marhonɑ or 'marǫna
205.	I go	Aū gàta
206.	Thou goest	tū gàta
207.	He goes	tə gàtɑ
208.	We go	à gàte
209.	Thou go	tu gàte
2'0.	They go	tęn gàte
211.	I went	Aū ga
212.	Thou wentest	tū ga
213.	He went	tə gɑ
214.	We went	à ge
215.	You went	tu ge
216.	They went	tęn ge
217.	Go	gà
218.	Going	gàta
219.	Gone	ga
220.	What is your name	tòra chə naū 'ęse
221.	How old is this horse?	i 'ghoɾa 'kętre bхriera 'ęse
222.	How far is it from here to Kashmir ?	{'ɪtthjɑ kɪʃ'mir 'kętri dur 'ęse
223.	How many sons are there in your father's house?	{ tòre 'baʋere 'ghɑramã 'kętre 'mʌtthe ęsən
224.	I have walked a long way to-day.	{ mī ʌʐ 'bʌɾi 'bʌtt'hʌɲthi
225.	The son of my uncle is married to his sister	{ màre 'nɪkre (or 'bʌɖɖe) 'baʋera 'mʌttha tòria bèni sèi bjàura 'ęse
226.	In the house is the saddle of the white horse	{ i 'ghʌramã 'chɪtte 'ghoɾęri 'kathi 'ęse
227.	Put the saddle on his back	{ 'kathi tòria 'pɪtthitɪr rʌkh
228.	I have beaten his son with many stripe	{ mī tèra 'mʌttha 'bʌɾa 'kolɾe sęī 'mara

	English.	High Rūdhārī
229.	He is grazing cattle on the top of the hill	tè 'dharere 'ʃɪratɪr 'gorūmel 'care ketta 'ese
230.	He is sitting on a horse under that tree	tè u 'buṭṭahetṭh 'ghoretɪr bɪʃʃura 'ese
231.	His brother is taller than his sister	tèra br'ha teria bènika 'ɭamma 'ese
232.	The price of that is two rupees and a half	tèra mul ḍhai ruipʌjje 'ese
233.	My father lives in that small house	màra 'baʋa u-'nɪkɾe 'ghʌramἄ rāta
234.	Give this rupee to him	i rəpʌjja tèan dea
235.	Take those rupees from him	ten rəpʌjje tèka 'ghɪmna
236.	Beat him well and bind him with ropes	tèan khub 'mara 'kʌne tèan rʌʃʃia seī bʌndi 'sʌɾa
237.	Draw water from the well	khùa mἄga 'paṇi kʌḍḍa
238.	Walk before me	mīka 'ʌgru 'ʌgru 'cʌla
239.	Whose boy comes behind you ?	tõắpʌta kèra 'mʌṭṭha 'ʌora 'ese
240.	From whom did you buy that?	i tūē kèka ghɪmrua 'ese
241.	From a shopkeeper of the village	'gjeũeria 'hʌṭṭia-ʋaleka

HERODOTUS'S ACCOUNT OF TWO STANDARDS OF MEASURE OF ANCIENT PERSIA COMPARED WITH THE ACCOUNTS OF OLD PERSEE BOOKS.

By Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, C. I. E , Ph. D.

INTRODUCTION.

"It is with a feeling of gratitude for having been permitted to finish a work extending over *thirty* years that, after writing this Preface the pen will be laid down". (Grierson in his Preface of Volume I, Part I (1927) p. 1).

While reading the above words of Dr. Sir George Grierson written at the close of his Monumental work, relating to India, I am reminded of the following words of Firdousi (about 941 — 1020 A. C.) at the close of his Monumental work of the Shah-Nameh relating to Persia, uttered about 900 years ago.

سی و پنج سال از سرای سپنج

بسی رنج بردم باءمید گنج

Sî ô panj sāl az sarāye sepanj

Basî ranj bordam ba ûmid-i ganj.

"I bore a good deal of trouble for 35 years in this transient world in the hope of (being rewarded with) money".

Firdousi died disappointed at want of appreciation of his work at the hands of his King. Dr. Grierson has the satisfaction to see, that his monumental work is appreciated not only by his sovereign, but by an admiring number of scholars. Firdousi's work was in a different line. Sir George Grierson's work is in a different line but it also includes (Vol. X) a linguistic survey of the languages of the Iranian family of Firdousi's Persian. Firdousi wrote his last line with a broken heart. Grierson has written his last lines with "a feeling of gratitude", gratitude towards God,

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(1) Macan's Calcutta Edition, Vol. IV, p. 2095.

who inspired him, and gratitude towards all, who helped him. The present Volume, for which this paper is written, is an expression of the gratitude of Indian scholars towards Sir G. Grierson, and, it gives me great pleasure to be associated with this work, expressive of gratitude. Sir George Grierson's name has often come to my lips in some other directions. When I occasionally cast a glance on the past work of my dear Anthropological Society of Bombay, of which I am a member since its very foundation, and of which I was the Honorary Secretary for a long period of about 30 years, I remember him as a past-President of our Society. When I occasionally cast a glance on the past work of my dear Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, of which I have the pleasure and honour of being the President to-day, I think of Sir George Grierson as the Honorary Fellow of the Society and as the recipient of its Campbell Medal, in the Committee of the selection of which I had the pleasure of acting. All these associations and thoughts and to the pleasure of doing honour to one who has served India well.

OBJECT OF THE PAPER.

The object of the paper is to present a Note upon old Iranian standards of weight and measures, as described in the writings of Herodotus in old Iranian books.

ARTABA.

Herodotus, while speaking of the power of the Babylonian Empire says :— "Whereas there are twelve months in the year, the Babylonian territory provides him (the King) with subsistence for four months and all the rest of Asia for the remaining eight; thus the territory of Assyria amounts to a third part of the power of all Asia, and the government of this region which the Persians call Satrapy, is considerable; since it yielded a full *artaba* of silver every day to Tritdechmes, son of Artabazus, who held this district from the King; the *artaba* is a Persian measure, containing three Attic chaemices more than the Attic medimnus".[1]

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[1] Herodotus Book I, 192. Cary's Translation (1889) p. 83.

Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson gives a table which helps us to know the weight of an artaba. He says:— "This (artaba) is the same name as the Artab of modern Egypt and, like the medimnus, is a corn measure. The artab is nearly five English bushels and contains 8 med. This too is the Latin Modicus, which last was equal to one-sixth of the Greek medimus. But ardaba differs in quantity from the *artaba*".

1 Medinus = 48 chaemices or 6 Latin modii.

1 Madius = 8 chaemices.

1 Artaba = 51 chaemices.

1 Artaba = a little more than 6⅓ modii.

1 Modicus = nearly 1 peck English.

a artaba = 1¾ bushel.

When Herodotus gives us an artaba as a standard of measure corn, in the Avesta we find **danarĕ** as a measure of weight.[1] It is dānar in Pahlavi, dinār and danār دنار or دينار in Persian. According to Anquetil du Perron, a dinâr is equal to 4 tolas. Now, as one tolla is equal to 175 grains, 1 dinâr (danare) comes to 4 × 175=700 grains.

According to Mr. Harlez also, a danarĕ comes to 700 grains. He speaks of adamire as "measure de capacité ou de poids dont la base est une certaine quantité de grain. Elle parrait peser environ 700 grains".[2]

Now one artaba, as given in the above table, is 1¼ bushels. For bushel, we find the following table in our modern books of arithmetic:—

7000 grs. = 1 pound

10 pounds = 1 gallon.

 8 gallons = 1 bushel.[3]

(1) Vendidad XVI 7; Le Zend Avest, Tome I, Partie II,— page 398, n. 1.

(2) Avesta, Livre sacré du Zoroastrisme 1881. Translation: It is a measure of capacity or of weight of which the base is a certain quantity or grain. It appears to weigh about 700 grains.

(3) Cornwell's Arithmetic.

So 1 bushel is equal to $8 \times 10 \times 7000 = 560000$ grs. and $1\frac{3}{4}$ bushels $= 980000$ grs.

Thus the Avesta danarĕ which contains, as said above, 700 grains, is $\frac{1}{14}$th part of an artaba. In other words, 1 artaba $= 1400$ danarĕs. A danarĕ, therefore, seems to be a very small measure.

Parsang a Measure of Distance.

Herodotus thus refers to a measure of distance in connection with a road in Persia: — "There are royal stations all along, and excellent inns, and the whole road is through an inhabited and safe country. There are twenty stations extending through Lydia and Phrygia and the distance is ninety-four parsangs and a half". (Bk. V 52).

The paresang of Herodotus is the parsang of Pahlavi and farsang فرسنگ of Persian. In the Zand Phalavi glossory, a parasang or farsang is said to be " a measure of one thousand foot marks " (hazār gāmi do pāe)[1]

According to Herodotus, "the parasang is equal to thirty stades" (Bk. V, 53). A Greek stade is one furlong[2]. So Herodotu's parasang is equal to 30 furlongs.

Sir George Rawlinson says that the above figures of Herodotus were correct Greek figures. According to Strabo, some took a parasang to contain 49 stades or furlongs and others 60.

Herodotus seems to be right in taking a parasang (farsang) to be 30 stades or furlongs. He is supported by the Phalavi Zâd-sparm[3] where a farsang is taken to measure 20000 ft. and 20000 ft. come to about 30 furlongs.

(1) Zand-Pahlavi Glossary of Dastur Hoshang and Haug p. 42, 1. 2 of the Text, Translation, p. 75.
(2) Webster.
(3) Chapter VI, 8. S. B. E. V, p. 170.

ACCENT IN TELUGU SPEECH AND VERSE.

(Mr. G. V. Sitapati B. A. L.T. Lecturer, Rajah's College, Parlakimedi, Madras Presidency.)

My object in contributing this article is to show that there is in Telugu, what is commonly known as accent and that it plays a significant part not only in Telugu Speech but also in Telugu Metres. It may look strange to students of Linguistic Science that I should make an effort to prove what is, after all, a natural characteristic feature of any spoken tongue. "Only a machine" says Prof. Blackie[1] "could produce a continuous series of sounds in undistinguished monotonous repetitions like the *tum, tum, tum* of a drum; a rational being using words for a rational purpose to manifest his thoughts and feelings necessarily accents both words and sentences in some way or other." But many Telugu scholars do not seem to have recognised the presence of accent in their own speech. The failure to recognise it is the result of a prejudice against the spoken tongue. About eighteen years ago, when the Government of Madras accepting the views of the Modern School of thought recognised the spoken Telugu as a proper medium of instruction in all the Educational institutions, a monster memorial was presented by the conservative Telugue Academy to the Government, in the name of the whole Telugu population, praying that "Classical" and not "Modern" Telugu should be the proper medium of instruction. The leaders of the "Classical" school declared in that memorial :— "The Telugu of Nannaya of the 11th century is not different from that of Rao Bahadur K. Veeresalingam Pantulu of to-day. The language of the one is the same as that of the other. The same rules of grammar, rhetoric and prosody govern both. It is, therefore, wrong to say that the literary

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1. Place and power of Accent in Language in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh 1871—quoted in Encyclopœdia Britannica Vol. I. pp. 80—81.

language is archaic or antiquated as the few advocates of the Modern School represent it to be." In the opinion of the leaders of the "Classical" school, the Telugu language has undergone no change and has, therefore, no history; and the rules of the old Telugu grammars govern or must govern and fix the Telugu language for ever! But these grammars as Rao Bahadur K. Veeresalingam Pantulu stated in his autobiography (Vol. II. p. 156) treat only of the ancient poetic dialect and were prepared before the cultivation of the Telugu Prose. As the spoken dialect was not the subject of study for the grammarians, the question of accent did not arise. The opinion of the classical school prevailed and thanks to the influence of its leaders, the Government of Madras had to withdraw its recognition of "Modern" Telugu and the Syndicate of the University of Madras announced that "it is not at present in a position to recognise what is known as Modern Telugu for University purposes."[1] The very idea of accent in Telugu is not, therefore, appealing to advocates of the classical school; in the first place, it refers to the spoken tongue that deserves no study; and in the second place, it was not noticed by the old grammarians and it is, therefore, a foreign product that should be boycotted!

Nevertheless, there is accent in Telugu. It may not be so strong and distinct as in English. "That the accentuation of some languages is more distinct, various and effective than that of others is beyond question but there are, none so far as we know, in which its power is not felt. The statement sometimes made that the French have no accent in their words can only mean that their accent is less emphatic or less variously so than that of certain other nations. If it means more; it is not merely an error but an absurdity."[2] The same may be said of Telugu.

Ordinarily it is the first syllable of a word that has the main accent as in 'palaka (a plank or slate), 'veduru[3] (bamboo),

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1. The modern school has, since then been steadily making progress and gaining strength in the Telugu country.
2. Encyclopœdia Britannica Vol. I, p. 81.
3. The medial d as in this word is more a fricative than a stop.

'sagemu (half) 'enimidi (eight). In words of more than four syllables, which are generally compounds, the secondary accent may fall on the prominent syllable of the words or particles that enter into the compound. The ordinary man is not conscious of the composition of the word but nevertheless accentuates as accurately as the grammarian. Ex. 'mage ‚tanəmu (manliness), 'telusu'konu (to know), 'velikilə‚padu (to fall flat on the back). In polysyllabic words which are not compounds, the secondary accent is rarely noticed. palu kuduru, may mean 'they speak *or* say' or 'the arrangement of teeth', but the difference in meaning is brought out by accentuation. In the former sense, it is 'palukuduru and in the second sense, it is ‚palu 'kuduru. 'rend ‚edlə 'bandļu means carriages (each) drawn by two bullocks, while 'rend 'edlə- ‚bandļu means two bullock-carts.

The final syllable of a Telugu word is generally unaccented; but if it is a significant particle, the secondary accent may fall on it. 'ka:ni (but), 'ka:‚ni : (let it be) are etymologically the same; ka:n means 'to become' and i : means 'give (thou)'. The ordinary Telugu man is quite ignorant of this derivation; but accentuates correctly to bring about the difference in meaning. The final i in ka:ni was originally i : but became short as it was unaccented. The final short, unaccented and therefore weak vowel disappears in liaison when followed by a word beginning with a vowel. 'va:du (he) + 'appudu (then) + 'undenu (was) = 'va : 'dappu 'dundenu.

'atəni (his) + 'oddə (a particle denoting place) was in old Telugu 'atəni 'joddə (with or near him) because i(j) was in old Telugu, a glide. In modern Telugu, such glides are disappearing. So, one would expect in modern Telugu, the form 'atə‚noddə and so it is in the speech of some Telugus. In my speech as in the case of many others, a bilabial voiced fricative has developed before the initial back vowels o and u So, we hear, 'atəni 'voddə 't a: ti (of palm) + 'a:ku (leaf) = t:ati'ja:ku = 'ta:‚tœ:ku. The

second form is of later Telugu and the **æ** : sound is the result of the assimilation of **ɑ** : with the palatal i.

In words where the first syllable has a short vowel and the second syllable has a long vowel the accent is on the second syllable:—su'mɑ : [from tsu· ɖu·mɑ : look thou !], i'de: (Is it this ? or It is only this), kə'dɑ: (verily, is it not ?). The final vowel in such words is accented and strong and does not, therefore, disappear when it is followed by a word beginning with a vowel:—

'ni : v- 'iŋṭi- 'voddɑn-'unṭɑ: vu su'mɑ: 'ippuḍe :
you house near remain look ! now only
(= note)

'vɑstɑ:nu. i'de : —'atən(i) — 'illu kə'dɑ: - 'ɑni
I come this only his house verily that
'ne: n—'ɑnu,konnɑ:nu.
I thought

In the old Telugu form ,atə'ḍa (it is only he) the final syllable had the primary accent though it had only a short vowel but since the tendency is, in later Telugu, to shift the accent to the first syllable unless the previously accented syllable had a long vowel, 'atəḍə developed as a dialectal for.n, but the force of the particle **ɑ** at the end of the word could not be brought out unless that vowel was clearly pronounced. Hence, has developed the modern form 'atə'ḍe : 'atə,ḍe:

The old Telugu form ko'lɑndi (of measurable capacity, size, number etc,; limited; little; few) has gradually undergone several modifications with the tendency to shift the accent to the first syllable :—ko 'lɑdi, 'kolədi, 'koldi, 'koddi.[1]

The evolution of some of the modern from the old Telugu forms illustrates the gradual disappearance of the unaccented syllables. For want of space, I shall content myself with a few typical examples : —

1. A few more similar examples are given under syncope below,

1. Aphesis:—ə'van*(he) (Prem. Dravidian)¹ > ə'vanu >
   (ə) 'vaṇḍu > 'va : ṇḍu > 'vã : ḍu > 'vaḍu¹
2. Apheresis:—wi 'la:ti (foreign from Hindusthani-wilāyati)
   lā : ti
3. Apocope:— uṇḍeḍu adj. remaining, staying) >
   uṇḍe : ; 'uṇtini (I was) > 'uṇtin > 'uṇtī > 'uṇti.
4. Sycope:—'moləkə (sprout) > 'molkə>'mokkə;
   'ma : ninədi (is cured) > 'ma:nindi;
   'unnədi (is) > undi; 'koṭṭinə:va : ḍə-nu

(that beat person am, *i. e.* I am the person who beat or I beat) >
'koṭṭi-'na:də-nu > koṭṭina : nu > koṭṭəə:nu > koṭṭə̃: >
koṭṭə; 'ti : sitinv-'e : nin (removed-you if; i. e if you removed) >
'ti : sit (i)- (v)i- 'enī > 'ti:sit (i)-(v)-'e:ni > ti : sit (i)-(v)-
'e:n > 'ti·si'tə̃:> 'ti : sitə: > 'ti : s (i) tə : > 'ti:stə:.²

The syncope in the following words in due to the shifting
of the accent to the first syllable':—'kaltə from kə'lantə
(affliction); 'taltsu-,konu from te'lantsu ,konu (to think about);
'aṇti-'paṇḍu from ə'naṇti-'paṇḍu (plantain-fruit).

The part played by accent in determining the rhythm of
Telugu metres has been altogether ignored by the writers on
Telugu prosody. So far as metres borrowed from Sanskrit are
concerned, they have simply translated the rules laid down in the
Sanskrit works; and so far as genuine Telugu metres are
concerned, they have adopted the classes of **gaṇams** or feet
arranged for Canarese metres and modified them in accordance
with the structure of the Telugu verses they had before them. The
classification of these **gaṇams** or feet shows however, that they had
felt the force of accent in determining the rhythm; but they made
no reference to it. Under **Sūrya gaṇams,** they provided for a trochee
and a tribrach but not for an iambus; though it 'has three moras

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1. va : ṇḍu from ə'van had developed before the tendency
to shift the accent to the first syllable commenced.
2. The earliest form is a compound 'ti : siti-vi + 'e : nin
(removed-you+if) and was used in the second person singular; and
after-vi (a suffix denoting second person, singular) was dropped,
the later forms came to be used indiscriminately in every number
and person.
3. The development of **koḍḍi** from ko'landi is traced above.

or measures as the former two have. The exclusion of this kind of foot is, indeed, very significant because in the Telugu metres where these Sūrya gaṇams find a place, the first syllable of each foot should be accented and while it is possible to have an accent on the first syllable in the case of the two gaṇams included in the group, it is impossible to have the first syllable accented in an iambus.[1] But as the gaṇams are arranged with reference to quantity but not quality or accent, no safeguard is provided against the use of a foot of three short syllables in such a way that the first syllable of this foot may be the last syllable of a word and the second syllable may begin a new word. When used in this way, the foot is not a tribrach but practically an amphibrach with the middle of the three syllables having an accent. For example a poet held in high esteem by the advocates of classical Telugu composed the following line (vide **Pracaṇḍa-Cānakya p.94**)·

  'nɑruni | 'nuddhə | tə 'gati | ki 'rajə | mu gənu
   man   high   State   quickly

    This is a line which should, according to the rules of Prosody, contain five Sūrya gaṇams and as it has the required gaṇams, it is considered to be quite correct. But it runs like a piece of prose having no rhythm at all. I wonder if any could readily say to what kind of metre it might belong. The absence of rhythm is due to the displacement of accents in the third and fourth feet and the absence of any accent in the fifth foot. A secondary accent may be thrown on the second syllable in the fifth foot but that would only make it as bad as the third or fourth. Without altering the sense, it is possible to improve the rhythm thus:—

  'nɑruni | 'goppa | 'dɑśəku | 'tvɑrita | 'gatini

    Similarly the writers on Prosody have provided for six Indragaṇams, four of which have, each, five moras or measures.[2]

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    1. This feature is noted in the case of Canarese morâ metres also. "Observe that no foot dare begin with an Imbus i. e. ⌣ —ǀ Such a foot being foreign to true Canarese metres" vide Nāgavarma's Canarese Prosody edited by Rev. F. Kittel, pp. 76 and 98.

    2. A short syllable has one mora or measure and a long syllable two moras or measures.

(1) — — ‿ (5 moras or measures) (ta-gaṇam) Antibacchicus

(2) — ‿ —   „   (ra-gaṇem) Amphimacrus.

(3) — ‿ ‿ (4   „   ) (bha-gaṇem) Dactyl

(4) ‿ ‿ — ‿ (5   „   ) (sa-lam)

(5) ‿ ‿ ‿ —   „   (na-gəm)

(6) ‿ ‿ ‿ ‿ (4   „   ) (naləm) Proceleusmatic.

but not for ‿ — ‿ (4   „   ) (ja-gaṇem) Amphibrachys.

or ‿ — — (5   „   ) (ja-gaṇem) Bacchicus.

The first six feet may be indiscriminately used in some Telugu metres as they have a similar rhythmic character.   The Canarese prosodists note the difference in the total number of moras or measures among these feet. For example, in a verse known as si:səm while the Telugus use any of these six, the Canarese use the feet of only five moras as measures each and exclude the third and the sixth. In my opinion, their si:səm is more rhythmical than the Telugu si:səm.   The exclusion of the last two feet where the first short syllable is immediately followed by a long one is as significant as the exclusion of the iambus under Sūryagaṇams.   But as there is no reference to accent, it is possible, without violating the conventional rules, to compose a line in such a manner that the first short syllable of the fourth, fifth or sixth foot is the last unaccented short syllable of the previous word and the second syllable of the foot is the first accented short syllable of a new word ; or that the last syllable of ‿ ‿ ‿ ‿ begins a new word and is therefore accented.   In either case the cast of accents does not harmonise with the cast of the feet and the line does not run well.   The following lines satisfy the conventional rules of prosody but do not run well for reasons explained above,

1. 'janəni : 'ja | nəkulu   'put | runəku   'jin | nə'tanə
   (mother and father   to son   childhood)

   'man | da   vi'va : hə | munu 'se:si | nə 'phalə | mu 'gàdə
       at   marriage   of having done   fruit   is it not

2. 'kannu | lə   'karəvu | 'di:rə   'gaṇ | gə   'ganu | goṇṭi
   (of eyes   want   to remove   water   saw   (I))

The first line belongs to a si:sem and should have 6 Indragaṇams + 2 Sūryagaṇams. The second line belongs to a te:təgi:ti and should have 1 Sūryagaṇam + 2 Indragaṇams + 2 Sūryagaṇams. To maintain the rhythm, of which we can have an idea from the verses composed by good poets, each of the gaṇams should have run of the ordinarily the accent on the first syllable. In the case of the Indra gaṇams it may fall on the first or the third or both. In none of them should the second or the last have an accent.

With slight alterations the rhythm of these two lines may be improved thus: —

(1) 'pitarulu | 'sutunəku | 'pinnə'ka:l | | a:nə-vi |
    parents   to son   childhood-time

'va:həmbu | 'se:sinə | 'phaləmu | 'ga:de
marriage   of having done   fruit   is it not ?

(2) 'gaŋgə | 'ganu-:gonti | 'kannu lə | 'karəvu | 'di:rə
    water   found (I)   of eyes   want to remove.

The metrical rule relating to a kind of verse known as Vṛʃəbhəgati-rəgədə says that every line should contain 28 morasor measures with a cæsura after the 14th measure; but says nothing about the distribution of the longs and shorts or about the cast of accents. So, the line may vary from one of fourteen long syllables (amounting to twenty-eight measures) to twenty-eight short syllables. The following lines are all in accordance with the rule but no two are of the same rhythm and the last has no rhythm at all. They show how rhythm varies with accent:

(1) 'cevini   'badinədi | 'celijə   'palukani |
    in the ear   that fell friend's speech that

    'ciluka   'palukulək | - 'alərə   'jendenu
    of parrot to words   to be delighted began

(2) 'ciləkələ | 'palukulu | 'vinebadə 'ga: |
    of parrots words   are heard when

'celi 'palu | 'kani 'bhrame | 'paḍenu gə 'da: |
friend's word   that   surprised   fell   verily

(3) 'cilekele | 'palukulu | 'vinin-'antan |
    of parrots   words   as soon as heard
    'celi palk- | 'anije: | 'bhrame   'nonden |
    of friend's   word that indeed surprise   got

(4) 'oke 'cilake | 'paluku 'vini | 'talacen |
    one   parrot's   word having heard   thought.
    'oppüga: | 'celi paluke ' 'janatsun
    rightly   friend's word   saying

(5) 'cileke 'palukulu 'vin-n'antene:
    parrot's   words   as soon as heard
    'celje: 'paliken —'ani 'talacinedi
    friend only   spoke   that (she) thought

According to the metrical rule all these are known as lines of vrjabheṇati-ragəda; but I would give each of the first four a separate name and refuse to accept the fifth as a line of poetry as there is no definite rhythm in it.

The Telugus have borrowed the **Sanskrit Vrttams** and **Arya** metres and have adopted the metric rules given in Sanskrit works on Prosody. But neither the classification of Vrttams nor the Scansion has any relation to the rhythm in them. A line is scanned not into rhythmic feet but into feet each of three syllables. The cast of gaṇams or feet prescribed for a kind of verse does not determine the rhythm. For example the Halamukhī Vrttam is defined as a verse of four lines, each having ra-gaṇam, na-gaṇam and sa-gaṇam i.e.

     —◡— | ◡◡◡ | ◡◡— |

The Telugu verse given in an authoritative work on Prosody, to define and illustrate this kind of verse runs thus :—

kiŋkeri: kṛte sure vara:
paŋkeja:te dále najena:
poŋkemau ra-na-sa-gaṇemul
saŋke le:ke halamukhi-kin

It is impossible to determine the rhythmic nature of this kind of verse from the definition and illustration given here. On experimenting I have found that the cast of longs and shorts given here lends itself to four varieties of rhythm and I illustrate them below:—

(N. B. The order of longs and shorts is the same in every line given below .)

(1)   — ◡ | — ◡ | ◡ ◡ ◡ | ◡ — |

'sauri* 'muddu 'paluku vi'nan

'sauri 'mo: mu 'sogɑsu gɑ'nɑn

'sauri 'to: dən 'epudu c'ɑnɑn

'go: ru 'tsundu 'mɑdini sə'dɑ:

(2)   — ◡ | — ◡ ◡ ◡ | ◡ ◡ — |

'sauri 'pa: ṭələnu 'vinuma:

'sauri 'ru: pəmunu 'gɑnuma:

'sauri 'centəkunu 'jɑnuma:

'sauri 'cittəmunən 'iɖuma:

(3)   — ◡ | — ◡ ◡ | ◡ ◡ ◡ —

'sauri 'pa: təlu 'vinuṭəkun

'sauri 'ru: pəmu 'gɑnuṭəkun

'sauri 'centəku 'jɑnuṭəkun

'go: ru 'cundunu 'mɑnəmunən

(4)   — ◡ — | ◡ ◡ | ◡ ◡ ◡ —

'njɑ: jəmɑ: 'prijɑ 'nuɖuvɑmɑ:

'pre: jəsin 'nɑnun ɑdəvilo:

'ba: jude: 'ninu vedəkutsun

'ro: jəde: 'mɑdi pɑgulega: n

The orthodox scholar would call every one of these verses a Halamukhī Vṛttam and scan every line in the same way as is indicated in the definition; but I should like to give each a separate name and scan the lines in the way indicated above. The difference in rhythm should be explained with reference to the changing position of the accents.

* For the palatal in Sibilent in Sanskrit words I have used this symbol ś

The Telugu **Kanda m** is based on the Sanskrit Āryā **metre.** It consists of four lines, the first and third of which are shorter, each containing three feet and the second and fourth are longer, each containing five feet. **Ganams** of four measures each, only, are to be used. There is, further, a restriction regarding the use of the amphibrach. It should be avoided in the first and third **ganams** of lines 1 and 3 and in the second, fourth and fifth **ganams** of lines 2 and 4. The third **ganams** of lines 2 and 4 should be either an amphibrach or a foot of four short syllables. But as there is nowhere any reference to accent, no safeguard has been provided againt the abuse of a **ganam** of four short syllables. A line may be composed in such a way that the first syllable of a **ganam** of four short syllables is the last syllable of a previous word and the second syllable begins a new word. Such a **ganam** has the same rhythm as an amphibrach. For example if in 'Va: ni'paluku, ni'paluku is taken as a **ganam** of four short syllables it has the same rhythm as an amphibrach like ni'palku in 'Va: ni palku (palku is a variant from paluku—vide examples under Syncope). So, if such a **ganam** of four short syllables with accent on the second syllable is used in a place where the amphibrach should not be used, there is a practical, though not a theoretical, violation of the rule. The following lines illustrate the point.

    (1)   'varʃəmu | 'kurisinə | di'ga:nə

    (2)   'varʃəmu 'kurisinə | di'ganukə

The orthodox scholar would condemn the first line and accept the second line if they were used as the first or the third lines of a Kandam because the amphibrach comes in the third foot where, according to the metrical rule, it should have been avoided; but a **ganam** of four short syllables, whatever be its nature, is not so excluded. But I would condemn this **ganam** because it has an accent on the second syllable and is, therefore, as out of place as an amphibrach in this particular place. With a slight alteration the rhythm of the line may be improved thus:—

varʃəmu | 'kurisenu | 'ganukənu

Similarly, I would condemn the use of a gaṇam of four short syllables where the second has no accent, in the third foot of line 2 or 4, because that is the place reserved for a gaṇam of four short syllables or an amphibrach and the gaṇam of four short syllables should be of the same rhythm as an amphibrach. The orthodox scholar would condemn the first and accept the second of the following lines, if they are the second or fourth lines of a **Kandam**, because in the first of the following lines, an amphibrach is used in the second foot where it should have been avoided and in the third foot, a dactyl is used while an amphibrach or a gaṇam of four short syllables should have been used according to the metrical rules:—

> (1) 'ninu 'ne: | nu 'goltu , 'nepḍunu||'ninne: | 'talatun.
> (2) 'ninu ne: | nu 'golutu | 'nepuḍunu||'ninne: | 'talatun.
>   you I   worship always you only 1 think of

But I would condemn both because nu'golutu and 'nepuḍunu, though they are each a gaṇam of four short syllables and can, therefore, be indiscriminately used according to the metrical rule, are respectively of the same rhythmic effect as nu'goltu and 'nepḍunu and if in the first of the above two lines the metrical rule is theoretically violated, in the second, it is practically so. With slight alterations, the rhythm of the line may be improved thus:—

> 'ninu 'ne : | 'nirətemu | nu 'golutu | 'ninne : | 'talatun
>   you ,I   always   worship   you only I think of

By using the gaṇams of four short syllables, each with varying accent, it is possible to compose **Kandams** of varying rhythm[1]:—

> 1. 'ciluke | 'paluku | 'cevini | 'baḍine |
>   parrot   word in the ear as it fell

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1. The idea contained in the verses is the same : "Hearing the parrot's voice a lover thought it was his sweetheart's and called to her; but the parrot cried as if it meant to say it was not".

'celijə ¦ 'palike | -n-'anutsu ¦ 'daləci ¦ 'celini ¦ 'biluvə ¦ -'gɑː
friends spoke saying having thought friend called while

ciluke | 'japuḍu | palike-n-'atəni |
parrot then spoke his

'celijə | 'paluku | 'gɑːd-ə | 'ṭantsu | 'ceppu | -n-'atulu | ː-ga
friend's word not saying in form like

2. 'ciluke | palukulu‖ 'vininə ¦ d'anə
'celi‖ 'palike ¦ -n-'ani 'madi‖ 'daləci | 'celijɑː ‖ 'janəga ː
'ciluke | 'jappuḍd ‖ 'palike 'ni ː
'celi‖-j-'etsəṭə | 'galə 'dani ‖ 'celijə | 'cittəme ‖ 'larpan

3. 'celi 'paluke | 'jagu-n-'anutsu | -n-'okə
'ciluke | 'paluku 'vini ¦ 'madidaləci | 'nilici 'canə- | gɑ ː
'celi-j-'etsəṭə- | n-'unnəd-'ani | j-a ː
'ciluke | ¦ j-'okə 'taruvu | 'paji'ni lici' | ceːse 'rutə | mun

The first runs with three-measure-gaṇams; the second with
(3+4) seven-measure-gaṇams and the third with five-measure-
gaṇams.

The following verse has no rhythm at all as the cast of accents
is not based on any principle :—

'vanəmu 'naḍumənu viˈśeːʃə 'ra
məniːjəmul-'agu 'tarulənu 'sumemulə-n'eṭulə 'ceː
seno 'gadə 'jaː'brahmə 'jani 'kaḍu
n-'alərutsuṇḍ'-əgə va'santuḍu 'pilice 'nannuun

The orthodox scholar would acceept all these verses as Kandams
because every one of them is in accordance with the metrical
rules. But I would discard the last as no verse and give each
of the first three a separate name.

The following line may be scanned according to the conventional
method either as a line of teːṭəgiːti or as a line of dvipadə :—

   (1) 'deː və | kiː 'sutu | d-'antə 'de ː | di ː pjə'maːnə
   (2) 'de ː vekiː | 'sutud-'antə | 'de ː diːpjə | 'ma ː nə

But the scansion as a line of dvipadə (3) Indra-gaṇams +
1 Sūrya gaṇam) agrees with the cast of accents and is, therefore,
natural as is shown in the second example given above but the

scansion as a line of Tēṭagīti (1 Sūrya gaṇam + 2 Indra gaṇams + 2 Sūrya gaṇams) does not agree with the cast of accents and is, therefore, quite artificial and conventional for a line of this type.

The examples shown above are, I hope, clear enough to convince the reader, whether he knows Telugu or not, that the conventinal method of scansion has no reference to rhythm; that the existing metrical rules are not adequate enough to determine the rhythm of a verse; that the rhythm varies with accent as well as the number of measures and that the natural scansion should be made with reference to the cast of accents in a line.

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Linguistic Society of India.
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4. The membership will be open to those who are interested in Linguistic Studies and Research specially with reference to India.

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9. Any member whose subscription remains unpaid by the 1st of February of the year in which it is due, shall be reminded of his default twice within the first quarter of the year. If no notice is taken of these reminders, the matter will be referred to the Executive Committee by the Honorary Treasurer.

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